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A NEW AND AUTHENTIC

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND:

FROM THE

REMOTEST PERIOD of INTELLIGENCE
to the CLOSE of the YEAR 1767:

CONTAINING

A particular and circumſtantial Account of EVERY intereſting Occurrence, and memorable Character relative to the ANNALS of GREAT BRITAIN, both at HOME and ABROAD;

PARTICULARLY,

Its Origin; the Progreſs of its Empire; Laws; civil and religious Eſtabliſhments; its various Operations naval and military; Anecdotes of the Tranſactions of the moſt celebrated Perſonages who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a political, eccleſiaſtical, or military Capacity: Interſperſed with ſuch REMARKS as may be found neceſſary to elucidate any obſcure Point, ſolve any Difficulty, and ſet any conteſted Circumſtance in the cleareſt Light.

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By the Hon. *HUGH CLARENDON*, of *Windſor*, Eſq;

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VOL. II.

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*Remember, O my Friends! the Laws, the Rights,*
*The gen'rous Plan of Power, deliver'd down*
*From Age to Age by your renowned Forefathers,*
*So dearly bought, the Price of ſo much Blood!*
*O! Let them never periſh in your Hands,*
*But piouſly tranſmit them to your Children.*

ADDISON.

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Engrav'd for Clarendons
History of England.

JAMES I.

A

NEW AND AUTHENTIC

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## BOOK X.

From the beginning of the reign of JAMES I. to the reſtoration of CHARLES II.

*A. D.* 1603. AS James aſcended the throne of England in conſequence of an indiſputable right, and at a period when that kingdom was in a moſt flouriſhing condition; univerſal acclamations reſounded from all quarters, on his being proclaimed at the gates of Whitehall and at the croſs of Cheapſide, with the uſual pomp and magnificence. He had no ſooner aſſumed the ſcepter, than he gave proofs of a prevailing regard for thoſe noblemen, whoſe families had ſuffered for their attachment to his unfortunate mother. The earl of Northumberland, with the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, and the lord Montjoy, were made privy counſellors, notwithſtanding their being ſtrongly ſuſpected of popery; indeed the Howard family in general were gratified with titles and preferments, by which it plainly appeared, that James highly diſapproved of the behaviour of Elizabeth towards the duke of Norfolk and his houſe. The moſt remarkable inſtance of his reſentment againſt the late queen, was, that he neither went into mourning himſelf, nor would admit any perſon into his preſence in a mourning habit. Nor were his favours confined to the family of the duke of Norfolk, for in ſix weeks after his arrival in England, he is ſuppoſed to have conferred the honour of knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons. If Elizabeth's frugality of honours had been cenſured during her life, it was commended after her death, as the king, by his laviſhing of favours, had given occaſion to a paſquinade's being affixed to one of the doors of St. Paul's, in which was propoſed, an art for aſſiſting frail memories in retaining the titles of the upſtart nobility.

There-

There prevails in too great a degree, with the moſt ſenſible part of mankind, an unreaſonable prejudice in favour of particular perſons on the meer ſcore of their origin and deſcent; hence it appears not ſtrange, that James, who during his whole reign was more influenced by temper and inclination, than by the rules of policy and prudence, brought over with him a great number of his Scottiſh courtiers, whoſe importunities frequently wrought upon their maſter to conſent to meaſures greatly diſpleaſing to his Engliſh ſubjects.

The duke of Lenox, the earl of Marr, the lord Hume, the lord Kinloſs, Sir George Hume, and ſecretary Elphinſton, were admitted into the Engliſh privy council; after which Sir George Hume was made earl of Dunbar; Hay was created firſt viſcount Doncaſter, and then dignified with the title of earl of Carliſle; and Ramſay was preferred to the earldom of Holderneſs.

Theſe promotions were preparatory to the coronation, which was ſolemnized at Weſtminſter on the twenty-fifth day of July, by Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury; but as the king, though familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the tumult of a mixed multitude, and was fond of tranquillity and eaſe; a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding all perſons to reſort to the ceremony, except the the nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London. This meaſure was likewiſe taken to prevent the ſpreading of the plague, which raged at this time in London with ſuch fury, that thirty thouſand perſons died of it within the compaſs of a year.

If James evinced ſome degree of partiality in heaping of favours on his countrymen, he ſhewed much prudence, in leaving almoſt all the important offices of ſtate in the hands of the late queen's miniſters, and committing the affairs of government both foreign and domeſtic, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among others, ſecretary Cecil, ſon of the famous Burleigh, was created lord Eſſendon, and afterwards earl of Saliſbury, and maintained an extraordinary influence both at court, and in the cabinet.

Though Cecil's political talents were univerſally acknowledged, his continuance in the office of prime miniſter, was matter of ſurprize to all parties, who thought his name muſt naturally be odious to James, on account of his father's being the avowed enemy of queen Mary, and the principal cauſe of her untimely end. Beſides, he himſelf had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the power of the earl of Eſſex, whom James profeſſedly conſidered as a martyr to the Scotch ſucceſſion.

But this ſurprize muſt now vaniſh, when it is obſerved, that Cecil, who poſſeſſed all the craft of a courtier, as well as the ſkill of a conſummate ſtateſman, had on the firſt approach of Elizabeth's diſſolution, ingratiated himſelf with James, without the knowledge of the queen or any of her miniſters, and thereby paved the way for the continuance of his favours. In proceſs of time, this ſubtle politician gained an abſolute aſcendency over his royal maſter, who having much more conceit than judgment, lay open to all the arts of flattery and inſinuation.

The political talents of James and his miniſters were ſoon put to the trial; for the eyes of all the potentates of Europe being fixed in anxious expectation upon the ſon of a mother who died a martyr to the cauſe of popery; ambaſſadors arrived from almoſt all the Catholic princes and ſtates to congratulate the king on his acceſſion to the throne, and enter into new treaties, as well as form freſh alliances with him. Among the reſt, Henry IV. of France, willing to ſound his intentions, ſent over the marquis of Roſne, afterwards created duke of Sully, the moſt celebrated politician in the French court.

This miniſter, who principally attracted the notice of the council, both on account of his own merit, and the power of his maſter, propoſed a league with the king of England in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern potentates, to invade the Auſtrian dominions on all ſides, and humble the lawleſs ambition of that arrogant family. But as the penetration of the French ambaſſador ſoon diſcerned that the diſpoſition of James was averſe to the noiſe and tumult of war, he was obliged to deſiſt from his former

mer propoſal, and to concert meaſures with the Engliſh miniſtry for the ſecurity of the United Provinces. Accordingly, it was agreed between the powers of France and England, that James and Henry ſhould permit the Dutch to raiſe troops in their reſpective dominions; and ſhould ſupply the republic with the ſum of one million, four hundred thouſand livres a year, for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by Henry, but that the third part ſhould be deducted for a debt due by him to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they ſhould aſſiſt each other; Henry with an army of ten thouſand men, and James with one of ſix thouſand.

Soon after this tranſaction, which ſeemed to promiſe a laſting peace, a very extraordinary diſcovery was made, in which the councils of James were eſſentially concerned. Amidſt the moſt profound tranquillity, both foreign and domeſtic; ſome noblemen about the perſon of the king, received intelligence that a plot was formed to overturn the government, and to place upon the throne of England, lady Arabella Stuart, nearly allied to the king, and deſcended equally with him from Henry VII. The particulars of this plot are not upon record, but the perſons concerned in it are ſaid to have been, Watſon and Clarke, two popiſh prieſts, lord Grey, a puritan, lord Cobham, a man of a wavering and impetuous temper, together with Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Edward Parham. It appears very ſtrange, that Raleigh, who had ever ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf againſt Spain, ſhould act in confederacy with Papiſts, yet it is recorded, that he and Cobham were particularly charged with promoting the cauſe of popery, by diſtributing a very conſiderable ſum of money among the diſaffected in England. As Raleigh, Grey and Cobham, were generally believed, after the demiſe of Elizabeth, to have oppoſed the ſucceſſion of James, till conditions ſhould be ſettled with him, they were extremely obnoxious to the court and miniſtry; hence ſome have inferred, that this plot was meerly a contrivance of Cecil, in order to rid himſelf of his old friends, who were now become his moſt inveterate enemies. But the conſequent events prove the invalidity of ſuch a conjecture; for the two prieſts, together with one Broke were executed; Grey and Parham were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Raleigh was reprieved, and remained in confinement many years after.

The attention of James was now engroſſed by a zealous contention, between the Papiſts and the Puritans, concerning the Hierarchy. The former, upon the acceſſion of James, flattered themſelves that the papal ſupremacy would be reſtored in England; but as he gave them to underſtand the contrary, the latter were encouraged to proſecute their favourite plan of aboliſhing all ſubordination in the church. In conſequence of the religious diſputes between theſe parties, the king appointed a conference at Hampton-court, in order to ſettle, if poſſible, the matter in debate.

*A. D.* 1604. In the courſe of this conference, which was held on the fourteenth of January, James evinced by his pertinent remarks on the ſubjects which were ſtarted, that his inclination, as well as capacity, was much better adapted to religious topics, than the affairs of government; or in other words, that he would have made a much better divine than a king. The Puritans vainly imagined, that their ſovereign, who had been educated in Scotland, and profeſſed a ſincere attachment to the church there eſtabliſhed, would at leaſt mitigate the ſeverity of ſome laws enacted againſt them; but they were extremely miſtaken in their conjecture, for James, having obſerved in many of the puritanical clergy, a ſtrong republican ſpirit, and an averſion to monarchy as well as hierarchy, determined to prevent the ſpread of that ſect. The queſtions which were ſolemnly diſcuſſed at this meeting, related to ſome religious forms, rites, and ceremonies, and after a long debate between ſeveral prelates and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and ſome of the leaders of the puritanical ſect on the other, the king not only decided the controverſy in favour of the former, but threatened to force the latter to conformity, by more

rigorous means than thoſe of diſputations, cloſing the whole with one of his favourite maxims, "no biſhop, no king." The Puritans, who were actuated by the moſt enthuſiaſtic frenzy, petitioned the king, notwithſtanding his late rigorous behaviour towards them, for greater liberty and indulgences; but as their principles evidently tended to the ſubverſion of harmony and good order in the ſtate, all their importunity could not prevail.

The ſubſequent conduct of James, will diſplay his character in the moſt ſtriking light, and diſcover that ſubtle ambiguity, which compoſed too great a part of it. As he deemed it neceſſary, from the number of his ſubjects who were zealouſly attached to the reformed religion, to proceed in ſome reſpect againſt the Papiſts, a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all Jeſuits and other Catholics, having any orders from foreign powers, to depart the kingdom within a limited time. But this proclamation was expreſſed in ſuch terms, as plainly ſhewed that the king's motive did not ariſe from his averſion to the catholic religion in general, but to the attachment of the Jeſuits to the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads. It was alſo hinted, that with reſpect to other doctrines, he was willing to allow his ſubjects to believe what they pleaſed, which certainly proved his inclination to the Roman catholic religion; and it is affirmed by a worthy prelate, that from this period, James acted for popery, though he was continually writing and ſpeaking againſt it. As a further proof of the inconſiſtency as well as ambiguity of this prince, we introduce the following ſpeech which he made at the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament, preſuming that it is worthy the attention of our readers in general.

"When I have done all that I can for you, "I do nothing but that which I am bound "to, and am accountable to God ſhould "I do the contrary; for I acknowledge, "that the greateſt and moſt eſſential differ-"ence between a rightful king and an uſurp-"ing tyrant, is this; that whereas the proud "and ambitious tyrant doth think, that his "kingdom and people are only ordained for "the gratification of his deſires and unrea-"ſonable appetites; the righteous and juſt "king doth, on the contrary, acknowledge, "that he himſelf is only ordained for pro-"moting the wealth of his people, and that "his greateſt and principal happineſs muſt "conſiſt in their proſperity. If you be rich, "I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I can-"not be unfortunate; and I proteſt, that "your welfare ſhall be the conſtant object of "my ſtudy and attention. That I am a ſer-"vant is moſt true; and that as I am head "and governor of all the people in my domi-"nions, conſidering them in number and in "different ranks; ſo if we will take the "people as one body and maſs, then as the "head is ordained for the body, and not the "body for the head, ſo muſt a righteous king "acknowledge himſelf to be ordained for his "people, and not his people for him; for "although a king and people be relative, "yet can he be no king if he want people "and ſubjects. But there be many people "in the world that want a king; wherefore, "I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it my "principal honour, to be the great ſervant "of the commonwealth, and ever think the "proſperity thereof my greateſt felicity, as I "have already obſerved."

This ſpeech, though vain and prolix, contains many excellent maxims, and ſome noble paſſages worthy the attention and obſervance of the greateſt monarch upon earth, at the ſame time, that it ſhews that James poſſeſſed more knowledge and greater parts, than prudence or any juſt ſenſe of propriety and decorum. Happy, truly happy, had it been for this prince and his poſterity, had they regulated their conduct by thoſe maxims; and happy will it be for all ſucceeding kings of this realm, invariably to purſue thoſe excellent rules, as they can never ſwerve from them, without endangering that authority with which providence, for wiſe purpoſes and gracious deſigns, has thought proper to inveſt them.

This ſpeech, however, was ſo far from meeting with the applauſe which he expected, that it incurred the diſpleaſure of all but the zealous partizans of the church of England, whoſe principal aim was to ruin the intereſt of the Puritans. Nor was it long before the

practice

practice of James appeared very different from the principles he had inculcated in this celebrated ſpeech; for ſuch was his partiality towards the Scots, and rigour towards the diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, that the Proteſtants in general began to ſuſpect his attachment to popery. To this was added, a circumſtance which increaſed the public diſlike; when he iſſued writs for ſummoning the parliament, he publiſhed a proclamation, enjoining his ſubjects not to chuſe any outlaw for their repreſentative, and added, "If any perſon take upon him the "place of a knight, citizen, or burgeſs, not "being duly elected, according to the laws "and ſtatutes in that caſe made and provided, "he ſhall be fined and impriſoned for the "ſame.

In this caſe, a proclamation was ſuppoſed to be of the ſame force as a law, and that in ſo nice a point as the right of election. Sir Francis Goodwin being declared duly elected knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, after a full hearing of a petition of Sir John Forteſcue; the king commanded the commons to re-conſider the caſe, and to hold a conference with the judges, though they had refuſed to treat with the lords on the ſubject. This conference, he ſaid he commanded as an "abſolute king," an epithet not very agreeable to his Engliſh ſubjects, and which they had never before been accuſtomed to hear ſo openly aſſerted. The commons were alarmed at this arbitrary ſtrain, and now began to perceive the conſequences of that power, which the king had for ſome time affected to maintain; however, to ſhew their reſpect for majeſty, they nominated a committee to confer with the judges, before the king and council. James, therefore, doubtful of the propriety of his late meaſures, propoſed that both Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be ſet aſide, and a new writ iſſued by warrant of the houſe, for electing another member.

The principal affair which was brought before this parliament, was the union of the two kingdoms; but the king's late proceedings ſo diſguſted the members, that no remonſtrances nor arguments could prevail upon them to agree to his favourite ſcheme, though he ordered himſelf to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and quartered the croſs of St. Andrew with that of St. George in the Engliſh flag. In conſequence of this refractory diſpoſition, James ſent a meſſage to the houſe, acquainting them that he required no ſupply, and afterwards prorogued the parliament.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, a treaty was concluded and ſigned at London, between England and Spain; the conſtable of Caſtile came over to ratify the deed on the part of the Spaniſh monarch, and the earl of Hertford was diſpatched to the Low Countries for the ſame purpoſe, on the part of James, as was the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral into Spain. In this caſe, there is a circumſtance, which diſcovers the high notions the king of England entertained of his own power, and the extent of the royal prerogative. Immediately after his acceſſion to the throne of this kingdom, before any terms of peace were adjuſted, or even propoſed by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque which had been granted by queen Elizabeth; as if, becauſe king of Scotland, he had finiſhed the war between the two kingdoms, without any articles of treaty or agreement. Unhappily for James, his puſillanimity, his indolence, and his love of amuſement, ever prevented him from making any progreſs in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and in a ſhort time, leſſened that regard, which the neighbouring nations had paid to his illuſtrious predeceſſor. The remainder of this year was ſpent in receiving fulſome addreſſes, and laviſhing favours on worthleſs minions, a conduct which bred great diſcontent in the nation, and expoſed the weakneſs of the king, who was thus wrought on by the vile acts of adulation.

*A. D.* 1605. We come now to attend the diſcovery of a plot, the moſt daring and impious in its nature and deſign, that is to be found in the hiſtory of any kingdom upon the face of the whole earth. This is no other than the gun-powder treaſon, by which the malignant contrivers intended to blow up the king, the royal family, and both houſes of parliament,

parliament, in one horrid and deſtructive exploſion.

This diabolical ſcheme was ſet on foot by ſeveral Roman catholics, who had hoped for great favour and indulgence on the acceſſion of James, but were convinced of their miſtake, and ſurprized as well as enraged to hear that the king was reſolved to execute the laws enacted againſt them, and to perſiſt invariably in all the rigorous meaſures of Elizabeth.

Moſt of the conſpirators were men of birth and fortune; and Cateſby, who had a large eſtate, had already expended a conſiderable ſum in ſeveral voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the preſent government, and introducing the Roman catholic religion; but being diſappointed in his deſign, he communicated this plan to Piercy, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland.

In one of their conferences, concerning the diſtreſſed ſituation of the Catholics, Piercy propoſed the aſſaſſination of the king; but the gun powder plot was mentioned as more general and efficacious, as it would involve all their enemies in one common ruin.

Piercy approved of this project, and they determined to impart the matter to a few more, and by degrees to all the reſt of the cabal, every new member being bound by a ſacramental oath to ſecrecy; and it is remarkable that every one of them attended the ſolemn ordinance of the ſacrament without diſcovering the leaſt ſcruple with regard to the cruel maſſacre which they had projected.

Some of them urged, indeed, by way of caution, that many Catholics muſt of neceſſity be preſent, either as ſpectators or attendants on the king; but Teſmond, a jeſuit, and Garnet, ſuperior of that order in England, ſoon ſilenced their doubts, and convinced them that the ſacred cauſe required that the innocent muſt in this caſe be ſacrificed with the guilty. Theſe conſultations were held in the ſpring and ſummer of the preceeding year, and intended to have been carried into execution towards the cloſe of the preſent, in the following manner.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conſpirators ſhould run a mine below the room in which the parliament was to aſſemble, and chuſe the very juncture when the king delivered his ſpeech to both houſes, to cut off the enemies of the catholic religion on the very ſpot where that religion had been moſt oppreſſed. With this view, Piercy, who was at that time a gentleman penſioner, undertook to hire a houſe adjoining to the upper houſe of parliament.

That they might not be interrupted in their work, nor give any ſuſpicion to the neighbourhood; they went in by night, carried with them ſtore of proviſions, and in caſe of diſcovery, provided themſelves with powder, ſhot, and fire arms, being reſolved rather to die than yield or be taken. Determined in their purpoſe, and prompted by paſſion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they proſecuted their work with ſuch unabated ardour, that in a ſhort time they had dug ſo far through the wall, as to be able to hear a noiſe on the other ſide.

Fearing a diſcovery, Guy Fawkes, who had been an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, but upon this occaſion perſonated Piercy's footman, was diſpatched to make enquiry, and returned with the favourable report, that the noiſe proceeded from a vault below the houſe of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there, and that when the coals were ſold off, the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. The opportunity was immediately ſeized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-ſix barrels of gun-pownder depoſited in it; the whole concealed with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly thrown open and every body allowed acceſs, as if it contained nothing dangerous or unuſual. The next point to be ſettled, was the method of ſecuring the duke of York, who was too young to be expected at the parliament houſe; and it was determined, that Piercy ſhould either ſeize or aſſaſſinate him, and that the princeſs Elizabeth, an infant, ſhould be immediately proclaimed queen. Every thing being now prepared, they waited with the utmoſt impatience the fifth of November, but all their councils were blaſted by the interpoſition

of

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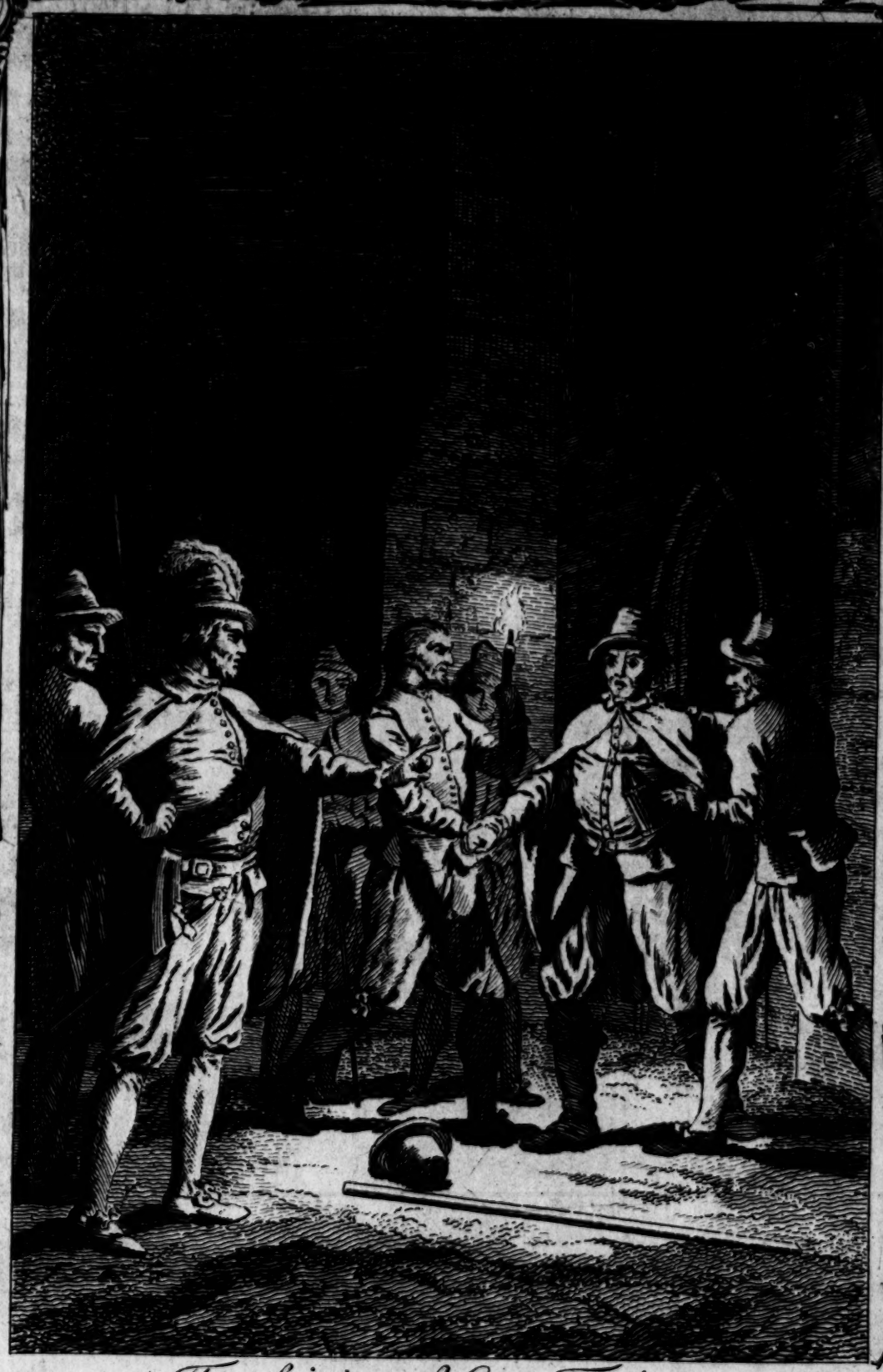
Engraved for Clarendon's History of England.



The Seizing of Guy Fawkes.

of an all-ſeeing providence, a little before the juncture when they were deſigned for execution. One of the conſpirators, deſirous of ſaving the life of lord Monteagle, a Catholic, ſon to lord Morley, wrote to him, warning him to avoid coming to the houſe. Monteagle on firſt receiving the letter, was undetermined whether he ſhould attend to the advertiſement or not; however, after due deliberation, he judged it moſt adviſeable to ſhew it to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. That nobleman was as much puzzled concerning it as Monteagle, but at length, thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. His majeſty being ſhewed the letter, and acquainted with their ſuſpicions, imagined that it inplied ſomething extremely dangerous and important. Some expreſſions ſeemed ſtrongly to denote a contrivance by gun-powder, and it was thought prudent to examine all the vaults below both houſes of parliament.

On Monday the fourth of November, in the afternoon, the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, whoſe office it was to ſee all things prepared for the king's coming, taking lord Monteagle with him, entered the vault, where he obſerved thoſe great piles of wood and faggots. As there appeared a greater quantity than the landlord could poſſibly want for his own uſe, the chamberlain enquired of him, to whom all that wood belonged; and being informed that it was the property of one Mr. Piercy, he began to entertain ſuſpicions; knowing him to be a rigid papiſt, and ſeldom there, that he could have no lawful uſe for ſuch a ſtock of fuel.

About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace, was ſent with a proper guard, and at the entrance of the vault met Fawkes juſt coming out, having completed all his preparations. The guard immediately ſeized him, and removing the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches and every thing neceſſary for firing the train, were found in the pockets of Fawkes; but the hardened and intrepid villain, conſcious that he had no hopes of mercy, daringly avowed his deſign, and expreſſed the utmoſt regret that he had not carried it into execution. When brought before the council, he behaved in the ſame refractory manner, nor could promiſes or threats make him diſcover one of his aſſociates, declaring "he was ready to die, and had rather ſuffer "ten thouſand deaths, than willingly accuſe "his maſter or any other." This obſtinacy continued for two or three days; but being impriſoned, his reſolution at length failed, and he revealed the whole plot. The earl of Saliſbury, in his account of this affair, attributes the merit of the diſcovery to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, frankly acknowledging, that though he was apprized of the deſign, he could not conceive that it was of ſuch a nature as is not to be equalled in hiſtory.

Cateſby, Piercy and other conſpirators, being informed of this event, fled into Warwickſhire; where Sir Everard Digby was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth; but this deſign was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and the whole body of the conſpirators haſtily repaired to Holbeach, the ſeat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordſhire. Here they were beſet by the high ſheriff of the county at the head of a numerous guard; and their caſe being deſperate, they boldly prepared for death, determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to the aſſailants. Cateſby and Piercy fell upon the ſpot; Digby and ſeveral others of inferior note, were conveyed to London and after trial publicly executed. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, becauſe among the grounds of ſuſpicion, he had admitted Piercy into the band of gentleman penſioners, without tendering him the cuſtomary oaths. The lord Monteagle had a conſiderable penſion for life, as a reward for his diligence in tracing and finally diſcovering this horrid conſpiracy. But James, notwithſtanding this flagrant inſtance of popiſh prejudice, could not avoid giving hints of his attachment to the Catholics, as appears by his ſpeech to the parliament on the ninth of November. On this occaſion he obſerved, that though religion had induced the conſpirators to undertake the horrid attempt, it ſhould not be thence inferred that Catholics in general were capable of ſo atro-

cious and complicated a crime; but that on the other hand, charity obliged every candid man to believe, that many of them were inviolably attached to his perſon and government; adding, that while with one hand he chaſtized the guilty, with the other he would ſtill protect and ſupport the innocent.

*A. D.* 1606. The parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-ſecond of January, when meeting, the king obtained a very conſiderable ſubſidy; but his own prodigality, added to the unavoidable expences of government, ſoon diſſipated that ſum, and reduced him to his former neceſſity.

The principal point diſcuſſed in this ſeſſion, was, the projected union of the two kingdoms; but this could not be effected by the moſt preſſing inſtances of the king, enforced by an excellent ſpeech delivered by Sir Francis Bacon, ſollicitor-general; as the people continued to perſiſt in their prejudices, and avow their hatred to the Scottiſh nation. An act was then paſſed for a more ſtrict execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, and a mitigation of thoſe enacted againſt the Proteſtants. With theſe points ſo extremely averſe to his real diſpoſition, James was obliged to comply, from the great want in which he always ſtood of their pecuniary aſſiſtance.

*A. D.* 1607. In the beginning of this year, there happened an inſurrection in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, headed by one John Reynolds, a fanatical puritan. Proclamations were iſſued, commanding them to diſperſe; but, as they did not obey, a party was ſent to chaſtize them, which they effected with ſhedding as little blood as poſſible. At length, in conſequence of a promiſe that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, they ſubmitted, and ſeveral of their ringleaders were convicted of high treaſon and executed.

But theſe diſturbances in the heart of the kingdom, were far exceeded by an inſurrection that was ready to ſtart up in Ireland, where the earls of Tyrone and Tryconnel had conſpired to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to make a general maſſacre of the Engliſh families ſettled in that realm. Their deſign being diſcovered, a relation of Tyrone was put upon commencing a ſuit againſt him, for part of his eſtate; and the council of Ireland, pretending that the cauſe was too weighty for their deciſion, referred it to that of England, hoping that Tyrone might be brought thither and impriſoned in the Tower; but he excuſed himſelf from the journey, and offered to ſend over his papers, by a perſon who perfectly underſtood his concerns. In the mean time, having ſecured a foreign veſſel, he paſſed over to France, and from thence retired to Rome, where, not long after, he died.

*A. D.* 1608. This year began with the execution of two popiſh prieſts, for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance; and is memorable for the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, who was ſucceeded in his poſt of lord treaſurer, by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a fit inſtrument for the urgent occaſions of his maſter, who laviſhed vaſt ſums of Engliſh money upon his Scottiſh miniſters.

*A. D.* 1609. In the ſpring, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, under the guarantee of France and England, that war, which for half a century, had been proſecuted between Spain and the United Provinces. Long had the pride of that haughty monarchy prevailed over her intereſt; but at length, finding her trade entirely ruined, and her provinces expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, from the maritime force of the ſtates, ſhe conſented to acknowledge them for a free people, and to relinquiſh all claim to their ſovereignty.

The high notions which James entertained of the royal prerogative, and the uncontroulable power of kings, evidently appeared from his licenſing and patronizing two books, which were written in defence of abſolute monarchy. The firſt written by Dr. Cowel, of Cambridge, profeſſor of civil law, maintained, that the laws of the land or his coronation oath, were not binding on the part of the king. The other, written by Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, endeavoured to prove that the Engliſh were all ſlaves by virtue of the Norman conqueſt.

*A. D.* 1610. A new ſeſſion was held this ſpring, and the king, deſirous of obtaining a ſupply, the commons determined to circumſcribe

ſcribe his exorbitant prerogative. The earl of Saliſbury, who was ordered to make the demand, in order to conciliate their good will, began his addreſs, with aſſuring them, that his majeſty was determined to redreſs all their grievances; he then repreſented the great expences of ſupporting the navy, and of ſuppreſſing the late inſurrection in Ireland; he obſerved the three numerous houſholds, which the king was obliged to maintain, for himſelf, for the queen, and for the prince of Wales; and affirmed, that Elizabeth, during her reign, had made great dilapidations of the crown lands; an expedient, which though it ſupplied her preſent wants, without burthening her people, extremely increaſed the neceſſities of her ſucceſſor. Having added to theſe arguments, the immenſe debt with which the crown was at that time loaded, he inferred the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate and conſiderable ſubſidy from the people. But the commons, notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, loudly complained of the king's prodigality, and exceſſive profuſion, towards his countrymen; and ſome ventured to affirm, that his intention was to ſubvert the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpation. However, not to affront his majeſty, by an abſolute refuſal, they voted him one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which would hardly amount to one hundred thouſand pounds, and was not the ſixth part of what had been demanded on the preſent occaſion. The parliament, indeed, judged with much propriety, that now James was at peace with the whole world, he could have no occaſion for thoſe extraordinary ſupplies, which might be neceſſary in time of war and public confuſion. Among other occurrences which fell out in the courſe of this parliament, the creating the king's eldeſt ſon Henry, prince of Wales, cauſed great confuſion. It appeared that ſeveral objections were ſtarted to this creation, as by the profuſions of late reigns, the revenues of that principality were greatly diminſhed. The debts of the crown were urged as ſo many reaſons why the expences of the king ought not to be increaſed, and it was inſinuated to him, that the juriſdiction of a prince of Wales, when exerciſed by him in perſon, would claſh with that of the crown of England. But James, in ſpite of theſe remonſtrances, created his ſon prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, and ſettled upon him an immenſe income to ſupport the dignity of his blood and titles.

Henry was a youth poſſeſſed of many amiable accompliſhments, by which he acquired the love and eſteem of the Engliſh; he ſpent his time in a manner becoming a prince, devoting a part to his ſtudies for the improvement of his mind, and a part to manly exerciſes for the benefit of his health. Hence he derived many advantages mental and perſonal, and evinced a martial diſpoſition that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation.

This year was rendered remarkable, by a melancholy event, which filled England with the utmoſt anxiety and concern; the murder of Henry IV. of France, by the poniard of a fanatic named Ravaillar. This prince, who had acquired univerſal fame for his valour and wiſdom, was on the point of atchieving a grand exploit, which would have altered the face of things in Europe, when his noble deſign was prevented by a frantic enthuſiaſt, who ſacrificed his own life, and that of the prince, to his damnable bigotry and unreaſonble prejudices. The villain on his examination, bold confeſſed he aſſaſſinated the king, becauſe he did not take up arms againſt the Hugonots, and affirmed, that his making war againſt the pope, was the ſame as making war againſt God, "ſeeing the pope was God, and "God was the pope." The principles on which this regicide was committed, were very diſagreeable to James, and as the Jeſuits were univerſally ſuppoſed to be concerned in it, in order to remove ſo dangerous a ſet of men from his perſon, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits to quit the kingdom, and all recuſants to keep themſelves at the diſtance of ten miles from the court. He then cauſed the juſtices of peace in all the counties, to adminiſter the oath of allegiance which had paſſed in the third year of his reign, and which, without regard to any particular religion, eſtabliſhed the independency of the crown,

crown, againſt the court of Rome and all other powers.

As nothing is a greater ornament to hiſtory than truth and impartiality, we cannot omit to mention, that in the courſe of this year, the king exerted a laudable care for the trade and navigation of the nation, by encouraging ingenious men to make diſcoveries, erecting large ſtore-houſes, and by his direction, bringing naval architecture into a greater perfection than it ever had been known in England, or perhaps in Europe. But if this part of the king's conduct was laudable, it was ſullied by freſh inſtances of exceſſive profuſion, which demanding a further ſupply of money than his preſent revenues could furniſh, it was found neceſſary to convoke the parliament in the middle of October.

On this occaſion, the great affair of the annual ſtanding revenue was brought upon the carpet; but they were never able to finiſh a matter on which they were ſo intent, and in which they were ſo deeply intereſted. The journals of that ſeſſion are not to be found, and as the hiſtorians of this reign are very remiſs in their accounts of parliamentary tranſactions, no particular reaſon can be aſſigned for this miſcarriage. All the information that can be gathered, is, that James was highly diſpleaſed with their conduct, and therefore diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, dated the laſt day of December.

*A. D.* 1611. There happened in Europe the enſuing year, an event that awakened James from that lethargy and indolence in which he was uſually plunged, and rouſed him to the exertion of all his zeal and activity. It is neceſſary to give ſome account of this circumſtance, becauſe it gave riſe to ſome of the moſt important tranſactions in Europe.

The famous theologiſt Arminius, had been choſen divinity-profeſſor at Leyden, and had been accuſed by the diſciples of Calvin, with aſſerting the doctrine of free-will, and denying that of predeſtination.

Before the death of Arminius, which happened in 1608, his party remained poſſeſſed of the field of diſputation, and he was ſucceeded by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of Arminian principles. As he differed from his Britannic majeſty in ſome abſtruſe points, concerning the divine eſſence and decree, the ſtates were prevailed on to deprive him of his office, and to expel him from their dominions. The king deſiſted from any further perſecution againſt that profeſſor, though he charitably hinted to them, "that he left the burning of Vorſtius for his "blaſphemies and atheiſm to their chriſtian "wiſdom, though he was perſuaded that no "heretic ever more deſerved the flames." But the ſtates, who had too much ſenſe and humanity to attend to his majeſty's hint, procured the ejected profeſſor a recal, and afterwards a chair in another univerſity.

As the king had freed himſelf from the incumbrance of a parliament, the court, overjoyed at this meaſure, was immerged in ſenſuality, and nothing prevailed there but mirth and diverſion.

As James, during his reſidence in Scotland, was hardly ever without a favourite, the Engliſh and Scots exerted all their efforts to procure him one in England. At length, the lord Hay, ſenſible of the king's taſte, which inclined him to admire, not mental, but perſonal accompliſhments, introduced to him Robert Carr, a young Scot of an ancient and honourable family. This youth attracted the notice of his majeſty, by happening to break his leg by a fall from his horſe in a tournament. James, ſtruck with the perſon of the unfortunate adventurer, paid him a viſit while he lay ill of the fracture, and ſo rapid was the progreſs of his regard, that upon his recovery, he became the growing favourite at court. His perſon was handſome, his years not above twenty; he was extremely ambitious, but profoundly ignorant; in ſhort, he was a compound of every vice that can diſgrace human nature. Honours and riches were ſoon heaped upon this minion, and he quickly became the channel, through which all favours paſſed from the king to his ſubjects. On the ninth of April, he was advanced to the dignity of viſcount Rocheſter, and treaſurer of Scotland, and afterwards inſtalled knight of the garter.

But we paſs on from this inſtance of the king's weakneſs and profuſion, to conſider a tranſaction

transaction which reflects great honour on his character. This was the settlement of Ireland, in which he had been seriously engaged, ever since his accession to the throne of England.

To effect this important design, he pursued a steady, regular, and uniform plan, insomuch, that in the space of nine years, he made greater progress in civilizing that kingdom, than had been made in the four hundred and forty years, which had elapsed since the conquest had been attempted. He began with passing an act of oblivion, to quiet the minds of the people; he took them into his protection, and indulged them with the benefit of the English laws, causing justice to be administered with the utmost impartiality. In short, he proceeded with such wisdom and moderation, as tended not only to reconcile the people of Ireland to his person and government, but also to render that kingdom one of the best cultivated countries in Europe.

*A. D.* 1612. In the course of this year, James took frequent opportunities of wiping off the odium he had incurred from his partiality to his country, and particularly, in the execution of Robert Creighton, lord Sanquar, a Scottish nobleman, who had basely assassinated one Turner, his fencing master. In vain was the strongest interest made to save his life, as the king resolutely and prudently determined to sacrifice him to the resentment of his incensed English subjects.

Soon after this, the attention of the people was turned on Frederic V. elector palatine, who, in consequence of a treaty of marriage negotiating between him and the princess Elizabeth, James's daughter, arrived in England on the sixteenth of October. He was magnificently entertained, but the solemnization of the nuptials was deferred, on account of the sudden and unexpected death of Henry, prince of Wales, who, by his many excellent endowments, had engaged the esteem of the whole nation. This prince had conceived a high opinion of the virtues of Sir Walter Raleigh, and it was his common saying, "sure no king but my father, would "keep such a bird in the cage." Some authors would insinuate, that the king caused him to be poisoned, but as there are no clear proofs of this, but on the contrary, as the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptons to countenance such an opinion, it most probably proceeded from malice. James, however, incurred much disapprobation, from paying so little regard to the memory of this excellent prince, that he forbid all persons from appearing at court in mourning.

*A. D.* 1613. The beginning of this year was spent in making preparations for the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, with the elector palatine, which was completed on the fourteenth of February, after Frederic had been installed knight of the garter. But this marriage, though extremely agreeable to the nation, was productive of many calamities, both to the king and his son-in-law, and greatly hurt the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, elated by so great an alliance, embarked in enterprizes beyond his strength, and the king, desirous of assisting him in his distress, made such unreasonable demands, as incurred the universal displeasure of his people.

During the late rejoicings on account of the nuptials, a private scene was acting which occasioned great clamour throughout the kingdom. To complete the happiness of the minion Carr, nothing seemed wanting but a female partner, and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of external form, such an attainment was not easily to be accomplished. But this very circumstance proved the ruin of the favourite's future prospects, and plunged him into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

James, determined to compensate the many calamities which the families of Howard and Devereux had suffered, restored young Essex to his paternal honours and estates, and promoted the marriage of the earl with lady Frances Howard, daughter to the earl of Suffolk; but as they were too young for cohabitation, he was sent on his travels, in order to improve his mental endowments. During his absence, lord Rochester became enamoured

of the lady, and had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over her, that, when on his return, after an interval of four years, he claimed the privileges of a huſband with all the impatience of youthful ardour, ſhe treated him with the greateſt coldneſs and indifference. Incenſed at this unaccountable behaviour, which he had for ſome time exerted all his endeavours to alter; he abandoned her as a woman unworthy of his eſteem and affection; to this indeed, he was particularly induced, by having diſcovered her intrigue with Rocheſter, which daily became more notorious. The counteſs, not ſatisfied with being the miſtreſs of Rocheſter, eagerly wiſhed to be his wife, and being now loſt to all ſenſe of honour and virtue, ſhe prevailed on her paramour to uſe his influence with the king, in order to procure her divorce from Eſſex. An affair of ſuch importance could not be accompliſhed without conſulting Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of integrity, ſagacity, and experience, to whom Rocheſter was wont to communicate all his ſecrets. That faithful counſellor was alarmed at the propoſal, and employed every argument to divert his friend from ſo abſurd and baſe an attempt. Rocheſter had the weakneſs to report the converſation to the counteſs of Eſſex, who in the fury of herrage and reſentment, wrought upon him to doom to deſtruction his worthy monitor, for this inſtance of his ſincere and cordial regard. As ſome contrivance was requiſite for the execution of this ungenerous purpoſe, Rocheſter inſinuated to the king, that Overbury was grown of late inſupportably arrogant, and therefore requeſted of him, that he might be ſent ambaſſador to Ruſſia. The king, unſuſpecting the real deſign, immediately appointed Sir Thomas to the embaſſy; but the perfidious Rocheſter perſuaded him to reject the propoſal, under pretence of not being able to ſupport his abſence, and having ſucceeded in his deſign, poſted away to James, and exaggerated the inſolence of Overbury to ſuch a degree, that a warrant was granted for ſending him to the Tower, as a gentle puniſhment for his diſobedience. Sir Jervais Elwis, the lieutenant of the Tower, was one of Rocheſter's creatures, and therefore ſubjected that worthy man to ſuch rigorous confinement, that he was debarred from the ſight of his neareſt relations, during the ſpace of ſix months, after which he was taken off by poiſon.

This troubleſome counſellor being thus removed, the lovers determined to proſecute their deſign, and the earl of Northampton, uncle to the counteſs, who had been prevailed on to further their impious purpoſe, ſollicited the king in behalf of his neice, and at length, by moſt ſcandalous means, obtained a divorce.

The pretence was, the earl's incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he acknowledged, that with regard to the counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, though he was not ſenſible of it with reſpect to any other woman. It is affirmed likewiſe, that a young virgin was ſubſtituted in her place, to ſubmit to the legal inſpection of a jury of matrons.

When the ſentence of divorce was paſſed between the earl of Eſſex and his lady, the king not only permited his favourite to marry the counteſs, but alſo created him earl of Somerſet, an action that reflects eternal diſgrace, both with reſpect to the perſon who conferred the favour, and him on whom it was beſtowed.

In the courſe of this year, died that eminent ſtateſman Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, in whom the king found an able counſellor, being a man deeply verſed in the genius, politics and conſtitution of the Engliſh nation, and conſequently well adapted to guide the meaſures of a weak and wavering prince.

Saliſbury was ſucceeded in his office by the earl of Suffolk, a man of narrow intellects, who was now obliged to ſupply, from an exhauſted treaſury, the profuſion of James, and of his young favourite. The late treaſurer, had projected a ſcheme to raiſe money by the creation of baronets, and two hundred patents had been purchaſed by private gentlemen for ſo many thouſand pounds. But as theſe reſources were not ſufficient to anſwer the demands of the king, it was deemed neceſſary to apply to parliament, which was now become a very dangerous expedient.

*A. D.* 1614. Accordingly, a new parliament

ment being aſſembled, the miniſtry exerted their utmoſt efforts to procure a majority in the houſe, but the meaſures of the king were in general ſo diſagreeable to the nation, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual. Inſtead of granting a ſupply, they reſumed the ſubject which had been canvaſſed in the laſt parliament, and exclaimed againſt the king's uſurpation, in pretending to levy new cuſtoms and impoſitions by the meer authority of prerogative. The king, provoked at this inſult, as he deemed it, diſſolved the parliament with marks of the higheſt indignation, and ſo far did he carry his reſentment, as to impriſon ſome of the members, who had glorioufly aſſerted the liberty of their country.

The favourite had hitherto been able to elude the enquiry of juſtice; nevertheleſs, conſcious of the murder of his faithful friend, he now enjoyed little ſatisfaction in the pleaſures of love, or the extraordinary indulgence of his maſter. The grace of his youth gradually declined, the gaiety of his manners inſenſibly vaniſhed, and the king, who had been captivated with theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to withdraw his affections a man, who no longer contributed to his amuſement.

*A. D.* 1615. The enemies of Somerſet, perceiving the king's diſpoſition thus changed, in order to effect the downfall of this deteſted minion, were determined to introduce a new object, and by that means ſupplant the preſent favourite. With this view, they fixed upon George Villiers, a youth poſſeſſed of a fine perſon, improved by a genteel air and very faſhionable apparel. The glaring object was placed, at a comedy which was performed at Cambridge, full in the view of the king, and immediately engaged his attention, and moſt profound regard. The junto, perceiving that James was touched, followed their ſucceſs, and even prevailed upon the queen, and Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to recommend the youth to the king's farther notice, who, embracing this ſanction to his wiſhes, no longer reſtrained the viſible tokens of his regard, but ſent for him to court, and there retained him as one of his cup-bearers. In this ſituation, he daily grew in the eſteem of the courtiers, and the king's attachment to him was carried to a degree of folly, though he ſtill thought it requiſite to keep up a ſhew of regard for his old favourite Somerſet. Carr, however, looked upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt in the eſteem of his royal maſter, and thought it moſt adviſeable to follow the example of Cardinal Wolſey, by ſolliciting at his hands a general pardon. The king complied with his requeſt, and ſigned the pardon, but when it was carried to the great ſeal, the lord chancellor Bacon, who was Somerſet's enemy, refuſed to paſs it, and informed the queen of the contents. Upon this refuſal, the whole party againſt Somerſet concluded they muſt make their laſt effort, and the diſcovery of his guilt in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, ſoon involved him in all the ruin and infamy which they could deſire or he deſerve. Sir Ralph Winwood, ſecretary of ſtate, having obtained the knowledge of the murder from the apothecary's ſervant, who had prepared the poiſon, imparted the matter to the king, and the lieutenant being queſtioned on the fact, gave viſible ſigns of guilt, and at length, acknowledged that he knew of ſome attempts being made againſt the life of Sir Thomas Overbury.

James, upon theſe circumſtances, ordered Sir Edward Coke, lord chief juſtice, to examine into the affair with the utmoſt rigour and impartiality. Coke executed his orders with that induſtry and ſeverity, for which he was ſo remarkable; the whole of the plot was revealed: the leſſer criminals, Sir Jervais Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, together with ſome inferior acceſſaries, were firſt tried and found guilty; as were afterwards Somerſet and his counteſs.

All the accomplices in Overbury's murder, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crime; but the principals, who were the late favourite and his iniquitous conſort, obtained a pardon, and were, after ſome years impriſonment, reſtored to their liberty, and indulged with a pardon, with which they retired into the country, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity. Their guilty love was, in proceſs of time, converted into mutual hatred,

and

and they lived ſeveral years in the ſame houſe, without any intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.

Somerſet thus fallen and diſgraced, the youthful Villiers engroſſed the royal favour, and roſe at once to the very ſummit of riches and honours. Thus elated, his own creatures were of courſe advanced to poſts of profit and dignity, while the partizans of Somerſet were diſmiſſed. Lord chief juſtice Coke was diveſted of his office on pretence of ſome trivial miſdemeanours, though the real cauſe of his diſgrace was his oppoſing the king, in beſtowing a vacant biſhopric in commendam. Coke was ſucceeded by Montagu, and the lord chancellor Elleſmere, being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, reſigned the ſeals into the hands of the king, who kept them till his death, and then delivered them to Bacon, the ableſt lawyer and moſt profound philoſopher of that age.

In the courſe of this year, the king's only ſurviving ſon, Charles, was created prince of Wales, and on the January following, Villiers was raiſed to the title of marquis and duke of Buckingham, and appointed knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, warden of the cinque ports, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother was created counteſs of Buckingham, his brother viſcount Purbeck, and a numerous train of needy relatives admitted to places of truſt and profit.

*A. D.* 1616.

James having now ſpent ſome years among his Engliſh ſubjects, in order to acquaint himſelf with the nature of their conſtitution, ſet out in the month of March, on a journey to Scotland, in order to accompliſh a ſcheme he had formed for reducing the Scottiſh clergy to a conformity with the church of England.

He had ſent over to be inſerted in their canon, ſeveral articles, referring to the peculiar practice of the Engliſh church, and on his arrival, with much difficulty, prevailed on the aſſembly of the Scottiſh kirk to receive them; though this impoſition laid the foundation of thoſe troubles, which afterwards brought ruin upon his ſon and ſucceſſor.

At the ſame time that James acted ſo repugnantly to the principles of his Scottiſh ſubjects, he gave great diſguſt to many of thoſe in England, where, during the prevalence of popery, the people were allowed to take their diverſion on Sundays, after the performance of divine ſervice. The king, who was no enemy to the pageantry of the Romiſh church, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore this cuſtom, tho' contrary to the poſitive injunction of the divine law-giver, and with this view, publiſhed a performance, entitled "The Book of Spots," recommending all kinds of diverſions after ſermon. He commanded this book to be publicly read in all churches, and ſeverely puniſhed ſuch miniſters as refuſed to comply with his royal injunction.

The public having time from the long confinement of Sir Walter Raleigh, to reflect on the ſeverity of his ſentence, his bold an enterprizing ſpirit, and his extenſive genius, as well as amazing perſeverance, which prompted him to undertake and enable him to accompliſh ſo difficult a work as the hiſtory of the World; conceived the warmeſt prejudices in his favour, which being made known to the king, concurred with other circumſtances to procure his releaſe.

*A. D.* 1617. He had no ſooner obtained his liberty, than he ſpread a report of a golden mine which he had diſcovered in Guiana, and affirmed it to be ſufficient not only to enrich the adventurers, but alſo to bring immenſe treaſure to the government. The king, tempted by the glittering proſpect, granted him a commiſſion to engage adventurers, but with this limitation, that he ſhould not injure the ſubjects of Spain; but that was abſolutely inconſiſtent with their deſign of carrying away the Spaniſh ore. Many wealthy perſons, however, embarked in this project, ſo that Raleigh, being properly ſupplied with ſhips and men, ſet ſail in the month of Auguſt in queſt of the mine. When he arrived at the river Oroonoko, he remained at the entrance with five of his largeſt ſhips, and ſent the reſt to the town of St. Thomas, under the command of his ſon and captain Keymis, in whom he repoſed the moſt entire confidence. The Spaniards endeavoured to oppoſe the landing of the

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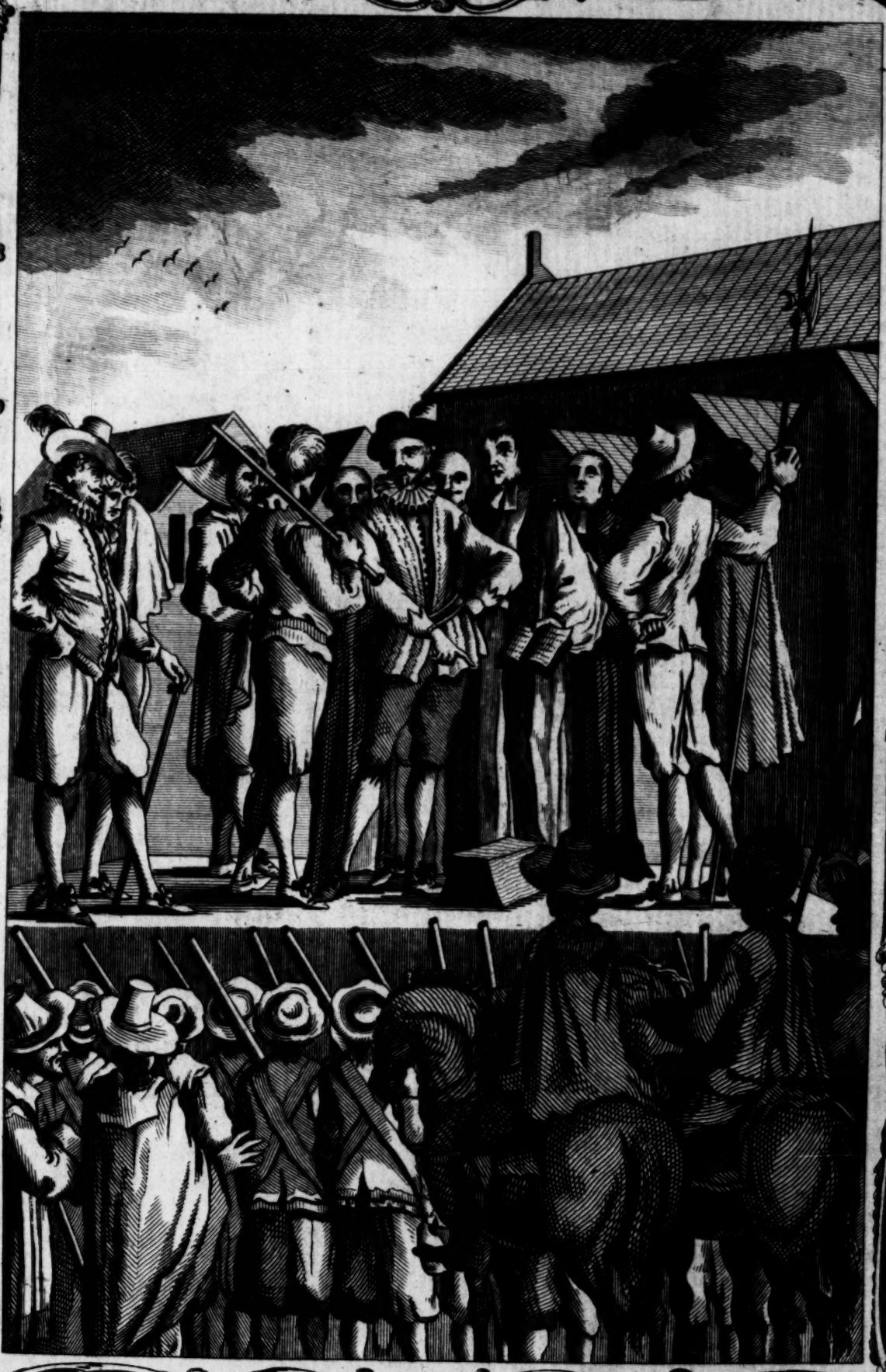

The Death of Sir Walter Raleigh.

the Engliſh, but were repulſed and driven back into the town, after young Raleigh was killed in the aſſault. Having left a garriſon in this place, they advanced farther into the country, but after the moſt diligent ſearch, could not diſcover the much deſired mine. At length, weary with ſearching, they returned to Sir Walter, who vexed at the diſappointment and the loſs of his ſon, threatened Keymis with the king's diſpleaſure, and that commander, being ſoon after found dead in his cabin, was ſuppoſed to have ended his life with a piſtol. The ſailors, tired with this chimerical expedition, inſiſted upon returning to England; and when they arrived at Kinſale in Ireland, Raleigh would have perſuaded them to go with him; but inſtead of complying with his deſire, they carried him againſt his will into Plymouth, where he was arreſted by the king's order, and thence conveyed to the Tower of London.

As the count de Gondemar, ambaſſador from the court of Spain, complained loudly of Raleigh's depredations, inſiſted on his being puniſhed, and added, moreover, that there was no other method of continuing the treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta, James determined that he ſhould be ſacrificed to the reſentment of his maſter, and therefore, ſigned the warrant for putting him to death upon the former ſentence. Sir Walter, finding his fate inevitable, ſummoned up all his courage, and ſuffered with becoming compoſure and reſolution, in the old palace yard, Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ninth of October, which was ſome months after his condemnation.

*A. D.* 1618. The Engliſh nobility beheld the fate of Raleigh with ſilent indignation. Without doubt, he fell a ſacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards againſt him, during the reign of Elizabeth, and to the king's unhappy deſire of accompliſhing the prince's marriage with the Infanta of Spain.

The unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh was certainly a bold and enterprizing commander, though frequently raſh and impetuous, and the ſigning of the warrant for his execution, was a flagrant inſtance of meanneſs and puſillanimity in the king, who ſacrificed to a pretended friend, but real enemy of England, the life of a ſubject diſtinguiſhed for his valour and military conduct.

The execution of Raleigh greatly facilitated the Spaniſh match, the terms of which were ſoon after ſettled at Madrid, importing, that the children of this marriage be not conſtrained in matters of religion; that the Infanta and her family be permitted the free exerciſe of their religion; that the marriage be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, and that after the Infanta's arrival in England, ſuch a ſolemnization ſhall be uſed as may render the marriage valid, according to the laws of this kingdom.

Buckingham had by this time gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the king, that he might almoſt be ſaid to reign, and as an abject ſpirit and cringing diſpoſition were to him the beſt recommendation, hence aroſe that deſpicable group of miniſters which diſgraced the remaining part of James's government.

The moſt riſing man at this time was Dr. John Williams, afterwards keeper of the great ſeal, and archbiſhop of York; he was a perſon of ſound learning and extenſive capacity; tho' it was not for theſe qualities that Buckingham caſt his eye upon him, but meerly becauſe his ſtate of dependance had given him pliable habits, and rendered him a proper tool for that ambitious favourite.

*A. D.* 1619. Such was the ſituation of the Engliſh court, when the queen paid the debt of nature, on the firſt of March, in the fifty-ſixth year of her age. James was ſo affected by her loſs, that he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, that brought him almoſt to the brink of the grave.

The emperor Matthias dying about this time, was ſucceeded by Ferdinand II. who being a prince of martial abilities, prepared with great vigour to aſſert the cauſe of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, who adhered to the Romiſh faith, he attached to his intereſt a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates. Gondemar, the Spaniſh am-

baſſador, who received orders to keep on the deluſion of the marriage, by means of artful inſinuations, and a large ſum of money judiciouſly diſtributed, had ſo wrought upon the king, the favourite, and the miniſters in general, that nothing was tranſacted without his advice and concurrence. As James was thus egregiouſly duped by the court of Spain, which was moſt zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, it is not to be wondered, that notwithſtanding the entreaties of his ſubjects to ſupport the Proteſtant cauſe, he meanly declined it, and ſent an ambaſſador in his name to mediate a peace with the emperor, though the embaſſy produced no effect.

The Proteſtants in Germany, turned their eyes towards Frederic, elector palatine; they conſidered that beſides the power of his own ſtate, which was conſiderable, he was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, who had obtained an almoſt unlimited authority in the United Provinces. The ſtates of Bohemia, which continued their rebellion againſt Ferdinand, and inſiſted on the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the reformed religion, made Frederic an offer of their crown, and the young palatine, prompted by ambition, immediately embraced the tender, and advanced with all his forces into Bohemia to protect his new ſubjects.

*A. D.* 1620. Such being the ſituation of affairs, Ferdinand aſſembled a powerful army under the command of the duke of Bavaria, and marched againſt his enemy in Bohemia. Spinola aſſembled a veteran army of thirty thouſand men in the Low Countries; when Edmonds, the king's reſident at Bruſſels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of theſe preparations, he was told, that Spinola alone could reſolve him, and when the Engliſh miniſter applied to him, he received for anſwer, that his orders were ſealed, and therefore he muſt defer his curioſity till he was allowed to break them open.

The deſtination of this mighty armament, however, was known but too ſoon; for intelligence arrived at one and the ſame time in England, that Frederic was totally defeated in the deciſive battle of Prague, and had fled with his family into Holland; and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and meeting with no oppoſition, but from one Engliſh regiment under the command of the gallant Sir Horace Vere, ſubdued the greateſt part of that principality. The Engliſh nation, with much cauſe, loudly complained of the king's timid and puſillanimous conduct, by which he had not only deprived the palatine of that aid, which they were willing and able to afford him, but had alſo deterred other princes from eſpouſing his quarrel.

The indolent James never imagined that his peacable diſpoſition, the more highly it was praiſed by his enemies, expoſed him to the greater contempt and deriſion. He conſidered not that the Spaniſh match was itſelf attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his methods of negotiation would hardly be able to bring it to effect, much leſs, that the match, if completed, could not be depended on as the means of procuring the mighty advantages he propoſed to himſelf from it.

*A. D.* 1621. In the mean time, however, he determined to ſeem bent on vigorous meaſures, in order to obtain a ſupply from parliament, which was ſummoned to meet on the twenty-firſt of January. Accordingly, he addreſſed both houſes as uſual, explaining the duty of parliaments, expatiating on his own merit and neceſſities, and demanding ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his ſon, ſhould he miſcarry in his endeavours to procure a reaſonable pacification.

The commons, taking into conſideration the urgency of the occaſion, immediately granted a ſubſidy, with which the king at preſent ſeemed to be ſatisfied. They then proceeded in a very calm and deliberate manner, to examine and redreſs public grievances. They then found that a patent had been granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Sir Francis Michel, for licenſing public houſes, and for the ſole vending of gold and ſilver lace; by virtue of which privileges, they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous frauds and oppreſſions, that upon

upon complaint to the upper houſe, they were committed to priſon, though Mompeſſon, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to eſcape, but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his eſtate was confiſcated. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the commons carried their reſearches into other abuſes of a more delicate and important nature. The ſeals were at that time in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created lord Verulam and viſcount St. Albans, a man equally diſtinguiſhed for his genius and affability. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in debt, ſo that in order to ſupply his neceſſities, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from ſuitors in chancery. It is affirmed by a cotemporary writer, that notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he had ſtill in the ſeat of juſtice, maintained the integrity of a judge, and had given ſuch juſt and equitable decrees, that none of them were ever after queſtioned or reverſed. Being, however, committed to the Tower, the chancellor, conſcious of his guilt, implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured by a general confeſſion, to avoid the diſgrace of a ſtricter examination. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted upon a full confeſſion of his miſdemeanours, which having made, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower, during the king's pleaſure, and to be rendered for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment. This rigid ſentence he ſurvived, and being in a little time reſtored to liberty, he gave ſuch glaring proofs of genius, though greatly depreſſed in his circumſtances, which, notwithſtanding his failings, have immortalized his name, as the glory and ornament of his age and nation.

It was in this parliament, that the parties of court and country, or as they are uſually termed, Whigs and Tories, were firſt regularly diſtinguiſhed. All thoſe who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, were denominated Tories; thoſe who maintained toleration, and the liberty of the ſubject, were called Whigs. As the court, in order to diſcourage all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the name of Puritans to its antagoniſts, the religious Puritans readily adopted this diſtinction, which was ſo advantageous to them, in confounding their cauſe with that of the patriots or country party.

Though the king, during the receſs of parliament, had employed every expedient to gain the affections of the people, and allay the reſentment of the commons, a ſpirit of diſcontent ſtill appeared in the nation, which was farther increaſed by another act of imprudence which the king committed. He had impriſoned Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Selden, without any known cauſe; beſides they were perſons highly reſpected by their repreſentatives for their integrity, hoſpitality, and patriotiſm.

The tranſactions in Germany, likewiſe contributed to inflame that jealouſy of honour and religion, with which the people were now poſſeſſed. The parliament, therefore, was no ſooner re-aſſembled, than the commons took into conſideration thoſe very affairs, and drew up a remonſtrance, which they propoſed to preſent to his majeſty. They there repreſented, that the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria threatened the general liberties of Europe; that the progreſs of popery in England begat the moſt alarming apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould once more gain the aſcendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the profeſſors of the Catholic religion had rendered them arrogant and preſumptuous; that the uncontrouled conqueſts made by the Auſtrian family, greatly raiſed the expectation of the Engliſh papiſts, and that the proſpect of the Spaniſh match in particular, excited the moſt ſanguine hopes, if not of the final re-eſtabliſhment, at leaſt the entire toleration of their religion.

In this ſituation of affairs, they beſought his majeſty that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatine, and ſupport him by force of arms; that he would declare war againſt Spain, whoſe arms and riches were the chief bulwark of the Catholic intereſt in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiation for the marriage of his ſon, but with a Proteſtant princeſs; that the children

of

of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations to which the Catholics were by law ſubjected, ſhould be exacted with the utmoſt rigour.

The king was abſent from London when this ſpirited remonſtrance was drawn up; but he no ſooner peruſed it, than he ſent a letter from Newmarket to the ſpeaker, in which he ſeverely reprimanded the houſe, for interfering with matters above their reach and capacity, and enjoined them in a particular manner, not to concern themſelves with his ſon's marriage, nor to aſperſe the character of the Spaniſh monarch, nor any of his friends and confederates. To enforce this reprimand, he mentioned the impriſonment of Sir Edwin Sandys, and further declared, that he was reſolutely determined for the future to chaſtize the preſumption of any man, whoſe inſolent behaviour ſhould afford the leaſt cauſe of offence.

This imperious letter, however, was far from producing the effects intended by it; for the commons, incenſed, not intimidated, inſtead of retracting what they had done, entered with greater freedom on the national grievances, aſſerted their right to interpoſe in all affairs of ſtate, inſiſted that it was their ancient and undoubted privilege to uſe freedom of ſpeech in all their debates, and that if any member abuſed that liberty, the houſe alone, who were witneſſes of his offence, were entitled to inflict a puniſhment upon him.

The glorious ſpirit of liberty thus diſplayed by the commons, rouſed every ſpark of pride and reſentment in the breaſt of the arbitrary James, whoſe anſwer was ſhort and peremptory, and in every reſpect ſuitable to the ſentiments he then entertained. He told them, that their remonſtrance carried in it the air of a declaration of war, rather than an addreſs from dutiful ſubjects; that their pretenſions to intermeddle in all ſtate affairs without exception, was ſuch an extent of power, as had never been arrogated by any of their anceſtors, even under the weakeſt princes; but aſſured them at the ſame time, that as long as they continued within the limits of their duty, he would be as careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges, though he was determined in all his tranſactions never to encroach on his own royal prerogative.

The commons, convinced by this reply of the arbitrary intentions of the king, determined to guard thoſe invaluable liberties which had been tranſmitted to them by their progenitors, and accordingly drew up a proteſtation, inſiſting on all their former claims and privileges, as the undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England.

James was no ſooner informed of theſe vigorous proceedings, than he haſtened to town, and ſending for the journal of the houſe of commons, tore out with his own hand, in the preſence of the council, this ſpirited proteſtation, declaring it null and void as an infringment on the royal prerogative. As the parliament however, ſtill perſiſted in the maintenance of their rights and privileges, the king firſt prorogued and then diſſolved it, after which he wreaked his vengeance on thoſe members who nobly oppoſed his arbitrary and deſpotic meaſures.

The leading party were committed to priſon, others were ſent to Ireland, on pretence of executing ſome public commiſſion; and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

*A. D.* 1622. James perſiſted in his fruitleſs attempts with regard to the recovery of the Palatinate: he diſpatched lord Digby on an embaſſy to the emperor, deſiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and that miniſter being referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian forces, was informed by him "that "there needed no treaty for that purpoſe, as "hoſtilities were already ceaſed by his having "got firm poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, which "he intended to maintain till a final accom-"modation ſhould be effected between the "contending parties." But the timid and puſillanimous king of England, notwithſtanding this palpable inſult, meanly attended Ferdinand through all his ſhifts and evaſions, and renewed the conferences at Bruſſels.

In the mean time, the palatine exerted his utmoſt endeavours, in order to recover his dominions;

dominions; but without any proſpect of ſucceſs, as the Auſtrians were ſuperior in number, and being duly paid obſerved a much ſtricter diſcipline than his troops, which were greatly fatigued as well as diſcouraged by maintaining ſo unequal and fruitleſs a conteſt. James, therefore, fearing that the diſpute, beſides deſolating the palatine's hereditary dominions, would terminate in a total alienation of the people from their ancient ſovereign, adviſed him to withdraw his forces under pretence of duty and ſubmiſſion to the emperor, and this deſpicable council was accordingly put into execution.

The eyes of England were now ſuddenly turned towards Spain, when lord Digby, having been dignified with the title of earl of Briſtol, was diſpatched as James's ambaſſador to Philip IV. who had lately ſucceeded his father on the throne of that kingdom.

The Engliſh miniſter, who was a man of great penetration, had formerly diſapproved of the Spaniſh alliance; but being now convinced of the ſincerity of that court, was ready to congratulate the king on the entire accompliſhment of his views and projects, as appears from his informing the Engliſh council, that a daughter of Spain, extremely amiable, would be conducted into England, with an immenſe fortune of two millions of pieces of eight (amounting to ſix hundred thouſand pounds,) a ſum four times greater than Spain had ever given with any other princeſs. Nothing now ſeemed wanting to the concluſion of the marriage, but a diſpenſation from the pope, who would not grant it without ſtipulating terms greatly conducive to the intereſt of the Catholic religion; the king of England, however, was ſo charmed with the match and the money, that he readily ſubſcribed the conditions, and even gloried in an action that reflects eternal diſgrace both on himſelf and his family.

*A. D.* 1623. Buckingham by this time had worked himſelf as much into the eſteem of the prince of Wales, as of the king, inſomuch, that both father and ſon implicitly followed his counſels, and adopted his maxims. This minion had long ſwelled with envy at the earl of Briſtol's having the ſole management of the Spaniſh match, and was therefore determined to exert all his influence to procure a ſhare in the honour of the negotiation. With this view, he inſinuated to the prince of Wales, the expediency of a journey to Madrid, as a noble piece of gallantry, that would engage the affection of the infanta, and procure him the univerſal eſteem of the Spaniſh nation.

In a word, he ſo artfully repreſented the project to the young prince, naturally of a warm and ſanguine complexion, that he immediately agreed to ſollicit the permiſſion of his father, and having choſe the ſeaſon of his kindeſt and moſt jovial humour; he applied to him in concert with Buckingham, and by importunity of addreſs rather than force of argument, extorted from him a haſty and unguarded conſent to the undertaking. But when the king reflected alone, on the conſequences that might attend this giddy project, he determined to prevent it, and accordingly, when the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, he acquainted them with the reaſon which induced him to alter his mind, and deſired they would drop all thoughts of ſo ridiculous an adventure.

At length, however, the importunity of Buckingham prevailed, and the king was ſo weak as to aſſent again to their intended journey. Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, being appointed to attend them; the prince and Buckingham paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered through France, and even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles had an opportunity of ſeeing the princeſs Henrietta whom he afterward eſpouſed. In eleven days from the time of their leaving London, they arrived at Madrid, and were received with every token of honour and reſpect, as the Spaniſh monarch employed every expedient to ſhow the eſteem which he had for his royal gueſt.

During their reſidence in the metropolis of Spain, the imperious temper of Buckingham proved ſerviceable to the proteſtant intereſt;

for when on a blunt demand whether they intended to give the infanta to the prince, and upon what terms; Olivarez, a leading perſonage in the court, informed him, that it was expected, that the prince ſhould change his religion, and that it was generally ſuppoſed he had come to Spain on that account; Buckingham cut off all hopes of that kind, and inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer, without any regard to the evaſions of the court of Rome or Madrid. The pope was no ſooner acquainted with the arrival of the prince at Madrid, than he added ſome new clauſes to the diſpenſation, and it became neceſſary to ſend them to London, that they might be there ratified by the king.

The moſt exceptionable of theſe clauſes, was that in which the king engaged, that the children ſhould be educated by the princeſs, until they attained the age of ten years; a condition which could not be ſtipulated with any other view than that of imbibing their minds with prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion.

But James, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, not only ſigned theſe articles but ſeveral private ones, in which he promiſed to ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws againſt the Catholics, and tolerate the popiſh religion in private houſes.

In the mean time, pope Gregory XV. who, in conſequence of this compliance of James, had granted the diſpenſation, departed this life, and the nuncio refuſed to deliver it, until confirmed by his ſucceſſor Urban VIII. The cauſe of this delay was founded on the hope, that during the prince's reſidence in Spain, ſome means might be found to effect his converſion.

Charles, chagrined at this behaviour, expreſſed his deſire of returning to England, to which the Spaniſh monarch not only conſented, but honoured him at his departure with every circumſtance of reſpect, and even erected a pillar on the ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their friendſhip. The prince and Buckingham then embarked, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage arrived at Portſmouth, from whence they poſted immediately to James, who received them with infinite joy and ſatisfaction.

Charles by his behaviour, which was prudent, affable, and modeſt, endeared himſelf ſo much to the court of Spain, that he was as generally beloved as Buckingham, (who had received a patent from England creating him a duke) was contemned and hated; inſomuch, that the latter, dreading the influence which the Spaniſh nation would naturally have, ſhould the infanta arrive in England, determined to employ all his efforts to defeat the marriage.

With this view, having gained a total aſcendant over the mind of Charles, he wrought on him to recede from the articles, and diſcloſe to the king the grounds of his objections to the marriage with the infanta, in conſequence of which, orders were diſpatched to the earl of Briſtol to return from his embaſſy, and put a ſtop to all future proceedings.

Philip, incenſed at this conduct, ordered the infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had aſſumed ever ſince the arrival of the diſpenſation from Rome, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language which ſhe had been learning for a conſiderable time, and ordered preparations for war to be made throughout all his dominions.

Thus terminated the affair of the Spaniſh match, after having engroſſed the attention of James for upwards of ſix years, and ſuch was the joy of the Engliſh on the occaſion, that they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and every token of mirth and feſtivity. The king, having broke with Spain, was obliged to adopt new meaſures, which could not be done without convoking the great council of the nation, which as the Spaniſh match was now waved, he fondly imagined would be better pleaſed with his adminiſtration.

*A. D.* 1624. At the opening of the ſeſſion, he laid before both houſes the cauſes of complaint which he had againſt Spain, and condeſcended to aſk the parliament advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the management of ſo important an affair as the marriage of his ſon. The duke of Buckingham preſented to a committee of both houſes,

houſes, a long narrative, which he affirmed to be full and complete of every ſtep taken in the treaty with the Spaniſh monarch; and though it was loaded with palpable falſities and miſrepreſentations, it was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, and even the king ſeemed tacitly to approve of it. The commons, however, readily admitted the truth of this narrative, though it contained many contradictory circumſtances, as it was ſo agreeable to their bent and inclination, and unanimouſly voted a very conſiderable ſubſidy, reſolving to continue their ſupplies as the exigencies of the public ſhould be found to demand.

The preſent agreement between the king and the parliament, was embraced as a happy opportunity for paſſing a bill againſt monopolies, which had miſcarried through the long breach that had ſubſiſted between them. The bill was expreſſed in ſuch terms, that all monopolies, without exception, were condemned as inconſiſtent with law and the known liberties of the people. The houſe of commons likewiſe confirmed by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which had been exerted two years before in the caſe of chancellor Bacon, and which before had lain dormant for more than a century paſt, excepting when it was employed as the inſtrument of royal vengeance.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh became jealous of the growing power of the houſe of Bavaria, and the untractable inſolence of the emperor. They had ſignified their diſguſt, and James, after renewing his round of negotiation, brought matters to ſuch a criſis, that he wrote a letter to the king of Bohemia, wherein he adviſed him to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to an arbitration between him and the emperor; but Frederic would not hearken to ſuch advice; and James ſeemed inclinable to have him aſſiſted powerfully, could he have ſecured the concurrence of the Dutch or the French. But an event now occurred, which defeated all theſe deſigns; advice arrived of a cruel ſcene that was acted at Amboyna in the Eaſt-Indies, in the beginning of the preceding year, to the following purport.

A treaty was concluded in 1619, between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard to the great trouble and coſt pretended to have been beſtowed by the Dutch, in gaining the trade to the Molucca iſlands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Dutch ſhould enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the Engliſh one third. In conſequence of this agreement, Engliſh factories were erected at the Moluccas, at Banda, and at Amboyna. At the latter of theſe, the Engliſh had been ſettled about two years, when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their ſhare in the ſpice trade, pretended that a plot was formed between the Engliſh and the natives, to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch fort at Amboyna; whereupon the Engliſh were tortured in the moſt cruel manner by the Dutch, and ten Engliſhmen, together with nine Japoneſe and one Portugueſe, were ignominiouſly executed for this pretended conſpiracy, though they proteſted their innocence to the very laſt.

By this time, James was fully convinced that the duke of Buckingham had been the principal cauſe of the failure of the marriage treaty, and though he ſtifled his reſentment, he began to conceive an averſion to that haughty minion, who by his impetuous behaviour had perpetually fruſtrated his moſt important deſigns. He impatiently waited the arrival of the earl of Briſtol, by whoſe advice and concurrence, he hoped to extricate himſelf from the difficulties in which he was now involved.

It was apparently the intereſt of Buckingham, to keep Briſtol at a diſtance from the king and the parliament, leſt he ſhould diſcloſe ſcenes, which he deſired ſhould be ever ſecreted from their knowledge. Accordingly, he applied to James, and ſuch was his influence, even yet over his weak ſovereign, that he procured an order for committing the earl to the Tower, immediately upon his landing in England, and though he was ſoon after releaſed, orders were ſent him by the king,

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to retire to his country ſeat and not approach the court. That injured nobleman complied with the order, but loudly demanded an opportunity of vindicating himſelf before his royal maſter, aſſerting his own innocence, and charging Buckingham with the miſcarriage in the negotiation concerning the marriage. Alarmed at the reſolute behaviour of Briſtol, Buckingham, and at his deſire, the prince declared, that they were willing to be reconciled to him if he would confeſs his errors; but he diſdained to purchaſe favour at ſo dear a rate, and the favourite thereupon determined to proſecute his intention of completing his ruin.

While the court was kept in ſuſpenſe and anxiety through the attachment of the prince to Buckingham, and the irreſolution of the king, the Spaniſh ambaſſador endeavoured to open the eyes of James, by putting into his hands a paper, and giving him a ſignal to read it by himſelf. He there aſſured him, that the prince and Buckingham had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals were raiſing among the popular leaders in parliament, extremely prejudicial to his perſon and government, and therefore, that it behoved him, by one vigorous effort, to aſſert his independency, and to chaſtize thoſe who had ſo groſsly infringed on his royal prerogative. James did not appear to be affected by this repreſentation in any other inſtance, than that of ſome feigned ſigns of jealouſy and diſtruſt of Buckingham, which, however, he ſoon after retracted.

The parliament being prorogued on the twenty ninth of May, it was deemed neceſſary to make ſome preparations to oppoſe the Spaniſh monarch, and to aſſiſt the elector palatine. An army of ſix thouſand men was, therefore, raiſed and tranſported into Holland, under the command of four young noblemen, who were ambitious of ſignalizing their valour on this occaſion.

During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Holland, who had been diſpatched into France, having ſent intelligence to the king that Lewis XIII. was diſpoſed to attend to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and his ſiſter the princeſs Henrietta Maria, the earl of Carliſle was diſpatched to negotiate the affair, in conjunction with the earl of Holland.

When theſe conferences began, James was enforcing the execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants; but being apprehenſive leſt his ſon ſhould be diſappointed of a bride, the Chriſtian king no ſooner interpoſed his mediation in behalf of the Catholics, than orders were given for the releaſe of thoſe of that faith who had been impriſoned ſince the petition of parliament. So ſtrong was the deſire of the Engliſh monarch to terminate this affair, that in a few months the articles were ſigned at Paris, being in ſubſtance much the ſame as thoſe concluded with Spain; for as prince Charles, while in Spain, had given a verbal promiſe to leave to the infanta the education of her children till they attained to the age of thirteen years, this article was alſo inſerted in the treaty; and to that weak conceſſion is generally and not unjuſtly aſcribed, the preſent diſtreſſed condition of the race of the Stuarts.

During the negotiation with France, the miniſtry of that country had made pompous promiſes, though in general terms, not only of affording a free paſſage to the Engliſh troops, but alſo of ſending them powerful ſuccours in their march towards the Palatinate, and the Engliſh council were ſo imprudent as to conſider theſe profeſſions as ſincere. The troops were embarked indeed at Dover, but on their arrival before Calais, found that no orders were come for their admiſſion. This occaſioned many diſpatches backwards and forwards, and the French, at length, urged by way of equivocation, that before they complied with the engagement, ſome deliberation was neceſſary; the Engliſh forces directed their courſe towards Zealand, where, before any meaſures could be taken for their landing, great numbers were carried off by a peſtilential diſeaſe, and thoſe that remained, weakened by ſickneſs and diſcouraged by misfortunes, were deemed incapable of an expedition into the Palatinate.

Such was the event of things with reſpect to the deſign of aiding the count palatine, a circumſtance

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Engrav'd for
Clarendon's History
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CHARLES I.

circumſtance which reflected eternal diſgrace on the Engliſh miniſtry, who ſhewed themſelves, upon the whole, abſolute dupes to the plots and intrigues of their inveterate foes.

In the mean time, the Papiſts in Ireland, ſupported by the powers of Spain and Italy, continued to behave with great inſolence, and in many places openly exerciſed their own religion. This occaſioned the government to iſſue a ſevere proclamation, ordering all the regulars to depart the kingdom; and the famous Dr. Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, greatly promoted the Proteſtant cauſe, by his learned and eloquent diſcourſes againſt popery.

*A. D.* 1625. This reign was now drawing towards a cloſe, the king being ſeized in the beginning of the year with a tertain ague, which ſo reduced him by the violence of the fits, that he expired at Theobalds, in Hertfordſhire, (his favourite reſidence) in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after having ſwayed the ſcepter of England twenty-two years, and that of Scotland almoſt from his earlieſt infancy.

The character of James has been repreſented by hiſtorians, as they have been influenced by their prejudices and prepoſſeſſions; ſome having painted him as a pattern of goodneſs, while others have aggravated his failings, and drawn him in the moſt odious light. To aſcertain this part of our hiſtory, it will be neceſſary, therefore, to reviſe his life, from whence the impartial reader may draw the juſteſt concluſion, and form the beſt grounded opinion. We cannot, however, but offer it as the reſult of our judgment, that vanity ſeems to have been his ruling paſſion, as from a conceit of his own abilities he greedily embraced every opportunity of diſplaying his learning, which was extenſive, and his genius, which was by no means proportionable; to this diſpoſition muſt be attributed his elaborate harangues, which diſplay much pedantry and affectation. Impreſſed with lofty ideas of the royal prerogative, he endeavoured to maintain it in its full vigour, and in this attempt, made very violent attacks on the liberties of his people, which, however, were repulſed by the parliament with a becoming ſpirit and laudable reſolution. Diſſimulation is too apparent in the moſt common tranſactions of his life, and renders his memory contemptible to the laſt degree; as does his fond attachment to worthleſs minions, which will reflect diſhonour on princes of all ages and kingdoms to the end of time. He was certainly very defective in point of politics, and was as naturally averſe to war; but theſe circumſtances, though they ſubjected him to reproach, were productive of the moſt eſſential benefits to the nation; as the people, being bleſſed with a profound peace, extended their commerce, and enriched themſelves, as well as ſecured their liberties, by many wiſe and excellent regulations.

This reign is diſtinguiſhed by the following memorable occurrences: in the fourteenth year of it, Sir Hugh Middleton, a private citizen of London, ſupplied part of the city with excellent water, conveyed in an aqueduct from Ware, in Hertfordſhire, now known by the name of the New River. During this period, were planted in America, thoſe Engliſh colonies, which have ſince increaſed to ſuch an amazing height of power and grandeur. Many excellent poets likewiſe flouriſhed at the ſame time, whoſe writings will be preſerved and admired to the lateſt poſterity.

# CHARLES I.

NOTICE was no ſooner given of the late king's deceaſe, than the council cauſed Charles, prince of Wales, the heir apparent, to be proclaimed with the uſual ſolemnities. He aſcended the throne to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the nation, which regarded him as a prince of very extraordinary accompliſhments, both of mind and

and perſon. No ſooner were the funeral obſequies of his father performed, than Charles, impatient of the marriage, ſent to haſten the coming of the princeſs Henrietta Maria of France, his deſtined conſort, to whom he had already been ſolemnly eſpouſed at Paris, the cardinal de Richlieu performing the ceremony. The princeſs, in conſequence of this application, began her journey, and arrived at Dover on the twelfth of July late at night, which being ſignified to the king, then at Canterbury, he met and conveyed her thither, and the marriage was conſummated the following evening.

But neither the marriage nor any other conſideration could divert the attention of Charles from the great concerns of the nation; for the parliament meeting two days after his arrival, he repreſented in a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, the ſituation of public affairs, the war in which he was engaged with the king of Spain, the difficulty of reſtoring the palatine to his dominions, and thence inferred the neceſſity of a proportionable ſupply. The commons deliberated on the particulars recounted in his ſpeech; but after all, could not be induced to grant his majeſty more than a ſupply of two ſubſidies, amounting only to about a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. Charles very graciouſly accepted the gift, as an earneſt of the good affections of his people, in reference to the greater ſums which he expected to follow; but the plague prevailing in London, the parliament, on the eleventh of Auguſt, was adjourned to Oxford, to be held there on the firſt of October.

The duke of Buckingham was by this time become extremely unpopular. So vaſt and rapid a fortune, ſo little deſerved, could not fail to expoſe him to public envy, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to poſſeſs the affections of the people. Divers cauſes afforded general diſguſt to the nation, but theſe cauſes were greatly aggravated by another motive of ſtill greater moment.

The houſe of commons was at this time filled with men of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who, inſpired with the ardent love of liberty, ſaw with regret an unlimited power uſurped by the crown, and were determined to ſeize the opportunity which the king's neceſſities afforded, of circumſcribing the prerogative within more reaſonable bounds.

Theſe patriots boldly eſpouſed the cauſe of freedom, and came to an unanimous reſolution to grant no ſupplies to their indigent prince, without extorting conceſſions in favour of civil liberty. But juſt as this determination might appear in itſelf, Charles could not entertain the ſame ſentiments; and was, therefore, not a little ſurprized, that the parliament ſhould refuſe to ſupport the expences of a war, that had been undertaken at their own requeſt. It is evident, that the king inherited the arbitrary principles of his father; ſo that the leaſt deſign of circumſcribing his authority, appeared to him highly criminal, and cauſed him to utter many expreſſions very detrimental to his intereſt. While he meant to requeſt, he ſeemed to threaten; and by declaring, that civil treatment would endear him to the uſe of parliaments, he might naturally be ſuppoſed to inſinuate, that harſh treatment would prejudice him againſt thoſe popular aſſemblies, and perhaps induce him to diſcontinue them entirely; a power, which however deſirous he might be to uſurp, the commons were by no means willing to allow him.

But the refractory behaviour of the parliament, did not prevent the king from proſecuting the war with Spain. Accordingly, he ſent the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland, ambaſſadors to the United Provinces, where they met at the Hague the ambaſſadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a league with them and the ſtates, for reſtoring the liberties of Germany.

In the mean time, to ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles iſſued privy ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects, by means of which he was at length enabled to fit out a fleet. It conſiſted of eighty veſſels, and had on board ten regiments of infantry. Sir Edward Cecil, lately promoted to the title of viſcount Wimbleton, was appointed commander, and had under him the earl of Eſſex as his vice-admiral. They ſteered directly for Cadiz, where they found every thing in readineſs to give them a warm reception; and

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the attack of Port Puntal was, with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips, committed to Eſſex, who was ſo eager upon it, that he was accuſed by lord Wimbleton of ſuffering the ſhipping, which lay under its guns, and which formed the line of battle to fight him, to eſcape. Whatever ground there might be for this charge, it is certain that the Spaniards, finding themſelves unable to cope with the Engliſh fleet, retired to Port Real; and the earl of Eſſex, after many vigorous efforts, found it impracticable to take the Puntal on that ſide. Upon this, Sir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniards who had oppoſed his landing, back to the fort, the governor ſurrendered. But this was of no importance, for the raw Engliſh troops, tempted by the deliciouſneſs of the Spaniſh wines, indulged themſelves in ſuch exceſſes, as produced univerſal confuſion. At length, diſſention increaſing among the officers, and diſeaſes among the private men, they abandoned the enterprize and returned to England, without having performed any one action of conſequence.

Charles, being diſappointed in his mighty expectations from this expedition, was again obliged to have recourſe to parliament, though the imprudence of the Spaniſh war became daily more apparent.

*A. D.* 1626. When the ſeſſions opened on the ſixth of February, the king repreſented his neceſſities to the houſe, and demanding a ſupply, they immediately voted him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, to which they afterwards added one ſubſidy more.

No inſtance in hiſtory can diſplay the mutability of human affairs in a more ſtriking light, than the conduct of the houſe of commons; for in the laſt parliament of James, the duke of Buckingham, againſt whom every voice was now open, was extolled as the great honour and ornament of the Engliſh nation; but no ſooner was the averſe diſpoſition of the houſe made known, than informations were brought from all quarters againſt him, and the commons proceeded with great acrimony in their enquiries concerning them. They accuſed him of having engroſſed many offices in his own perſon; of neglecting to guard the ſeas in quality of high admiral; of furniſhing the French with ſhips in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots, of procuring extenſive grants from the crown; and of giving medicines to the late king without the knowledge of his phyſicians. As the trial was never brought to a full concluſion, we cannot determine on the validity of the articles; though many of them ſeem to have been the fictions of envy and reſentment. Notwithſtanding the reſolution and rigour which the commons evinced in their proceedings againſt Buckingham, Charles continued to diſcover his contempt and diſregard of them; for when they exclaimed againſt the favourite's being appointed to ſucced the earl of Suffolk in the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Cambridge, the king was ſo imprudent as to write with his own hand, a letter to the univerſity, thanking them for their choice. Beſides this flagrant contempt, he was ſo fooliſh and even preſumptuous, as to threaten the commons in one of his meſſages, that if they did not furniſh him with ſupplies, he would be obliged to try new councils.

Alarmed at this declaration, the houſe reſolved, while it was yet in their power, to ſecure the conſtitution by ſuch impregnable barriers, that no king or miniſter ſhould with impunity uſe ſuch language to any parliament for the future. Accordingly, two members of the houſe, who had managed the impeachment againſt Buckingham, having been committed to priſon; the commons declared that they would deſiſt from all farther buſineſs, until ſatisfaction ſhould be given them for this violation of their privileges.

The king alledged in excuſe, that thoſe members in their impeachment, had uſed ſome ſeditious expreſſions, but as upon examination, the pretence appeared to be groundleſs, the members were diſmiſſed, and Charles upon the whole of this affair, not only ſhewed his arbitrary principles, but expoſed himſelf more to parliamentary reſentment.

The upper houſe, ſtimulated by the laudable example of the lower, determined to

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aſſert their privileges, and inſiſted upon the releaſe of the earl of Arundel, who had lately been committed to the Tower, and the king, after many idle evaſions, was obliged, though with great reluctance, to comply with their demand.

Charles had ſolemnly promiſed to the laſt parliament a general redreſs of religious grievances; but he vainly imagined, that unleſs the commons acquieſced with his unreaſonable propoſals, he was exempted from the performance of his engagement. As he was therefore tardy, the commons found it neceſſary to refreſh his memory, and accordingly claimed the execution of the penal laws enacted againſt the Catholics, preſenting him at the ſame time with a liſt of perſons inveſted with offices under the government, who were either convicted or ſuſpected of popery. By this method of proceeding they intended to include Buckingham, as his mother, who had great influence over him was a Catholic, and the indulgence given them of conſequence thought to be wholly owing to his credit and authority.

Though, after an examination of the caſe near three months, they could not convict the duke of any legal crime, they conſidered him as a very unable miniſter as well as dangerous minion, and therefore came to a reſolution to preſent a petition for removing him from his majeſty's councils and perſon for ever. The king, incenſed at this meaſure, reſolved on the diſſolution of the parliament, and carried his determination into execution notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the peers, who intreated him to permit them to ſit a little longer. But as the commons had the utmoſt reaſon to expect this meaſure, they haſtily finiſhed and induſtriouſly diſperſed their remonſtrance, which they preſumed would amply vindicate their proceedings to the public.

Charles likewiſe, in juſtification of himſelf, publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth the cauſes of their ſudden diſſolution; and theſe different papers produced much altercation, and excited violent animoſities amongſt the partizans on both ſides. Application being made to the council, they granted a commiſſion for compounding with the Catholics and agreeing for a diſpenſation with the penal laws which had been paſſed againſt them. This meaſure at once repleniſhed the king's coffers, gratified his inclination to indulge the recuſants, and mortified the Puritans, whom he moſt inveterately deteſted.

In order to raiſe a powerful navy, all the maritime towns were commanded by an order of council, to fit out a certain number of veſſels, and the city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This taxation, which had been impoſed by queen Elizabeth, but afterwards aggravated by Charles, produced great diſcontent among the people. Such methods of ſupply, though extremely unconſtitutional, were purſued, till intelligence arrived that the king of Denmark was defeated by the imperial general, in a grand and deciſive engagement. Money being now indiſpenſably neceſſary, the council after ſome deliberation paſſed an act importing, that as the preſent exigency of ſtate would not admit of the leaſt delay, the moſt ſpeedy, and moſt convenient method would be a general loan from the public, to be levied according to every perſon's reſpective aſſeſſment.

The commiſſioners appointed to execute this unpopular reſolution, received the following injunction: "If any ſhall refuſe to lend, "and ſhall make delays and excuſes, and per-"ſiſt in his obſtinacy, you ſhall examine him "upon oath whether he has been dealt with, "to deny or refuſe to lend, or make an ex-"cuſe for not lending; who has dealt with "him, and what ſpeeches and perſuaſions "were uſed to that purpoſe. And you ſhall "alſo charge every ſuch perſon in his ma-"jeſty's name, upon his allegiance, not to "reveal to any one what his anſwer was."

The abſurdity of this inquiſitorial power, was the object of univerſal ridicule as well as contempt; and when the public reflected on the ſtupidity of the projectors, they were induced leſs to dread the effect of their arbitray principle. To theſe meaſures were added the efforts of ſome creatures among the clergy, who preached and publiſhed ſermons not only recommending the loan, but inculcating the odious doctrine of paſſive obedience in its full extent; inſiſting that the authority

authority of the ſtate was veſted in the king alone, and condemning all reſtrictions of laws as ſeditious and impious. The king was ſo zealous in propagating theſe tenets, that archbiſhop Abbot, a pious and learned prelate, was ſuſpended from his function, and confined to one of his country ſeats, for refuſing to licence one of theſe ſermons preached by Sipthorpe, a tool of the court.

But the efforts of deſpotiſm and prieſtcraft united, could not ſubdue that noble and generous ardour which the people diſcovered for the aſſertion of their liberty and independence; inſomuch, that many refuſed theſe loans, and ſome were even active in diſſuading their neighbours from complying with ſo ſcandalous an impoſition.

Such as refuſed to obey the injunction of council were committed to priſon, but generally diſmiſſed upon preſenting petitions to the king. Five knights of conſiderable property defended their liberties at their own hazard and expence, demanding enlargement, not as a favour from the court, but as their right by the laws of their country. No reaſon was given for their confinement, but the warrant from the king and council; ſo that it was affirmed by law, that this plea was not a ſufficient cauſe for denying the priſoners bail or enlargement,

*A. D.* 1627. The point was brought to a formal diſcuſſion in the court of king's bench; and the expectation of the public was raiſed concerning an event in which every particular ſubject was nearly concerned. When the debates were ſummed up, it appeared, that the parliaments of England had ever moſt cautiouſly guarded againſt the encroachments of deſpotiſm, and for that purpoſe had enacted ſix ſevere ſtatutes, and among the reſt a ſpecial article of Magna Charta, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution of the realm. It likewiſe appeared, that upon extraordinary occaſions, ſuch as foreign invaſions, or domeſtic inſurrections, theſe articles had been diſperſed with, but as no ſuch urgency could be pleaded in the preſent caſe, it was thought impoſſible that the judges could decide in favour of their arbitrary proceeding, ſo oppoſite to the expreſs letter of the law, and repugnant to the very genius of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Indeed, it was ſo flagrant an inſtance of injuſtice and oppreſſion, they could not in honour and conſcience give it the ſanction of law, and therefore, contented themſelves with remanding the knights to their confinement, and refuſing the bail that was offered.

But this oppreſſion, though very grievous, was not the only one under which the nation laboured at this time of general diſcontent. The forces that had been levied for the idle attempt on Cadiz, were quartered up and down the kingdom, and money was raiſed upon the counties to defray the expences of maintaining them. Many perſons too of inferior rank in life, who joined in the oppoſition to unconſtitutional meaſures were impreſſed, and obliged to ſerve in the fleet or army; and this is the firſt inſtance we have of this deteſtable practice in a country renowned for a boaſted freedom at leaſt.

While the king of England by his arbitrary, nay tyrannical proceedings, had incurred the general odium and reſentment of his people; while he was foiled in every effort againſt the houſe of Auſtria; while he was deſtitute of any treaſure but what he extorted by the moſt unpopular methods; it cannot but aſtoniſh every thinking perſon, that he ſhould madly attack France, and embark at once in ſuch a ſituation, in a war againſt thoſe two powers whoſe united force was ſufficient to cope with all Europe.

This wanton and ludicrous enterprize is imputed, by all hiſtorians who have recounted the circumſtance, to the perſuaſion of Buckingham, who is repreſented as influenced to the ſame, by a motive which could not poſſibly gain the aſſent of a reader that was not previouſly acquainted with his boundleſs ambition and impetuous diſpoſition. The plain fact is as follows; when Charles eſpouſed by proxy, the princeſs Henrietta, Buckingham was ſent over to France in order to aſſiſt at the nuptials and convey the queen to England.

His exalted character, together with the

p lendor of his equipage, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, contributed to enhance him in the opinion of the French, who, therefore, paid him the moſt profound and general veneration. Intoxicated with the honours that were heaped upon him by the court, he ambitiouſly aſpired to the favour of the queen-mother herſelf, and is ſaid to have made an impreſſion upon the heart of that princeſs. This opinion was founded on more than ſurmiſe, for it is very certain, that after his departure from Paris on the buſineſs for which he was ſent thither, he privately returned, paid her a viſit, and was diſmiſſed with a reproof, that betokened more kindneſs than diſapprobation.

This intrigue being communicated to Cardinal Richlieu, who now bore an unlimited ſway in the French court; that miniſter, prompted by jealouſy and envy, determined to defeat the amorous project of the ambitious Buckingham. With this view, he prevailed upon Lewis, when the duke was preparing for a new embaſſy to Paris, to inform him by meſſage, "that he muſt lay aſide all thoughts "of ſuch a journey;" but the haughty Buckingham exclaimed in a rage, that he "would ſee the queen in ſpite of the whole "power of France;" and from that very moment reſolved to embroil the two nations.

Availing himſelf of ſome diſguſts that had been conceived againſt the queen's attendants, he perſuaded Charles at once to diſmiſs all her French ſervants, in direct violation of the articles of the marriage treaty. He likewiſe not only permitted but encouraged Engliſh ſhips of war to make captures of French merchantmen, and condemned them as lawful prizes. But perceiving that even theſe injuries could not effect an open rupture, as they were only followed by remonſtrances, or at moſt by repriſals on the part of France; he determined to ſupport the intereſt of the duke of Soubize, and engage at once in a military expedition againſt that nation.

This nobleman, who was zealouſly attached to the Hugonot party, was at that time in London, and at the inſtigation and encouragement of Buckingham, earneſtly importuned the king to undertake the protection of theſe diſtreſſed Proteſtants. To enforce his ſollicitation, he urged divers cogent reaſons, and Charles, though mortally averſe to the Hugonots, who in their principles and practices ſo nearly reſembled he Puritans, overcome by the preſſing inſtances of his arrogant minion, equipped a very formidable armament for the invaſion of France, and veſted him with the command, though totally inexpeperienced both in military and naval expeditions. The fleet arrived before Rochelle, but the commander acted with ſo little circumſpection, that the inhabitants, juſtly alarmed at their hoſtile appearance, ſhut their gates, and refuſed to admit allies of whoſe viſit they were not previouſly informed. All his operations in quality of commander in chief, were equally imprudent and unſucceſsful. Inſtead of invading Oleron, a fertile and defenceleſs iſland, he directed his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, a place ſtrongly garriſoned and well fortified both by art and nature. Having landed his men with conſiderable loſs, he carried not on his operations with vigour; but allowed the French governor five days reſpite, during which the fort of St. Martin was furniſhed with ſtore of proviſion and put in a poſture of defence. Beſides, he was ſo careleſs in guarding the ſea, that the garriſon received continual reinforcements, ſo that deſpairing of being able to reduce it by famine, he aſſaulted it without having made any breach, and raſhly, as well as cruelly, ſacrificed the lives of his ſoldiers. Underſtanding, at length, that a body of French troops had ſtolen over in ſmall parties, and landed at Priè, he began to think of a retreat, but made it with ſo little judgment, that it was equal to a total defeat. He was the laſt of the whole army that embarked, after which he returned to England, having loſt two thirds of his men by his unſkilful conduct, and acquired not the leaſt praiſe to balance his diſgrace, but that of having diſplayed his perſonal courage and intrepidity. This among others, is a notorious inſtance of the calamities both national and perſonal, that reſult from the influence of a wicked favourite over the mind of a weak and credulous prince.

*A. D.* 1628. The event of this expedition, added to the diſcontent and reſentment of the nation;

nation; they ſaw their liberties encroached on; illegal taxes impoſed; their commerce ruined; their military glory ſtained by two unſucceſsful enterprizes; they apprehended greater calamities from perſiſting in a war with two powerful monarchs, and all theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances were but too juſtly attributed to the obſtinacy of their ſovereign, in adhering to the councils of Buckingham, a perſon who had no juſtifiable pretence to the unbounded authority and influence which he now poſſeſſed.

Notwithſtanding this was the ſtate of affairs in the nation, Charles and his minion were ſo incapable of executing their military projects, that they were obliged to have recourſe to the diſagreeable expedient of convoking a parliament, whoſe privileges they had ſo frequently violated. To ſooth the auguſt though much injured aſſembly of the nation, it was agreed, by the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, one of Buckingham's creatures, that the duke ſhould be the firſt perſon who ſhould propoſe in the council, the aſſembling a new parliament; by which means it was inſinuated, all his former faults would be excuſed, and that inſtead of a tyrannical oppreſſor, he would be conſidered as the firſt patriot in the kingdom. But this ſcheme had no effect, as the view of the leading men in both houſes were more rational and profound.

When the new parliament met, the members of the lower houſe eſpecially, ſeemed to inherit the noble and diſintereſted principles of their predeceſſors; incenſed at the late encroachments both on their civil and religious liberties, many of the members had been unjuſtly impriſoned and treated with other tokens of indignity; yet notwithſtanding theſe aggravated circumſtances, they proceeded to buſineſs with the utmoſt temper and decorum.

They were well aſſured that the king, whoſe arbitrary diſpoſition was averſe to theſe popular aſſemblies, ſought continually for a plauſible pretence to aboliſh the inſtitution, and would earneſtly embrace the firſt opportunity which any incident ſhould afford him. Nor was it long before they were convinced of the rectitude of their opinion, by a ſpeech from the king, which imported, "that if "they ſhould not do their duties in contri- "buting to the exigencies of the ſtate, he "muſt in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe "thoſe means which providence had put into "his hands, in order to ſecure that preroga- "tive which he endangered by the follies of "ſome particular perſons." This intimation was enforced by the lord-keeper, who, purſuant to his majeſty's command, ſubjoined, "that his majeſty had choſen that way of par- "liamentary ſupplies as the fitteſt method; "not that he was deſtitute of others, but "becauſe it was moſt agreeable to his own "gracious diſpoſition; and that if ſuch "means be deferred, neceſſity and the ſword "of the enemy might make way to the "others." He concluded with theſe remarkable words, "Remember his majeſty's ad- "monition; I ſay, remember it.

But theſe pompous menaces availed not; for the commons proceeded with the utmoſt calmneſs and moderation, in redreſſing public grievances; reſtraining the exerciſe of lawleſs power; fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and ſecuring the rights and privileges of the people. Having thus nobly exerted themſelves in the great duties of repreſentatives of a free and powerful people, they proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply, and in order to convince his majeſty, that they were readily diſpoſed to relieve his neceſſities, provided he would comply with their juſt demands, they voted him five entire ſubſidies, a ſum with which Charles declared his entire ſatisfaction, and promiſed to comply with all their reaſonable requeſts. But this ſupply, though voted, was not as yet paſſed into a law, as the commons were ſenſible that their own vote, declaring the illegality of former meaſures, was not of itſelf ſufficient to ſecure their privileges againſt future invaſions. They therefore, nominated a committee to draw up the form of ſo important a law; they aſpired not, as they declared, to any new or unuſual privileges, but only aimed at ſecuring thoſe which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; this law they determined to call "a petition of right," thereby intimating, that it contained only a corroboration or explanation of their ancient privileges, not

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any infringement of royal prerogative or acquiſiton of new liberties.

The peers propoſed the plan of a more moderate law, which they recommended to the conſideration of the other houſe. But the commons, perſiſting in their reſolution of circumſcribing the royal prerogative, notwithſtanding this moderate plan of the upper-houſe, the petition paſſed without any eſſential alteration, and nothing was wanting but the king's aſſent to give it the force of a law.

Charles accordingly repaired to the houſe of peers; ſent for the commons, and being ſeated in his chair of ſtate, the petition was read before him; after which he thus addreſſed the houſe: "The king willeth, that "right be done according to the laws and "cuſtoms of the realm, and that the ſtatutes "be put in due execution; that his ſubjects "may have no cauſe to complain of any "wrong of oppreſſion contrary to their juſt "rights and liberties, to the preſervation "whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as "much obliged as of his own prerogative." The commons, incenſed at this behaviour of the king, returned to their houſe, and proceeded to take under conſideration the caſe of the duke of Buckingham, whom they juſtly deemed the author of many grievances, under which the nation then laboured.

They were preparing to draw up a remonſtrance againſt the favourite, when Charles, apprized of the impending danger, reſolved, if poſſible, to divert the ſtorm by gratifying their deſires with reſpect to the petition of right: accordingly he came to the houſe of peers, and gave it full ſanction and authority. The commons, as an acknowledgement of this conceſſion, immediately granted a very large ſubſidy; and having thus ballanced accounts with his majeſty, continued to carry their reſearches into every abuſe of government.

They next reſumed their cenſure of Buckingham's behaviour, and unanimouſly reſolved to preſent a remonſtrance to his majeſty, recapitulating the national grievances and calamities, to which his arrogance and ambition were ſuppoſed to have given riſe. The king, however, to prevent ſo diſagreeable an addreſs, finiſhed the ſeſſion by a prorogation. Being now freed for ſome time from the reſtraints of parliament, Charles turned his attention towards foreign wars, where his efforts were as unſucceſsful, as in domeſtic government.

The earl of Denbigh, brother-in law to Buckingham, had been ſent to the relief of Rochelle, but declining to engage the enemy's fleet, he expoſed the Engliſh arms to the imputation of cowardice. To wipe out this ſtain, Buckingham repaired to Portſmouth, where he had equipped a conſiderable armament, but before he could ſet out on his expedition, he met with that fate from the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, which had he ſurvived much longer, he would probably have ſuffered from the laws of his country.

There was one Felton, a perſon of a good family, but of a moſt vehement temper, who had ſerved under the duke in quality of lieutenant. His captain being killed in a late expedition, Felton had applied for the company, but being diſappointed, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired in diſguſt. His reſentment was ſtill farther enflamed by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and he imagined he ſhould perform an acceptable ſervice to heaven, in delivering his country from this foe to all piety and virtue. Thus reſolved, he went to Portſmouth at the ſame time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of accompliſhing his bloody purpoſe.

Accordingly, having heard that he had an appointment with ſome gentlemen at a certain houſe, he waited for him near the entrance, and as he turned about in the paſſage to ſpeak to a colonel in the army, ſtabbed him to the heart with a knife. The duke, exclaiming, "the "villain has killed me," drew out the knife and inſtantly expired. No one had perceived the blow, nor obſerved the perſon that gave it; near the door, however, was found a hat, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, inſcribed with a few lines of that remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom, and under the lines were ſome ſhort ejaculations. From this circumſtance it was naturally concluded that

that the hat belonged to the aſſaſſin, and in the mean time, a perſon without a hat being obſerved to walk very compoſedly before the door, there was a general cry, "here is the "villain who killed the duke." The man replied with great intrepidity, "True, I "am he;" and chearfully expoſed his naked breaſt to the ſwords of the aſſailants, being deſirous to ſave himſelf by inſtant death from the diſgrace of a public execution. Felton boldly avowed the fact, and being aſked at whoſe inſtigation he had committed that atrocious crime, replied, that they need not concern themſelves about that matter; that the reſolution was entirely owing to the ſuggeſtions of his own conſcience; that his motives would appear if his hat was found; for that apprehending he ſhould periſh in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. The king inſiſted that Felton ſhould be put to the rack, in order to compel him to diſcover his accomplices; but the judges declared, that though that practice had been formerly permitted, it was totally inconſiſtent with the laws of the land.

After the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army devolved upon the earl of Lindſay, who made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve Rochelle, ſo that the inhabitants were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

*A. D.* 1629. The miſcarriage of this enterprize could not fail to weaken the king's authority in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament; but the commons, when aſſembled, found many other cauſes of complaint. They took notice of the advancement of ſeveral of the clergy, whoſe characters were obnoxious to the nation, and particularly Montague, who, though ſtrongly ſuſpected of an attachment to popery, had been promoted to the ſee of Chicheſter. When the commons had rectified many abuſes and grievances by means of their petition of right, they proceeded to conſider the duty of tonnage and poundage, and came to a reſolution not to grant it to his majeſty, but under certain limitations and reſtrictions. Their ſudden prorogation, however, hindered them from bringing the matter to a final concluſion.

Sir John Elliot, Valentine, and Hollis, were ſummoned to anſwer in the king's bench for the ſpirited remonſtrances they had made in the houſe, which the miniſters were pleaſed to term diſloyal; but refuſing to account in an inferior court for their conduct, as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to pay a fine, and to give ſecurity for their good behaviour.

Thus Charles, while he gratified his reſentment, at once diſcovered his arbitrary principles, and forfeited the affections of his ſubjects, by inflicting puniſhments upon men who had been guilty of no other crime than that of defending the liberties of their country; ſo that deprived of all hopes of a ſupply, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the two crowns, againſt which he had hitherto carried on a war, which was conducted without bringing the leaſt degree of glory to the Engliſh arms.

He likewiſe entered into a private agreement with Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, by which he engaged to ſupport him in his intended invaſion of Germany, but that he might ſave appearances with the houſe of Auſtria, he employed the marquis of Hamilton to levy the troops deſtined for that purpoſe. The Swede, however, did not perform his part of the agreement, and Charles withdrew his forces, after having incurred much expence without gaining either profit or honour.

After the death of Buckingham, the perſon who had the greateſt influence with Charles, was Laud, biſhop of London, afterwards promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, a prelate of ſome parts and learning, but ſtrongly ſuſpected of an attachment to popery. This eccleſiaſtic, from his great zeal for certain rites and ceremonies, adviſed that all the Engliſh regiments and trading companies abroad, ſhould be obliged to adopt the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England; the king's ambaſſador likewiſe at Paris was commanded to ſeparate himſelf from the communion of the Hugonots. Every perſon of ſenſe and candour was inclined to condemn this conduct; not only becauſe it gave offence in

England, but becauſe in foreign countries, it deprived the crown of the advantage which it had hitherto enjoyed, of being conſidered as the head and ſupport of the reformation. But the advice of Laud reſted not here; for at his inſtance, when a certain ſum was impoſed on each county for the maintenance of a regular militia; compoſitions were openly made with Catholics, and the popiſh religion became a regular part of the revenue.

*A. D.* 1631. Monopolies were now revived; an oppreſſive method of raiſing money, being unlimited in its nature, as well as deſtructive of all induſtry. The laſt parliament of James, which aboliſhed monopolies, had made a very equitable exception in favour of new inventions; and on pretence of theſe and of eſtabliſhing new companies and corporations, this grievance was now renewed.

The council of York had been firſt erected after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without the conſent or authority of parliament, and this exerciſe of power, like many others, had been indulged to that arbitrary monarch. Beſides ſome innovations introduced by James, Charles had ventured to enlarge its powers, and to inveſt it with a kind of civil juriſdiction, which in ſome reſpects was even diſcretionary. In conſequence of this illegal meaſure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common law, and ſubjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary. The court of Star-chamber was a grievance no leſs intolerable; it infringed upon the privileges of the other courts, impoſed the heavieſt fines, and inflicted the ſevereſt puniſhments beyond the uſual courſe of juſtice.

*A. D.* 1632. There was a law of Edward II. ordaining that whoever was poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year in land, ſhould be obliged, when ſummoned, to appear and receive the honour of knighthood. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, who had employed this expedient for raiſing money, had ſummoned only thoſe poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year and upwards, to receive the honour of knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles, without conſidering the great alteration in the value of money ſince this law was enacted, followed the example of thoſe monarchs. He appointed commiſſioners for eſtabliſhing the rates of compoſition, and enjoined them not to accept of a leſs ſum than the perſon would have paid upon a tax of three ſubſidies and a half. Sir David Foulis was fined five thouſand pounds, chiefly becauſe he had perſuaded a friend to refuſe compounding with the commiſſioners.

An office was erected for the ſealing of cards; a tax, which of itſelf, was rather an object of praiſe than blame; but it proved of the moſt dangerous conſequences, when conſidered as an exertion of arbitrary and deſpotic power. The manufacture of ſoap was beſtowed on a company, who paid a very conſiderable ſum for their patent; leather, ſalt, and many other commodities, even down to linen rags, were likewiſe put under reſtrictions. In ſhort, the king evinced throughout the whole tenor of his conduct, principles diametrically repugnant to the true intereſt, welfare, and happineſs of his ſubjects, and his prevailing foible was an implicit deference to the queen, who being a bigot to popery, inſtigated him to meaſures ſubverſe of the Proteſtant cauſe.

*A. D.* 1633. In the ſpring Charles made a journey into Scotland, accompanied by his court, in order to hold a parliament there, to paſs through the ceremony of his coronation, and to eſtabliſh, if poſſible, the Engliſh liturgy in that country. The act for regulating the habits of clergymen was eaſily paſſed; but the attempt to introduce the liturgy was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, as will hereafter appear.

During the king's abſence, Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury had died, and Charles was no ſooner returned to England, than he conferred that dignity on his favourite, who determined to maintain eccleſiaſtical dignity with great rigour, and to inflame the general diſcontent of the nation. Laud procured the biſhopric of London for his friend Juxton, but though he was poſſeſſed of many virtues and endowed with a good underſtanding, his promotion

promotion was extremely disagreeable to the nation.

*A. D.* 1634. One Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, but a bigotted and even fanatical Puritan, having composed a volume, entitled Histrio Mastyx, intended to explode musical and theatrical diversions, in which were some oblique hints on the king and queen's encouraging the same; he was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, condemned to be expelled from the bar, to stand on the pillory in two places; to loose both his ears, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life.

This rigour was exercised through the persuasion of archbishop Laud, who was a professed enemy to dissenters of every denomination, and embraced every opportunity of shewing tokens of his disapprobation, both of their principles and practices. The tax of ship money was imposed during the course of this year; the first writs of that kind had been only directed to sea port towns; but ship money was now levied throughout the kingdom, and each county was assessed in a particular sum, which was afterwards exacted from individuals.

Though the amount of the whole tax was very moderate, though it was collected with justice and equity, and entirely expended in repairing and maintaining the navy, it gave great offence to the people; because, being entirely arbitrary, by the same rule any other tax might be imposed, and persons considered a powerful fleet, though very necessary, a poor compensation for their liberties, which were thus sacrificed in order to obtain it.

The nobility and courtiers who lived under this reign exacted a most slavish and submissive deference from those of inferior stations; and whenever the latter failed in what was supposed to be their duty, they were sure to be punished with the utmost severity. One Granville, a private gentleman, having received an injury from the earl of Suffolk, had engaged in a law suit with him, and in the course of the trial, happened to say of that nobleman, that he was a base lord: the evidence against him was exceeding weak; yet for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned by the Star-chamber to pay a fine of eight thousand pounds; one half to the earl and the other to the king.

One Allison likewise had said, that the archbishop of York advised the king to indulge the Catholics with a limited toleration and a petition to build some churches for the exercise of their religion; for this slander, as it was deemed, he was sentenced by the Star-chamber to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, to find security for his good behaviour during life, and to stand on the pillory at Westminster and in three different towns of England. We mention these incidents, though they may seem of a trifling nature, because they discover the arbitrary genius of the government; and because they certainly caused that discontent and disaffection, which soon after threw the kingdom into such a terrible combustion.

*A. D.* 1635. In the month of May, Charles fitted out a considerable fleet, and bestowed the command of it on the earl of Northumberland, who was ordered to attack all Dutch fishing vessels, that were found in the British seas. By this scheme the Hollanders were obliged to purchase a permission for this season, by paying the sum of thirty thousand pounds.

*A. D.* 1636. The following year the king sent a squadron against a nest of pirates, who had long infested the coasts and interrupted the commerce of England, and by that means cleared the seas of those desperate adventurers. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were cited before the Star-chamber for having published seditious pamphlets, and sentenced to undergo the same punishment which Prynne had suffered.

The severity of the Star-chamber was generally ascribed to the passionate disposition of Laud, whose superstition, in introducing new ceremonies, could only be exceeded by the rigour with which he enforced their observance.

*A. D.* 1637. The Puritans, finding it impossible to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in England, shipped themselves off for America, and there laid the foundation of a government, which enjoyed the most perfect liberty.

liberty civil and eccleſiaſtical. After the impoſing of the ſhip money, Charles, in order to prevent all oppoſition, extorted from the judges, through a ſlaviſh complaiſance, a declaration, that in caſe of neceſſity, the king might, by his own authority, levy that tax; and that he was the ſole judge of the neceſſity.

In conſequence of this declaration, moſt people ſubmitted to the tax; but amidſt the general ſpirit of deſpair and deſpondency which prevailed in the nation, there was one man who had courage and reſolution enough to oppoſe the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and to ſtand up in defence of the laws and liberties of his country.

This was the famous John Hampden, of glorious memory, who having been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate he poſſeſſed, determined, rather than comply with ſo illegal an impoſition, to try the event of a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the reſentment and indignation of the court. The caſe was argued during twelve days in the exchequer chamber before all the judges of England, and the people beheld with the utmoſt anxiety every ſtep of a trial, which though it ſeemed to relate meerly to a private perſon, was for ever to decide the fate of national liberty.

After many and long debates, the prejudiced or proſtituted judges, notwithſtanding the crown lawyers had nothing in the end to oppoſe to the pleadings of Hampden's council, gave ſentence againſt him by a conſiderable majority; however, that generous patriot gained the end for which he had nobly ſacrificed his ſafety and his quiet, as the people were awakened from their lethargy, and began to perceive the danger which threatened the liberties of the nation.

But notwithſtanding the general ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed among all ranks of men, affairs might long have continued on their preſent footing in England, had not Scotland withſtood the deſpotic meaſures of Charles and his tyrannical court. The preſent king was deſirous of completing the work that his father had begun, which was to reduce the Scottiſh church to perfect conformity with the Engliſh.

With this view, he endeavoured to encreaſe the authority of the prelates, who, as they depended entirely on the crown, were ready to concur with their ſovereign in all his undertakings. The liturgy which Charles from his own authority intended to introduce into Scotland, was copied from that of England, and tranſmitted to the biſhops at Edinburgh, with orders to begin the uſe of it with all convenient ſpeed.

Accordingly, on Eaſter-day, the time appointed by proclamation, the dean of Edinburgh, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, began the ſervice, the biſhop himſelf and the members of the privy council being preſent; but was ſoon interrupted by the populace, who exclaimed "a pope! a pope! an antichriſt! "ſtone him." As this tumult prevented the continuation of the ſervice, the biſhop mounted the pulpit in order to appeaſe the multitude, who were ſo incenſed that they threw ſtools at him, inſulted the council, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the magiſtrates were able to expel them and to ſhut the church doors againſt them.

The primate, a man of wiſdom and moderation, who had all along diſapproved of the new liturgy, repreſented to the king the ſtate of the nation; and the earl of Traquair, lord treaſurer, repaired to London, in order to acquaint him more fully with the matter. But Charles obſtinately perſiſted in his reſolution of introducing his liturgy into Scotland, and iſſued a proclamation, in which he pardoned all paſt offences, and exhorted all people to be more ſubmiſſive for the future, and to receive peaceably that form of worſhip which he was pleaſed to preſcribe.

This proclamation was inſtantly oppoſed by a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindſay, and this was the firſt time that perſons of quality appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people. The ſpirit of diſcontent, which had been gradually ſpreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once. Four tables, as they were called, were eſtabliſhed in Edinburgh,

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one was composed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses; and among the first of their acts was the production of the covenant.

This famous covenant was no other than a solemn renunciation of popery, and a mutual bond, by which the subscribers engaged upon oath, to oppose all religious innovations, and to assist each other against all persons whatsoever.

*A. D.* 1638. The king, apprehensive of the consequences of this transaction, sent the marquis of Hamilton as his commissioner into Scotland, and impowered him to treat with the covenanters. He insisted that the covenant should be renounced and abolished, and offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. In answer to this proposal, they plainly told the marquis, that, as they had engaged in a general combination to defend their civil and religious liberties, they were fully determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in support of so good a cause. Hamilton, finding all his attempts ineffectual, returned to London, and was immediately sent back with more satisfactory offers. The king was now content to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission-court, the erection of which had given great offence to the nation; and to enforce these concessions, he empowered his commissioner to convoke first an assembly, then a parliament, where every public grievance might be redressed.

But all these concessions fell infinitely short of the demands of the malecontents, served only to confirm them in their former resolutions, and were far from giving any satisfaction; nay, the covenanters hinted their design of convoking a general assembly even without the king's permission. By an order of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from every parish was empowered to attend the presbytery, and to vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be sent to the assembly; and to every commissioner four lay-assessors were assigned, who, though they could have no vote, might interpose with their council and authority in the assembly.

This assembly met at Glasgow on the twentieth day of November, by virtue of its own authority, and passed acts by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, high commission, excommunicated fourteen bishops, and abjured episcopal government, but even annulled the subscription of such as had signed the confession of faith according to the king's order.

These proceedings the covenanters were resolved to support by measures no less vigorous. Forces were regularly inlisted and disciplined, and several noblemen exerted themselves with great activity, in raising their vassals and dependents.

*A. D.* 1639. Charles was no sooner informed of these military preparations, than he resolved to reduce the Scottish malecontents by force of arms. With this view, he fitted out a fleet consisting of sixteen sail of large ships, and conferred the command on the marquis of Hamilton, with orders to sail to the frith of Forth, and make a diversion in the forces of the enemy. The army amounted to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but distinguished neither for his military nor political talents. The Scottish army in point of infantry was equal to that of the king's, but inferior in cavalry; the officers had more experience, and the soldiers were fired by the prospect of throwing off the yoke the king was desirous of imposing upon them.

The leaders, however, of the malecontents, were so prudent as to send a submissive message to the king, craving leave to be admitted to a treaty, and Charles, influenced by some unsuccessful attempts lately made by one of his generals, assented, so that a pacification was concluded, in which it was agreed, that within eight and forty hours, the Scots should disband their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority acknowledged; and a general assembly and parliament be forthwith summoned, in order to compromise all differences.

The general aſſembly of Edinburgh had no ſooner met, than they declared epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland; repreſented the liturgy and canons as popiſh inſtitutions; and affirmed the high commiſſion to be a ſtretch of tyranny. The parliament which met after the aſſembly, laid claim to ſeveral pretenſions, which tended ſtill farther to abridge the power of the crown; and on account of theſe claims, hoſtilities were recommenced, with great advantages on the ſide of the covenanters, and infinite diſadvantages on that of the king.

On the concluſion of the late peace, Charles had been obliged by the neceſſity of his affairs, to diſband his forces; while the covenanters, ſenſible that their pretenſions would ſoon occaſion a freſh rupture, took care in diſmiſſing their troops, to preſerve nothing but the appearance of peace. The officers were ordered to be ready on the firſt warning; the ſoldiers had the ſame charge; and the religious zeal which poſſeſſed all ranks of men, made them flock to their ſtandards as ſoon as the ſignal was given.

The king with great difficulty was at length able to aſſemble an army; but ſoon found that his exchequer, being utterly exhauſted, and great debts contracted, his revenues would not be ſufficient to maintain them. A parliament, therefore, after above eleven years intermiſſion, was now from neceſſity ſummoned, in order to ſupply the preſſing exigencies of the crown.

*A. D.* 1640. The earl of Traquair having intercepted a letter written to the king of France by the malecontents, had tranſmitted it to his maſter, who, partly repenting of the conceſſions he had made to the Scots, and partly offended at their late pretenſions, embraced this opportunity of breaking with them. He had committed to the Tower the lord Loudon, commiſſioner from the covenanters, one of the perſons who had ſubſcribed the treaſonable letter; and he now laid the matter before the parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the indignity, and alarm by the danger of this application to a foreign power. But all that he could urge had no effect on the commons, ſo that the king went to the houſe of peers, and entreated their good offices in his behalf with the other houſe. The peers complied with his requeſt, but the commons ſtill perſiſting in their reſolution of humbling an haughty ſovereign, voted the interpoſition of the lords to be a breach of privilege; ſo that Charles, provoked at their paſt proceedings, and dreading the conſequences of their future, diſſolved the parliament. This ſtep excited freſh diſcontent among the people, and their diſſatisfaction was greatly increaſed by the pope's agent being received at court in a public capacity, through the influence of the queen, who, as before obſerved, was a moſt bigotted papiſt.

The king, finding he could by no means bring the malecontents to ſubmiſſion, after divers meaſures had been purſued, and many difficulties encountered, aſſembled an army, amounting to nine thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. The earl of Northumberland was appointed commander in chief, the earl of Strafford acted as lieutenant general, and lord Conway was general of the horſe. The Scots, whoſe army was always held in readineſs, had already advanced to the borders of England, and were encamped at Newburn, about four miles from Newcaſtle. The lord Conway with a body of four thouſand men had intrenched himſelf on the other ſide, in order to defend the ford, but the Scots determined to force a paſſage. This, after ſome oppoſition, they effected, and took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, Conway having retired with precipitation to Durham.

Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, they diſpatched meſſengers to the king, who was arrived at York, humbly to entreat admiſſion into his preſence, in order to lay their complaints before his majeſty. Charles, ſeeing no other method of ſtopping their progreſs, than by complying with their propoſals, agreed to a treaty, and appointed ſixteen Engliſh noblemen, to confer with eleven Scottiſh commiſſioners at Rippon.

The only reſult of this conference was, the ſigning preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottiſh army, and reviving the commerce which uſed to ſubſiſt between the two nations.

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As the negotiation was found rather to languiſh in the hands of the commiſſioners, it was transferred to London, where the parliament was ſummoned to meet on the third day of November. The commons eagerly liſtened to all public grievances; but the principal objects of their reſentment were archbiſhop Laud, and the earl of Strafford, whom they impeached of high treaſon, and committed to the cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod; and in a few days the latter was ſent to the Tower. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, impeached Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, taxing him with being the cauſe of all the troubles in England and Scotland, and exciting a war between the majeſty and his ſubjects, for which the commons committed him to the Tower.

Of all the officers of ſtate, no one was ſo obnoxious as the lord-keeper Finch; an accuſation againſt him was immediately voted, and in order to avoid the impending danger, he ſecretly withdrew, and took refuge in Holland. By theſe ſpirited proceedings of the commons, the adherents of Charles decreaſed daily, ſo, that finding the torrent of popular remonſtrance too ſtrong to be oppoſed, he ſeemed to have been inclined for a reconciliation with them. The committee for examining the rights of the ſubject, was ordered to draw up impeachments againſt lord keeper Finch, and the reſt of the judges, concerning the juriſdictions of eccleſiaſtical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings.

Every meeting of the parliament produced ſome vehement harangue againſt the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical power; and ſo incenſed were all lovers of liberty at the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of high commiſſion in the provinces of Canterbury and York, that the commons at the inſtances of the public, appointed commiſſioners to examine the proceedings of thoſe courts.

*A. D.* 1641. Rouſed by this ſpirited behaviour of the parliament, the king repaired to the houſe of peers, where in a ſpeech he recommended diſpatch, in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army, obſerved the diſtinction between reforming and altering the government, and told them he could by no means conſent to the excluſion of the biſhops from the upper houſe. They then took under conſideration, the remonſtrances of the miniſters in London, againſt the biſhops, and the right of prelates to ſit in parliament.

But when this point was referred to the conſideration of the upper houſe, it was oppoſed by a great majority; the commons, however, to ſhew how little they were diſcouraged by this repulſe, preſented to the peers nine reaſons for excluding the biſhops from parliament, and in a few days afterwards, the peers voted that the prelates ſhould be maintained in their right to ſit in parliament. Upon this the commons paſſed a vote importing, that all deans, chapters, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and their revenues employed in the encouragement of ſcience, and other laudable uſes.

From eccleſiaſtical affairs, the commons turned their attention to the civil concerns of the ſtate. The diſpute with regard to tonnage and poundage was revived and with certain aſſurance of ſucceſs. The levying theſe duties, as formerly, without conſent of parliament, and even encreaſing them at pleaſure, was repugnant to the very genius of a free government, where the people by their conſtitutional privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own conſent; ſuch encroachments, therefore, could no longer be endured by the preſent vigilant guardians of liberty.

In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, by which theſe duties were granted to the king; the commons aſſerted in the moſt clear and expreſs terms their own right to beſtow this gift, and to deprive the crown of all independent title of aſſuming it: and in order to put the matter beyond all controverſy, they voted theſe duties only for two months, and reſerved to themſelves the power of renewing the grant, as they from time to time ſhould deem expedient.

Charles, finding it in vain to reſiſt, at length paſſed this important bill, which deprived him of ſuch a large and conſiderable

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branch of his revenue. The commons, encouraged by their ſucceſs, proceeded to frame a bill for triennial parliaments. The king at firſt made ſome difficulty with regard to this bill, which tended ſo much to limit his authority; but finding that nothing leſs would ſatisfy his parliament, he was at length perſuaded to give his conſent. Solemn thanks were preſented him by both houſes, and the whole nation reſounded with ſhouts of joy and exultation. As the change of miniſters as well as meaſures was now deemed neceſſary; the king admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Kimbolton, and Saville. Juxon, biſhop of London, and friend of Laud, reſigned the poſt of treaſurer; and Oliver St. John was appointed ſollicitor general.

Theſe ſacrifices of favourites, however, did not hinder the proſecution of Strafford. A committe was choſen by the lower houſe to prepare the charge againſt him; authorized to examine witneſſes, and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They alſo took an oath of ſecrecy, that the earl might be perplexed in ſolving their enquiries, and in preparing for his defence.

Sir George Ratcliff, the earl's intimate friend, was accuſed of high treaſon, brought over from Ireland, and thrown into priſon, meerly with a view of depriving Strafford of the aſſiſtance of a man, who was beſt qualified to vindicate his conduct.

The Iriſh houſe of commons ſent over a committee to aſſiſt in the proſecution of that nobleman, who had been their governor; and indeed, the whole nation was bent on his deſtruction. Eight and twenty articles of impeachment were preferred againſt him; charging him with having been the cauſe of the war in Scotland; with having levied an army of Iriſh papiſts to enſlave the kingdom, and with having adviſed the king to eſtabliſh an abſolute government on the ruins of the conſtitution. The earl behaved with courage and compoſure; his defence was noble and ſpirited. He acquitted himſelf of every imputation, except a few inſtances of indiſcretion, to which every man is liable.

Though the commons found it impoſſible, by a legal proſecution, to attain their purpoſe againſt the earl; ſuch was their prejudice on account of the influence and abilities of that miniſter, that they determined to accompliſh his death by any means whatever. With this view, young Vane pretended he had found ſome papers by accident in his father's cloſet, and as they were thought to bear teſtimony againſt the earl, his accuſers next day read them openly at his trial: they were intituled, No danger of war with Scotland if offenſive, not defenſive. The earl in his defence obſerved, that it was hard to be proſecuted for giving his opinion. After he had anſwered the different articles of impeachment, which were enforced with all the virulence of malice, and energy of elocution; he directed his diſcourſe to his children, and then to the lords preſent with ſuch grace and elegance, that the audience (except a few hardened wretches) were deeply affected with his hapleſs fate.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings the king went to the houſe of peers, and though he told them, he was fully determined never again to employ Strafford in any branch of public buſineſs, yet he requeſted they would treat him with juſtice and lenity. The earl and his council produced ſuch weighty arguments in his defence, that the commons ſaw no proſpect of his deſtruction but by a bill of attainder, which paſſed the houſe after a long debate, and was immediately ſent to the houſe of lords.

A bill was brought in for the continuing this parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Strafford guilty of high treaſon. This circumſtance affected the king in the moſt ſenſible manner; his counſellors adviſed him to give up the earl, in order to appeaſe the enraged people. Strafford himſelf, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majeſty to ſacrifice him to a reconciliation with his ſubjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, uſed all her influence with the king to make him comply with inceſſant importunities, he at length

length conſented to their requeſt. When the earl was informed of this tranſaction, he ſtarted, with aſtoniſhment, and exclaimed, "Put not your truſt in princes, nor in the "ſons of men; for in them there is no ſal-"vation." The king, ſeized with remorſe for what he had done, immediately ſent a letter to the peers, conjuring them to interpoſe their good offices with the commons, to procure a mitigation of Strafford's ſentence; but his majeſty's application had no kind of weight.

The day of execution being fixed for the twelfth of May, on Tower-Hill, the earl appeared on the ſcaffold with that ſerenity, which is the attendant on true courage and conſcious innocence; obſerving, that a reformation begun with the ſhedding of innocent blood could not have a happy iſſue. Having bid a final adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and ſent a bleſſing to his near relations, who were abſent; "And now, "ſaid he, I have nigh done; one ſtroke will "make my wife a widow, my dear children "fatherleſs, deprive my poor ſervants of an "indulgent maſter, and ſeparate me from "my affectionate brother and all my friends." In preparing himſelf for the block; "I thank "God (added he) that I am no way afraid of "death, nor am daunted with any terrors; "but can reſign a weary life with the utmoſt "compoſure."

This was the fate, and theſe the laſt words of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, eminent as a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, an orator and politician. With theſe talents he was doubtleſs of an arbitrary diſpoſition; impelled by which, he adviſed the king to maintain his prerogative by force of arms, which alone was ſufficient to exaſperate the nation already in a ferment, and which, it is reaſonable to think, was the fatal cauſe of his unhappy exit. The death of Strafford greatly affected the king, who had reaſon to apprehend every meaſure of violence from thoſe men, who had treated that unfortunate nobleman with ſuch rigour and contempt. Intimidated by this apprehenſion, he was wrought into compliance with any propoſals the parliament then thought proper to make; nor did they fail to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity. It was at this juncture that they ſuppreſſed all the taxes the king had heretofore impoſed; carried up an accuſation to the lords againſt thirteen biſhops, who had aſſiſted the king in levying money contrary to law; and aboliſhed the high commiſſion. Lord Digby, ſon to the earl of Briſtol, who had formerly been in the oppoſition, but lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of Strafford, was called up to the houſe of peers, and received very particular marks of his majeſty's confidence and eſteem.

His majeſty refuſed to comply with the demand of the commons, to diſband the Iriſh army; alledging, that he had engaged to ſend a body of four thouſand men into the Spaniſh ſervice, and could not violate his honour. But no maſters of veſſels would venture on the tranſporting any troops into foreign parts; the commons having publiſhed a declaration that any perſon concerned in ſuch tranſportation, ſhould be deemed an enemy to the ſtate; and thus his majeſty's intentions were fruſtrated.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a concluſion, the king allowed the parliament of Scotland to aſſemble, and declared his intention of aſſiſting at it in perſon. But the commons, through diſtruſt of his intentions, propoſed, that a committee from both houſes ſhould be appointed to attend his majeſty to Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottiſh parliament, but in reality to inſpect the king's conduct. They then adjourned from the ninth of September, till the twentieth of October.

His majeſty, attended by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, arrived at Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquieſce in every thing that the Scottiſh parliament propoſed. The king, in order to acquire popularity in that nation, promoted the earl of Argyl to the dignity of a marquis, Loudon to an earldom, and general Leſley, was created earl of Leven. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland; unleſs they poſſeſſed eſtates in that kingdom. Argyle, and Hamilton, having

conceived a ſuſpicion that the earl of Crawford, and others, intended to murder them, left the parliament abruptly, and withdrew into the country.

This event was no ſooner known in England, than the parliament obtained a guard from the earl of Eſſex, whom the king had appointed general, in order to defend themſelves from an imaginary danger, ariſing from a report that a conſpiracy was formed by the Catholics of Scotland.

His majeſty, yet buſied in quelling the diſturbances in Scotland, received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion, which had broke out in Ireland, and was attended with horrid ſcenes of cruelty and devaſtation. The old Roman Catholics in that kingdom, by the ſpread of Puritaniſm, had of late been treated with great rigour in point of religion. Animated by their prieſts, they reſolved to riſe throughout all the provinces in one day, and attack the Engliſh ſettlements, and it was agreed that the caſtle of Dublin ſhould be ſurprized by lord Maguire and Sir Roger More, two of the leaders of the faction.

No ſooner were proper preparations made, than Maguire and More repaired to Dublin, with a large body of their confederates, intending to attack the caſtle in the morning. But O'Connolly, a Proteſtant, revealing the ſecret, the juſtices and council took ſhelter in the city, and reinforced the guards. Maguire was taken, but More eſcaped.

Notwithſtanding the attempt on Dublin was fruſtrated, the general inſurrection began in Ulſter. The terrible maſſacre that followed ſurpaſſes conception, and cannot be deſcribed without thrilling the human breaſt. During the ſpace of three months only, no leſs than forty thouſand fell victims to ſuperſtition and bigotry. The roads were crowded with ſpectacles of horror, men, women, and children, were driven naked into the fields, to periſh with cold and hunger; and more than ſavage barbarity exaſperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy, left its dreadful tracts throughout the greater part of the nation. The juſtices aſſembled all the troops that were not already ſurrounded by the rebels, and thoſe, together with ſuch as inliſted in the ſervice, amounted to ſix thouſand, but ſix hundred were routed and put to the ſword, in their attempt to relieve the town of Tredagh, which was beſieged by the natives.

Lord Gormanſtone, who commanded the rebel army, amounting to twenty thouſand men, threatened Dublin with an immediate ſiege. In order to allure the people to their ſtandard, they called themſelves the queen's army, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, having found a royal patent in the houſe of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the ſeal, and affixed to it a commiſſion, which he had forged for himſelf.

The inſtant his majeſty was informed of this inſurrection, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the parliament of England; and the commons, with the conſent of the upper houſe, borrowed fifty thouſand pounds of the city of London, for the relief of Ireland. They alſo voted that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be provided for the war againſt the rebels, that eight thouſand men ſhould be raiſed and tranſported into that country, that a magazine of arms and ammunition ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Cheſter for the uſe of Dublin, and the ammunition at Carliſle be ſent to Carricfergus.

The commons, notwithſtanding all this appearance of ardour, took no ſtep towards the reduction of the Iriſh rebels, but ſuch as likewiſe tended to give them the ſuperiority in thoſe commotions which they plainly perceived muſt ſoon be excited in England. By engroſſing the management of the war, they acquired an aſcendant in the army, they levied money under pretence of the Iriſh expedition, but received it for purpoſes in which they were more deeply intereſted; they took arms from the king's magazines, but preſerved them with a ſecret intention of employing them againſt himſelf, and voted and paſſed every law they deemed neceſſary for the promotion of their ſchemes and deſigns.

Determined to encroach as much as poſſible on the royal authority, they framed a remonſtrance

monſtrance replete with the utmoſt virulent malignity againſt the king's adminiſtration, ſince the commencement of his reign, and even from every accident that proceeded from the uncertain chance of war. On the king's return from Scotland, he was received with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and every demonſtration of regard and affection. Sir Richard Gournay, lord mayor of London, a man of merit and influence, had promoted theſe favourable diſpoſitions, and prevailed on the populace to give the king theſe tokens of their duty and allegiance. But the pleaſure he received from this favourable reception was damped by the remonſtrance of the commons, which was preſented to him, together with a petition of a like import.

Although the king was aſtoniſhed at their proceedings, he made a moderate but general anſwer to the firſt, and publiſhed a declaration in anſwer to the remonſtrance, which produced very little effect in his favour. He alſo recommended diſpatch in the relief of Ireland, and deſired they would appoint commiſſioners to treat with the two Scottiſh noblemen, deputed by the parliament of that kingdom to receive their propoſals, touching the ſuccours to be ſent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for that purpoſe.

The houſe of commons demanded a conference with the lords, reſpecting a memorial which the Iriſh rebels had preſented to the juſtices, demanding liberty of conſcience; the reſult of which was, that both houſes ſolemnly declared, they would never conſent to a toleration of the Roman religion in Ireland. At this time, multitudes of people crouded towards Weſtminſter, and abuſed the prelates and ſuch lords as adhered to the court. The peers drew up a declaration againſt theſe tumults, and ſent it to the other houſe, but they paid no regard to it.

A number of riotous apprentices, being ſeized and committed to priſon, were immediately reſtored to their freedom, by an order of the commons. Hence aroſe the appellation of Round-heads, on account of the cropt hair worn by the apprentices, who, in return, gave their antagoniſts the name of Cavaliers.

The mob refuſing to diſperſe at the command of the lords, they demanded the concurrence of the commons, in requeſting the king to allow them a guard, and in publiſhing a declaration againſt tumults, which ſtill continued, and no ſtep was taken to reduce the people to order; and Mr. Pym, being exhorted to uſe his influence for that purpoſe, replied, "God forbid that people ſhould be "hindered from obtaining their juſt deſires."

Twelve prelates, meeting at the houſe of the archbiſhop of York, ſubſcribed a proteſt, which repreſented to the king, that though they had an undoubted right to ſit and vote in parliament, yet in coming thither they had been threatened, aſſaulted, and abuſed by the licentious mob, and could no longer with ſafety give their attendance in the houſe; and for this reaſon, they proteſted againſt all laws, votes, and reſolutions, that ſhould be made in their abſence. As ſoon as the proteſtation was delivered to the lords, the houſe deſired a conference with the commons, who immediately preferred an impeachment of high treaſon againſt the biſhops, as endeavouring to deſtroy the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legiſlature. On the very firſt demand, the prelates were ſequeſtered from parliament and taken into cuſtody.

*A. D.* 1642. Lord Digby, a man of great abilities, but of a warm and paſſionate diſpoſition, took this opportunity to perſuade the king to impeach the moſt popular men in the kingdom of high treaſon. Whereupon lord Kimbolton and five commoners were charged with high treaſon, at the houſe of peers, in the king's name, by Herbert, the attorney general.

This proceeding being conſidered as a breach of privilege, the houſe enjoined every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, provoked at this oppoſition, went next day to the houſe in perſon, attended by his ordinary retinue, conſiſting of about two hundred perſons armed as uſual. The five members immediately withdrew, and they had ſcarce quitted the houſe, when the king entering,

entering, walked up to the ſpeaker's chair, ſaying, "By your leave Mr. Speaker, I muſt "make uſe of your chair a little." Having ſeated himſelf, he looked around, and told them, he was ſorry that their refuſing to deliver the perſons he had impeached to his Serjeant at Arms, had obliged him to come to ſeize them in perſon; and then addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he aſked whether any of them was in the houſe. The ſpeaker falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in that place, but as directed by the houſe, whoſe ſervant he was, and begged his majeſty's pardon, that he could give no other anſwer. The commons were in the utmoſt confuſion, and when the king was leaving the houſe, ſome members cried aloud, "privilege, privi- "lege," they then adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh of January.

Convinced of the impropriety of his late conduct, and dreading the effects of the people's reſentment, Charles ſent a meſſage to the commons, offering to pardon the accuſed members, to aſſent to any law, that ſhould acquit or ſecure them, and to make any reparation to the houſe for the breach of privilege, of which he owned they had reaſon to complain; but theſe conceſſions produced no effect in his favour, the commons being determined that his majeſty ſhould deliver up to juſtice the adviſers of his late illegal ſtep, as the only ſatisfaction to their injured honour.

The enmity between Charles and his parliament daily increaſing, and the queen, foreſeeing the troubles which ſoon after followed, and finding no reſource in her huſband's protection, was preparing to withdraw into Holland; and apprehenſive of an immediate rupture, ſhe perſuaded the king to comply with the demand of the commons, in hopes of ſuſpending the fury of the people, till ſhe ſhould eſcape.

On the other hand, the commons, perſuaded that the ſword alone, would protect them from the riſing indignation of their ſovereign, determined to direct their whole attention to that object. A large magazine of arms being lodged in the town of Hull, they beſtowed the government of that place upon Sir John Hotham, forbidding him to deliver it up to any perſon whatever, but ſuch as ſhould be commiſſioned by the king, and both houſes of parliament.

Goring, governor of Portſmouth, received alſo a meſſage from the commons, requiring him to obey no commands but ſuch as he ſhould receive from the parliament. They obliged the king to deprive Sir John Byron, of the government of the Tower, and to confer it on Sir John Conyers, who was firmly attached to their intereſt. Theſe ſteps being taken, they determined to poſſeſs themſelves of all poſſible power, by giving the command of the army to their own friends and partizans.

The ſevere votes paſſed in the beginning of this parliament, againſt lieutenants, and deputy lieutenants, for exerciſing powers enjoyed by all their predeceſſors, had totally diſarmed the crown, and had even deprived the magiſtrate of that military authority, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of the kingdom. It was now, therefore, deemed expedient to remedy this inconvenience. An ordinance was framed, and paſſed the two houſes, which re-inſtated lieutenants and deputies in the poſſeſſion of their former powers; but at the ſame time, the names of all the lieutenants were mentioned in the ordinance, and theſe conſiſted entirely of perſons devoted to the ſervice of the parliament.

His majeſty told the perſons who preſented him the ordinance, that being upon the road to Dover with the queen and princeſs, he could not give an anſwer to an affair of ſuch importance till after his return. The parliament voted that his anſwer was not ſatisfactory, and declared, that in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his refuſal, they were determined to regulate the militia by the authority of both houſes. They entreated he would reſide in ſome place near London, and begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation, without the authority of the parliament. With reſpect to the militia, he told them their requeſt was agree-

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able to juſtice and reaſon, but obſerved at the ſame time, that he wiſhed it might be ſafe and honourable for him to reſide near the parliament. He aſſured them that he truſted entirely to the protecting providence of God, as all his thoughts were bent on peace and the good of his people.

This reply, the commons immediately voted a refuſal to grant the demands of the two houſes touching the militia; and on the ninth of March, the king being at Newmarket, they preſented him with a declaration, explaining the cauſe of their pretended fears and ſuſpicions, which they aſcribed to a fictitious plot againſt the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counſellors, by whom his majeſty had been miſled

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, his majeſty reſolved to remove to a greater diſtance from London; and accordingly, taking the prince of Wales, and the duke of York, along with him, he repaired to York; which he reſolved for ſome time to make the place of his reſidence. The diſtant parts of the kingdom, being leſs actuated by that ſpirit of diſcontent and diſaffection which now prevailed in the capital, ſtill retained a regard for the church and monarchy, and the king here met with a reception equal to his moſt ſanguine wiſhes.

Great numbers of the nobility and gentry from all parts of the kingdom, repaired to York, in order to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign, and to promiſe him their aid and aſſiſtance in his preſent neceſſities. Charles, encouraged by this appearance in his favour, began to retort the accuſation of the commons, with a ſpirit which he had never before diſcovered. Unmoved by all their entreaties and menaces, he perſiſted in his reſolution of refuſing the militia ordinance, and they proceeded to eſtabliſh a new ordinance, in which by the authority of the two houſes, the command of all the military force, and of all the garriſons and forts in the kingdom was given to the lieutenants of the counties whom they had appointed.

Hereupon the king publiſhed a proclamation againſt this invaſion of his prerogative, and as he was firmly reſoved, he ſaid, to obey the laws himſelf, ſo was he determined to compel every other perſon, to yield them a like obedience. A rupture being now deemed unavoidable, each party endeavoured to load its opponent with the odium of commencing hoſtilities, but both of them prepared for an event which was ſo near at hand. To ſecure the favour and good will of the people was the chief point on both ſides. The nation, although in fact the party, was conſidered as the umpire between the king and parliament, who by meſſages, remonſtrances, and declarations, kept up a kind of hoſtility previous to that of the ſword.

The king, with a retinue of only three hundred horſe, on the twenty third of April, demanded entrance into the town of Hull, which Sir John Hotham, the governor, refuſing, was proclaimed a traitor; but the parliament approved and juſtified his conduct. The forces which had been every where raiſed, on pretence of the ſervices of Ireland, were henceforth more openly inliſted by the parliament for their own purpoſes, and the command of them beſtowed on the earl of Eſſex. They iſſued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate for the maintenance of the army; and the people contributed with ſuch amazing alacrity, that in ten days, no leſs than eleven milions are ſaid to have been collected; a plain indication how much the nation was attached to the parliament. Mean while, the ſplendor of the nobility, with which the king was ſurrounded, greatly eclipſed the appearance of his opponents; and while the houſe of lords conſiſted only of about ſixteen members, the king was ſurrounded by above forty of the chief nobility.

A proclamation was now iſſued by the king for transferring the courts of juſtice to York, but the houſes at Weſtminſter prevented the execution of this order. In order to bring the matter to a final iſſue, the parliament ſent the king the conditions, on which they were willing to compromiſe the difference. Theſe were, that no man ſhould continue in council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no act of the king's ſhould be deemed

valid unleſs it paſſed the council, and was atteſted under their hands; that all officers of ſtate ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of parliament or council; that the laws againſt Catholics ſhould be ſtrictly executed; that popiſh lords ſhould be deprived of their votes; that the liturgy, and church government ſhould be reformed according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance with regard to the militia ſhould be ratified; and that no peers be created but with conſent of parliament.

With the moſt perfect contempt and diſdain did the king reject conditions ſo diſhonourable, and derogatory to his prerogative; and reſolved to maintain his authority by force of arms. Aſſembling, therefore, ſome forces, he proceeded ſouthward, and at Nottingham erected his royal ſtandard, the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war throughout the nation. Every advantageous circumſtance ſeemed to favour the parliament. London, and all the ſea ports, except Newcaſtle, being in their hands, the cuſtoms afforded a conſtant fund of money, and all contributions, loans, and impoſition were more eaſily levied in the cities, which poſſeſſed ready money, than they could be raiſed by the king in thoſe open countries, which, after ſome time, eſpouſed his cauſe. The parliament intercepted the greateſt part of the arms and ammnition which the queen ſent from Holland, and the magazines were in their own hands.

His majeſty's party was for ſome time ſo ſmall, that many thought he would never attempt reſiſtance; and even after his ſtandard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war, nor was it believed that he could be ſo imprudent as to incenſe his implacable enemies, and plunge himſelf into ſtill greater calamity, by contending with a force, which was ſo much ſuperior. The wretched condition in which he appeared at Nottingham ſtrengthened theſe conjectures. His artillery he had been forced to leave behind him for want of horſes to bring it up. His cavalry were only about eight hundred, and thoſe ill accoutred, and except the militia of the country, which had been raiſed by Digby the ſheriff, he had only about three hundred infantry; while Eſſex, the general of the parliament, aſſembled an army of ſixteen thouſand men at Northampton, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. The king, though he had been gradually receiving ſupplies from all quarters, was ſenſible that he had no army ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a force, and judged it adviſeable by ſlow marches to withdraw to Derby, and thence to Shrewſbury, that the levies which his friends were making in thoſe parts might be increaſed by his preſence.

He reviewed all his forces at Wellington, one days march from Shrewſbury, and he ſolemnly proteſted before the whole army, that he would maintain the true proteſtant religion; defend the rights and privileges of his ſubjects, and particularly obſerve thoſe laws, to which he had given his aſſent in the preſent parliament. While the king's army lay encamped at Shrewſbury, he himſelf was engaged in collecting money, which he received from the neighbouring gentry, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the univerſities which was preſented him, he received the news of an action, in which victory determined in favour of the royal party.

The princes Rupert and Maurice, ſons of the unhappy Palatine, having on the firſt appearance of troubles in England offered their ſervice to the king, the former at that time commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was advancing to that city. The prince had no ſooner reached the place, than he perceived ſome of the enemy's cavalry advancing to the gates. Without delay he gallantly attacked them as they came out of a lane, and totally routed them, after killing their commander, and about thirty men on the ſpot, as well as taking ſeveral officers priſoners. This action, though in itſelf of little conſequence, raiſed the reputation of prince Rupert, and flattered the royaliſts with hopes of ſucceſs.

His

His majeſty's army appeared on a review to amount to about ten thouſand men. Lord Lindſay, who had been trained to military diſcipline in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horſe; Sir John Aſtly the foot; Sir Arthur Aſhton the dragoons, and Sir John Heydon the artillery. Two days after the departure of the royaliſts from Shrewſbury, Eſſex quitted Worceſter. The two armies had actually approached each other within ſix miles, before either of the generals was apprized of it; that of the parliament being advanced to Keinton, in Warwickſhire, while the royal army was encamped near Banbury. Prince Rupert ſent intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and though the day was far advanced, the king determined to give battle immediately. Eſſex likewiſe drew up his men, in order to give him battle. Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had raiſed a troop for the Iriſh war, had been compelled to engage in the parliamentary war, and was now ſtationed on the left wing, conducted by Ramſay, a Scotchman.

On the approach of the king's army, Forteſcue wheeled off, and put himſelf under the command of prince Rupert, who charged their adverſaries with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that they were immediately routed and purſued for two miles. The right wing of the parliament's army was likewiſe unſucceſsful. Driven from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aſhton, they likewiſe betook themſelves to flight, and the reſerve under Byron, joined in the purſuit, leaving the fortune of the day to be diſputed by the infantry.

Sir William Balfour, during this ſituation of affairs, advancing with his reſerve, fell upon the flank of the royaliſts, and did great execution. Lindſay, the general, was taken priſoner, after having been mortally wounded. His ſon, attempting his reſcue, was likewiſe made captive; Sir Edmund Verney, who bore the king's ſtandard was ſlain, and the ſtandard ſeized, but it was afterwards recovered. Affairs being thus ſituated, prince Rupert, on his return from the purſuit, rather dreaded a defeat than expected a victory; and the two armies fronted each other for ſome time, and neither of them had courage ſufficient to renew the charge. All night they lay on their arms, and next morning were ſtill in ſight of each other. Eſſex firſt drew off, and retired to Warwick, and the king returned to his former quarters. The loſs of either army was nearly equal, and in the whole, five thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have fallen in this action.

In purſuance of his friends advice, Charles reſolved to approach London, before the commotion excited by the battle ſhould ſubſide, hoping that ſome incident might favour his deſigns. With this view, he advanced to Reading, which was abandoned by the parliament's troops, he therefore proceeded to Colnbrook. The parliament voted an addreſs for a treaty, by way of gaining time, as their own army lay at a conſiderable diſtance, and the royal army was ſo near the capital.

The earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, preſented the addreſs of both houſes, in which they intreated his majeſty to chuſe ſome convenient place where he might reſide, till committees could attend him with propoſals for an accommodation. Charles named Windſor, and demanded that his own troops might be received into the caſtle inſtead of the garriſon, which he demanded might be withdrawn.

Eſſex, in the interim, by haſty marches had arrived at London, but neither the preſence of his army, nor the uncertain hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. At Brentford he attacked two regiments which were quartered there, and after a moſt deſperate action, drove them thence, and made about five hundred priſoners. Loud complaints were raiſed againſt this attack, as being an inſtance of the moſt apparent perfidy, and a breach of the treaty. In reſentment of this action, the city of London ſent the train-bands to reinforce Eſſex, whoſe army, much larger than that of the king's, now amounted to about twenty-four thouſand men.

The two armies having faced each other for ſome time, the king drew off and returned to Reading, and from thence marched back

back to Oxford. During the winter ſeaſon, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, and in ſeeming advances towards peace. By contributions or aſſeſſments, Charles ſubſiſted his cavalry, by loans and voluntary preſents, he maintained his infantry; but his neceſſities required much larger ſupplies than he could by theſe methods obtain.

The parliament had better and more certain methods of raiſing money, and conſequently their military preparations were in much greater order and readineſs. Beſides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty fifth part of every one's ſubſtance, they impoſed on that city a weekly aſſeſſment of ten thouſand pounds, and another of twenty-three thouſand five hundred and eighteen on the reſt of the kingdom, and as their authority was very great in moſt counties, they found no great difficulty in levying theſe taxes.

*A. D.* 1643. His majeſty and the parliament made their mutual demands in the beginning of this year, and a treaty was begun, but without any ſuſpenſion of arms, as was at firſt propoſed. In this treaty, the king demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the crown, in its legal powers, and the reſtoration of himſelf to his conſtitutional prerogatives; the parliament ſtill inſiſted on new conceſſions, and farther limitations of regal authority, as a more effectual ſecurity againſt future oppreſſions. The parliament recalled their commiſſioners, on finding that their differences were too great to promiſe any chance of an accommodation.

Lord Eſſex beſieged the town of Reading on the fifteenth of April, when Sir Arthur Aſhton, the governor, being dangerouſly wounded, colonel Fielding aſſumed the command. In a little time, the town was found to be no longer tenable, and though the king advanced with a deſign of compelling Eſſex to abandon the ſiege, the parliamentary army was ſo well diſpoſed, as rendered that ſcheme wholly impracticable. The town was, therefore, given up by Fielding, and on condition of his delivering up the deſerters, he was permitted to march out with the honours of war.

The giving up the deſerters was deemed ſo ignominious, as well as deſtructive of the king's authority, that the governor was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death, but was pardoned, in conſideration of former ſervices, and lived to ſignalize his courage and fidelity on many different occaſions. The earl of Eſſex, being joined by Sir William Walter, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Worceſter: he received orders from the two houſes to march towards Oxford, where the king was ſuppoſed to be in great diſtreſs for want of ammunition. Accordingly he advanced to Thame, within a few miles of that city. During his ſtay in this place, colonel Urrey, a Scottiſh officer took this opportunity of deſerting to the king, and perſuaded prince Rupert to beat up the enemy's quarters, propoſing to go himſelf as a volunteer, with a detachment, which he conducted to part of theſe quarters, and defeated ſome regiments, and brought a good number of priſoners to Oxford with a ſtrong body of horſe, and arriving by break of day at Wickham, routed two regiments of the enemy and cut them in pieces.

In the interim, Eſſex ſent a part of his cavalry, to detain the prince, till he could bring up his infantry. They overtook him on Chalgrave field, where he wheeled, and charged them ſo furiouſly, that they fled, after having loſt ſome of their beſt officers, and among the reſt, John Hampden, who in this, as well as former engagements, evinced that his courage was equal to any other of his rare accompliſhments. Lord Eſſex's forces, diſpirited by theſe diſaſters, being ſick and in great want of proviſions, were obliged to march to Uxbridge and St. Albans to ſeek refreſhment.

On their arrival at Oxford, prince Rupert recommended Urrey to the king; who, as a reward for his bravery, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and the command of a regiment. The earl of Stamford about the middle of May marched into Cornwall, at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe and foot with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to ſurprize the high ſheriff of Bodmin. The

Corniſh

Corniſh royaliſts under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, ſeized this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the abſence of the horſe. They formed their little body into four diviſions, and attacked the hill in ſo many different places. After a warm conteſt, they met upon the ſummit, diſarmed major Chudleigh, routed the parliamentary army, and took poſſeſſion of the camp and artillery; while the earl of Stamford fled to Exeter, and Chudleigh to Bodmin. The royaliſts then marched into Somerſetſhire, where they were joined by prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford.

Bridgewater and Dunbar caſtle were now reduced by theſe united forces, which compoſed an army of ſeventeen thouſand men, with a good train of artillery.

Theſe matters were no ſooner tranſacted, than Sir William Waller was ſent by the parliament into Somerſetſhire to recruit; where he acted with ſuch caution and expedition, that a detachment of his army ſurprized that of the earl of Somerton; but were repulſed by the earl of Caernarvon, who purſued them ſo far, that he fell into a kind of ambuſcade, formed by a ſtrong party of Waller's dragoons; before which he was obliged to fly in his turn, till he was joined by prince Maurice, who here diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a ſignal victory over the enemy.

The prince and lord Hertford after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which the ſucceſs was various, marched to Mansfield, five miles beyond Bath in their road to Oxford. Waller, intending to intercept them, took poſſeſſion of Landſdown-hill, which he fortified with cannon and breaſt-works; then he detached a body of horſe towards Mansfield, from whence they were repulſed by the royaliſts, who marſhalled their army on the plain; but obſerving the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, retreated to their old quarters. Waller commanded his horſe to attack their flank and rear, and they executed his orders with ſuch ſpirit, that the king's cavalry were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; but being rallied by the activity of their officers, compelled the enemy to fly in their turn. The royaliſts then attacked the hill with intrepid reſolution, and after an obſtinate engagement, gained the ſummit; the enemy concealing themſelves behind a ſtone wall, retired afterwards to Bath through favour of the night. The marquis obtained the victory, but ſuſtained conſiderable loſs. Many experienced officers were ſlain in the attack; and the next morning, as Sir Ralph Hopton and ſerjeant major Sheldon rode about the field, they were either treacherouſly or accidentally blown up with gunpowder. Sir Ralph's life was with difficulty preſerved, but Sheldon, whoſe courage and clemency were equally admired, died the next day, to the great grief of the army.

Lord Hertford propoſing to join the king's forces, began his march for Oxford, but Waller attended to his motions with ſuch vigilance, that finding it impoſſible to reach that city with his whole army, it was reſolved, that he and prince Maurice ſhould fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry ſhould remain at the Devizes. Waller then beſieged that place, and the earl of Crawford marching to its relief, was intercepted by a ſtrong body of the enemy's cavalry, who having loſt his whole convoy and amunition, preſerved his life with great difficulty.

The town of Devizes muſt ſoon have been compelled to ſurrender, had not the king detached lord Wilmot with fifteen hundred horſe, and two field pieces to their aſſiſtance. Waller then drew up his forces to Roundway-down, in order to prevent that general from joining the king's troops; and Wilmot, hoping the infantry from the Devizes would join him during the action, reſolved to give the enemy battle. Waller charging the royaliſts with his whole cavalry, met with ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance, that his forces were routed with great ſlaughter. Wilmot at this juncture, being joined by the Corniſh infantry from the Devizes, attacked the enemy's foot with ſuch impetuoſity, that the greateſt part of them were killed or taken priſoners; and the city of Briſtol being in poſſeſſion of the parliament, Waller and his few followers haſtened thither.

His majeſty at this time met the queen on

the field of Keinton, who had brought with her for his ſervice about two thouſand infantry, and one thouſand horſe, well accoutred, together with ſix pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were ſafely conveyed to Oxford. The king, at the requeſt of prince Rupert, conſented to undertake the ſiege of Briſtol, in which the whole army was employed. The town was well fortified, and provided with edible and military ſtores. It was reſolved in a council of war to proceed by aſſault; and the troops began the attack on both ſides the town with great reſolution. The Corniſh men, notwithſtanding their valour, were repulſed with the loſs of many gallant officers. Prince Rupert ſhared a better fate; colonel Waſhington broke in upon the line, and opened a paſſage for the horſe. The enemy quitted their poſts, and retired within the town, when the governor marched out with his arms and baggage, ſurrendering the city, when the opponents had with great loſs and difficulty only obtained poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs.

His majeſty had great reaſon to regret the loſs of many gallant officers, whoſe lives were ſacrificed to the conqueſt of Briſtol. Fiennes, the governor, was ſentenced to death by the parliament, for having ſurrendered the city; but at the interceſſion of the earl of Eſſex, the ſentence was remitted. The moſt inveterate antipathy now ſubſiſted between the earl and Sir William Waller; the former grew tired of the war; the latter taxed the earl with neglect of duty, in ſuffering the queen's reinforcement to paſs unmoleſted to Oxford, Their late ill ſucceſs, added to the diſputes ſubſiſting between theſe leading men, induced the parliament to apply to their friends in Scotland for aſſiſtance.

The commander of the garriſon of Glouceſter, colonel Maſſey, having declared, that if his majeſty in perſon would ſummon the town, he would ſurrender it; the king, attended by the marquis of Hertford, ſet out without delay for that place, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the tenth of Auguſt. He forthwith ſent a trumpet to ſound a ſummons, but received for anſwer, that the citizens would always keep their proper diſtrict, according to the commands of his majeſty ſignified by both houſes of parliament. A reſolution to beſiege the place in form was the conſequence of this anſwer.

The unanimity with which the parliament had hitherto acted began to ſubſide, and faction ſeemed to take place. Edmund Waller, the eminent poet, had oppoſed their vehement meaſures with nervous reaſoning, and forcible eloquence. He had concerted, with ſome perſons of candour and moderation, an aſſociation of the lords and citizens, to refuſe payment of the illegal taxes impoſed by the parliament without the royal aſſent. Their diſcourſe was overheard by a ſervant, who betrayed it to Pym; in conſequence of which, Waller, Tomkyns, and Chaloner, who were intimate friends, and the abettors of the ſcheme, were apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. The two laſt were hanged before their own doors, but Waller baſely informing againſt his friends, hypocritically diſſembling remorſe, bribing the puritanical miniſters, and paying a fine of ten thouſand pounds, eſcaped with his life.

A covenant was now ſubſcribed by the lords and commons, which they alſo forced upon their army, vowing that they would never lay down their arms, as long as the papiſts, who were in open war againſt the parliament, ſhould be ſcreened from juſtice. To ſuch a pitch did this faction riſe, that they preſented the houſe of lords with an impeachment, in which they accuſed the queen of high treaſon. The king, exaſperated at this inſult, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding his ſubjects to obey the orders of the two houſes, whom he no longer looked on as a parliament. Many members withdrew themſelves from the houſe, where they could not ſit in ſafety. A great number of citizens and their wives preſented a petition for peace, but they were attacked by one Hervey with a troop of horſe under his command, and many of them fell a ſacrifice.

The Parliament now paſſed an ordinance to raiſe a freſh army, under command of the earl of Mancheſter, to oppoſe the earl of Newcaſtle, and protect the aſſociated counties

ties. They ſent a committee to tamper with Eſſex, who had been greatly offended, and received Waller after the remitment of his ſentence, with tokens of general eſteem. During the ſiege of Glouceſter, ſeveral towns in the weſt ſurrendered to the royaliſts; but Eſſex being ſupplied with forces by the parliament, compelled the aſſailants to raiſe that ſiege, and entered the town in triumph, when the garriſon, reduced to the greateſt extremity, was on the point of delivering it up. Having reinforced the garriſon, and added the neceſſary ſupplies, he haſtened to Cirenceſter, where he ſurprized two regiments of the royaliſts, and ſeized a great quantity of proviſion deſigned for the king's army; from thence he proceeded to Wiltſhire, having marched twenty miles before the king heard that he was in motion.

A detachment, under the command of prince Rupert, being ſent to retard the progreſs of Eſſex, by repeated ſkirmiſhes, until the main army came up with him, they performed this ſervice ſo effectually, that before the enemy reached Newbury, he charged, and put their rear in confuſion. Next day the king took poſſeſſion of Newbury with his foot, ſo that Eſſex was obliged to lay in the field all night without tents or covering. He however, diſpoſed his army in excellent order, on Biſhill, within a mile of the town.

The king's forces began to ſkirmiſh in ſmall parties, until they were engaged ſo far, that the king found a general action unavoidable. The king's dragoons at the firſt onſet, routed the cavalry of Eſſex; but they could gain no advantage over the infantry, who ſuſtained the fight ſo as to give the horſe repeated opportunities of rallying behind them.

Night, at length, put an end to the combat, which was fought with equal bravery on both ſides. The king recalled his troops from the field; and next morning Eſſex purſued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had ſuſtained conſiderable loſs from prince Rupert, who charged it when in diſorder, at the head of his horſe, and one thouſand muſqueteers.

The earl of Sunderland and lord Falkland, men of virtue, courage and learning, fell in this action. The latter, with the fortitude of a patriot, had always oppoſed the crown, in thoſe means which tended to infringe the liberties of the people; but at the ſame time, with the loyalty of a ſubject, eſpouſed the cauſe of his ſovereign, againſt the attempts of thoſe, who by deſtroying the order of government, ſought to deſtroy the conſtitution.

Sir Jacob Aſhley, with a ſtrong garriſon, took poſſeſſion of Reading for the uſe of the king, immediately on Eſſex's quitting the town. The king's ſmall court was now diſtracted by cabals, through the rivalry of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in defence of the royal cauſe, and the jealouſy which prevailed amongſt the queen's favourites. The earls of Bedford, Clare, and Holland, being treated with reſerve by his majeſty, after their ſignal ſervices, abandoned his intereſt and reſumed their ſeats in the houſe of lords, where, on a ſlight acknowledgment, they were readily received.

The committee of the commons which had been ſent into Scotland, ſucceeded in their negotiation, with the convention of ſtates, and the general aſſembly of the nation. They declared their readineſs to aſſiſt their brethren of England, propoſing that the two kingdoms ſhould agree in a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union between the parliaments of England and Scotland; a draught being made for this purpoſe, was received by both houſes with applauſe. The Scots, on this occaſion, appear to have been influenced partly by the expectation of ſharing the ſpoils of the royaliſts, and partly by the hope of eſtabliſhing preſbytery in England.

The Scots, therefore, levied an army of twenty thouſand men for the ſervice of the parliament, and beſtowed the command of it upon their old general, the earl of Leven; who, without heſitation, accepted the offer, though he had ſolemnly ſworn never to bear arms againſt his majeſty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was ſtipulated, that the committee of the Scots ſhould always ſit with the cloſe committee at Weſtminſter, and that the conſent of both nations ſhould be obtained,

tained, before any treaty of peace ſhould be ſet on foot.

A new great ſeal was now prepared by the parliament of England, reſembling that which lord keeper Littleton had given to the king, and ſix commiſſioners being ſworn keepers of the great ſeal, the parliament publiſhed an ordinance, declaring void and invalid all grants and letters patent which had paſſed ſince the keeper left the houſe.

Two meſſengers being ſent by the king, with writs to the judges of Weſtminſter, for adjourning the term to Oxford, were tried as ſpies, and condemned to be hanged; one of which was accordingly executed, and the other confined in Bridewell. Charles, to invalidate the claim which the remnant of Weſtminſter laid to the appellation of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation, ſummoning the members of both houſes to aſſemble at Oxford, on a certain day fixed for that purpoſe. He determined alſo to uſe part of the troops, that ſerved in Ireland for his defence, and the rebels of that kingdom had ſent repeated petitions to the king, beſeeching him to appoint commiſſioners to hear what he could ſay in his own vindication.

Charles, hereupon, authorized Ormond and the juſtices to conclude a ceſſation for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenney; and ordered the earl to tranſport part of the army to England. Both houſes meeting at Oxford, agreed with the king's approbation to ſend a meſſage to the earl of Eſſex, expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that perſons might be appointed on both ſides to treat of an accommodation. Eſſex ſent back the meſſenger, with a ſhort billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, ſignifying, that as the letter was not directed to the two houſes, he could not communicate its contents to the parliament.

The marquis of Newcaſtle marched from York northwards, in order to oppoſe the Scots, who entered England in January; but colonel Bellaſis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and ſecure York, while Fairfax marched into Cheſhire. The marquis of Ormond ſent a body of foot from Ireland to Cheſter; where joining the lord Byron, they reduced ſeveral places, and routed a party of parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the ſiege of that place; but Fairfax, in conjunction with Sir William Brereton marching to the relief of the beſieged, charged them ſuddenly, and the garriſon making a ſally at the ſame time, the beſiegers were totally routed; lord Byron eſcaped with the cavalry to Cheſter; the famous colonel Monk (who afterwards engaged in the ſervice of the parliament) was taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower.

The death of John Pym, whoſe great abilities, and aſſiduous application to public buſineſs are well known, was at this time a great loſs to the parliament, whoſe proceedings had been greatly influenced by his advice.

*A. D.* 1644. The war was continued notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon. As the marquis of Newcaſtle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. The town of Newark in Nottinghamſhire, garriſoned by the king's troops, being beſieged by lord Willoughby, and Sir John Meldrum at the head of five thouſand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to ſuccour the place. On his approach, Meldrum, who commanded in the abſence of lord Willoughby, marſhalled his army, and an action enſued, in which both fought gallantly till night; when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge, where he had poſted a ſtrong guard to ſecure his retreat; but being ſurrounded was obliged to capitulate on condition that he ſhould give up his arms, ammunition, and other effects, only that the troops ſhould retire with their horſes, and the infantry with their ſwords.

Prince Rupert, immediately after this victory marched to the relief of the counteſs of Derby, who was beſieged in her houſe of Latham in Lancaſhire, by a body of parliamentarians; ſhe had gallantly defended herſelf for two months; and now the aſſailants abandoned their enterprize; part of them reinforced

forced the garriſon of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by aſſault. He then reduced Liverpool; where he received orders from the king to relieve York, and give battle to the enemy. By this time Fairfax and the earl of Leven, being joined by the earl of Manchester, inveſted the city of York. The marquis of Newcaſtle made a reſolute defence, and on the approach of prince Rupert, the ſiege was raiſed, and the prince entered the city in triumph. He there, in a conference with the marquis, propoſed to give battle to the enemy, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of that experienced nobleman, on the impropriety of ſuch conduct at that time, ordered his troops to be in readineſs to engage next day. The marquis, who ſeemed to foreſee the conſequence of a battle, told him he would act as a volunteer only, but in that capacity was ready to obey the orders of the king's nephew.

About two in the afternoon, on the third of July, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The prince commanded the left wing, conſiſting of five thouſand horſe, the right wing was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urrey, and the main body by general Goring. The right wing of the enemy, conſiſting of all their cavalry joined by three regiments of Scottiſh horſe, was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the earl of Manchester and lieutenant general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took poſt with a body of reſerve, and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy, with ſuch reſolution, that they were totally routed, and the parliament's three generals quitting the field, fled towards Cawood caſtle.

The invincible courage of Cromwell, who at the head of the left wing, attacked the right wing of the royaliſts, in which Newcaſtle acted as a volunteer, changed the face of the battle, which however was maintained ſome time with great impetuoſity, but at length the royaliſts were entirely defeated, and when their left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the purſuit of the enemy's cavalry, it was charged by Cromwell with ſuch fury, before it could be reduced to order, that it was entirely broken and diſperſed; the parliamentarians obtaining a complete victory. The prince loſt ſix thouſand men, one half of which were ſlain in the field of battle, with all his artillery, baggage and ammunition. Chagrined at this reverſe of fortune, he retreated with the wreck of his army into Shropſhire. The raſh conduct and haughty behaviour of prince Rupert, ſo affected the marquis of Newcaſtle, that taking no farther part in the civil war, he retreated to the continent, where he remained till the reſtoration of Charles II.

After this battle, which was fought on Marſton-moor, the parliament's army returned to the ſiege of York, which was ſurrendered in a few days, the governor being no longer able to maintain it without ſuccour. The lord Fairfax took poſſeſſion of the city, while the earl of Manchester marched back towards the aſſociated counties, and the Scottiſh army returned to the north, in order to join the earl of Calendar, on his march from Scotland, with a conſiderable reinforcement, which at this time took the town of Newcaſtle by ſtorm.

Prince Maurice was ſo ſucceſsful in the weſt of England, that the parliament found it neceſſary to raiſe a conſiderable army to oppoſe him. The king, however, apprized of their deſign, detached lord Hopton againſt them, and at Farnham, he was faced by Waller; who after ſome few ſkirmiſhes drew his men into the town, and repaired to London, that he might ſollicit of both houſes the neceſſary ſupplies: accordingly, a thouſand horſe from Eſſex, commanded by Sir William Balfour, and a body of the city militia were ordered to reinforce him; with which aſſiſtance he retook the caſtle of Arundel, which Hopton had reduced in his abſence, who having received a ſupply of men from his majeſty, reſolved to give him battle immediately. On the twenty-ninth day of March, the two armies met near Abresford. The king's horſe were routed by Balfour, and the infantry put into great confuſion; however, the battle was maintained till night, when

lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in poſſeſſion of the field; who immediately repairing to Wincheſter, attempted to reduce the caſtle, but not ſucceeding therein, he plundered the city.

Elated with their ſucceſs, the parliament reſolved, if poſſible, to end the war, by the reduction of Oxford, where the king reſided; and for this ſervice the armies of Eſſex and Waller began their march; Eſſex at the head of three thouſand cavalry, and twelve thouſand foot, and Waller with fifteen hundred dragoons and ſeven thouſand infantry. On the enemy's approach, the king's officers abandoned Abington, where he had aſſembled an army of twelve thouſand men to ſtop their progreſs.

Taking poſſeſſion of Abington, they paſſed the rivers Iſis and Cherwell, although the king had placed a ſtrong guard on their banks; and they now hoped to ſeize his majeſty's perſon, but he eſcaped through favour of the night with a ſmall body of horſe, at the head of which, he and the prince of Wales arrived ſafe at Worceſter. The queen had retired ſome time before this to Exeter, where ſhe was delivered of a princeſs called Henrietta. The king, after his arrival at Worceſter, in order to elude the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with vaſt expedition, made a feigned march towards Shrewſbury, as if he intended to join prince Rupert. Waller, imagining that had been his real deſign, planted himſelf between the king and Shrewſbury; then the king ſuddenly wheeled, and took the rout to Oxford, where he was joined by the reſt of his army. He then proceeded to Buckinghamſhire, in order to give the enemy battle; Waller advanced with the ſame intention, and on the twenty-ninth of June, the armies faced each other on the oppoſite ſides of the river Cherwell.

Leaving a ſtrong guard at Croperdy bridge to diſpute Waller's paſſage, the king, to draw him from his advantageous ſituation, made a feint of beginning his march from Northamptonſhire; and hearing that a large body of the enemy was within a mile of his van, he ordered it to double its pace, in hopes of intercepting the whole body. Waller, perceiving the diſtance between his van and rear, ordered a large detachment to ford the river, while he himſelf with fifteen hundred horſe, a thouſand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himſelf maſter of the bridge, then paſſing with his whole army, attacked the king's rear, but was repulſed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his horſe, took part of his artillery, and forced the enemy to repaſs the river with precipitation. The king attacked the bridge and ford in his turn, but though he gained the ford, he was not able to make himſelf maſter of the bridge.

His majeſty, being reinforced by Sir Richard Greenville, and underſtanding that the earl of Eſſex was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, determined, if poſſible, to reduce him, without hazarding a battle. He accordingly raiſed a fort on the bank of the river, by which the army of Eſſex had been ſupplied, and by that means intercepted all his convoys. In this emergency, the earl ordered Balfour to force his paſſage through the king's quarters, at the head of his cavalry, which was accompliſhed through favour of the night, and leaving the infantry under general Skippon to make their own terms, he embarked with other officers in a veſſel at Foy.

It was agreed, in a conference between ſeveral officers of both armies, that Skippon ſhould deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition, and be conducted to Southampton. The earl of Eſſex, on his return to London, was treated by both houſes with tokens of reſpect, his ſoldiers received new accoutrements, and his forces were recruited.

Thus reinforced, he marched to join Waller and the earl of Mancheſter at Andover. Their junction was effected at Reading on the twenty-firſt of October, notwithſtanding his majeſty's endeavours to prevent it. He then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horſe to relieve Banbury caſtle, while he himſelf marched to Donnington

nington caſtle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, beſieged by the enemy's forces. Having thrown ſuccours into the place, and conferred the honour of knighthood on the governor for his gallant defence, he entered Newbury, where he entrenched himſelf, while the enemy from Reading, with ſuperior numbers, continued to advance againſt him.

The parliamentarians attacked his majeſty's entrenchments in two different parts, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and the battle was maintained with great fury for eight hours, when the aſſailants forced the lines, and took ſeveral pieces of cannon, but the darkneſs prevented their availing themſelves of that advantage. On the other ſide they had been repulſed with conſiderable loſs; the king retired in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the caſtle of Donnington, which was next day ſummoned to ſurrender by the earl of Mancheſter. Though the governor refuſed to capitulate, they made no effort towards the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, where the generals began to indulge their former animoſities.

From Newbury his majeſty repaired to Oxford, where he was joined by prince Rupert, with the northern forces, and lord Northampton, who had draughted men from different garriſons; ſo that he found himſelf at the head of eleven thouſand men, with whom he returned to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle, between the caſtle and town of Newbury. The parliament ordered, in the courſe of this year, that each family ſhould be deprived of one meal a week, and convert the value of it to public ſervice. It appears difficult to imagine, how it was poſſible to levy ſuch a tax!

On the eleventh of November, Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had remained a priſoner ſince his firſt impeachment, was brought to his trial, and made ſo vigorous a defence, that the commons, foreſeeing that he could not be convicted by common evidences, declared him guilty by an act of attainder, which, notwithſtanding many debates, at length paſſed the houſe of lords. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been ſent him from Oxford, but it was declared null by both houſes. Being condemned to death as a common felon, he requeſted, in conſideration of his character and offices, that he might not make ſo inglorious an exit; which petition was with much difficulty granted by the commons. On the tenth of January, this aged prelate was brought to the ſcaffold, where he addreſſed the ſpectators, with great fortitude; he declared he had never been averſe to the inſtitution of parliaments, though he could not approve all their tranſactions; he proteſted his innocence of any deſign tending to ſubvert the laws of the realm, or to introduce the Roman Catholic religion; he forgave all his enemies, and ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who, with one ſtroke, ſevered his head from his body. Thus fell archbiſhop Laud, a prelate of great learning and ſome virtue; but had imbibed prejudices pernicious to his country, and fatal to himſelf. At the ſame time, the two Hothams were convicted by a court martial for having connived at the eſcape of lord Digby, and correſponded with the marquis of Newcaſtle. At the firſt ſeſſion of parliament this year, an ordinance paſſed, for aboliſhing the book of common prayer, and liturgy, and for eſtabliſhing the directory which had been compoſed by the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly.

His majeſty and the parliament having agreed to a treaty of peace, their deputies met at Uxbridge. The king's commiſſioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingſton, and Chicheſter, and eleven commoners, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The parliament appointed twelve deputies, at the head of which were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Saliſbury and Denbigh; lord Loudon, the marquis of Argyle and others, being commiſſioned on the part of the Scots.

The two houſes inſiſting not only on a right of inſpecting all public affairs, but even taking cognizance of his majeſty's private and domeſtic concerns, it was not likely that a peace ſhould enſue; but the king's

commiſſioners

commiſſioners in the courſe of the conference agreed, that every perſon ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience; that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe any kind of juriſdiction; that the management of the militia ſhould be veſted in the hands of twenty commiſſioners; half to be appointed by the king, and half by the parliament; but the conference ended without any good effect, as theſe terms were rejected by the other parties.

About this time the preſbyterian and independent parties began now to diſtinguiſh themſelves; the preſbyterian ſought to reſtrain the prerogative; the independents to aboliſh monarchy, and introduce democracy. The preſbyterians rejected the hierarchy, the independents renounced all forms of church government, condemning the epiſcopal ordination of miniſters, allowing all perſons without exception to teach, preach, and expound the ſcriptures, according to a ſuppoſed inſpiration from God. To the independents of this period we owe, in a great meaſure, the numerous ſects of fanatics which have ever ſince diſgraced the religion of this country.

The independent party was ſupported by Vane, Cromwell, Tate, and Haſlerig, who now began to practice every art of acquiring popularity. They employed emiſſaries to inflame the minds of the people, by inſinuating the king's miſconduct both in civil and military affairs. Cromwell had accuſed the earl of Mancheſter, of miſmanagement at the laſt battle of Newbury. The earl retorted upon Cromwell, by declaring, that in a conference with him, he hinted, that if Mancheſter would adhere to honeſt men, he would ſoon find himſelf at the head of an army, that would give law to both king and parliament.

Surprized at this declaration, the houſes debated on the propriety of arreſting Cromwell, but this point was deferred to another opportunity. In the mean time Oliver and and his confederates expedited the plan they had projected for new modelling the army. They propoſed that the troops ſhould be formed into new regiments, and that no offices civil or military ſhould be held by members of parliament.

The houſe of commons having reſolved to inſpect the ſtate of the nation, Cromwell ſtood up, affirming the neceſſity of immediate exertion, as the name of parliament would be odious to the people, unleſs they proſecuted the war with more vigour, and then offered it as his opinion, that every member ſhould reſign the poſt he enjoyed, as an evidence of his patriotiſm, and diſintereſted principles. Some of his aſſociates ſeconded the motion, and at length Tate, and Vane, propoſed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatſoever. A day of ſolemn faſt was alſo appointed, to implore the bleſſing of heaven on their deſigns.

Cromwell's ordinance for the reſignation of offices ſoon paſſed the lower houſe, but was at firſt rejected by the lords; but the earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, and Mancheſter, having reſigned their places, and the popular torrent running hard in favour of the ſelf denying ordinance, it was paſſed the next day.

*A. D.* 1645. Fairfax, the favourite of the preſbyterians, was intended by them to be nominated general, but that officer diſſembled his ſentiments, and was in reality attached to the intereſt of Cromwell. The parliament's army was now modelled by Cromwell's plan, and all members of parliament being excluded, and their adherents reſigning their commiſſions, the vacant places were filled up with independents, who acted as chaplains as well as officers. They gave looſe to the wildeſt reveries of enthuſiaſm, animated by which contagion, the common ſoldiers advanced to battle, chanting hymns, and fought, and died in full confidence of obtaining the crown due to their eſpouſing ſo holy a cauſe.

At the head of this army of enthuſiaſts, Cromwell marched from Windſor, on the twenty-fourth day of April, and in the neighbourhood of Iſlip cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Bletchington was ſurrendered up to him at the firſt ſummons by colonel Windebank, who was condemned by a court martial, and ſhot for cowardice. The king took the town of Leiceſter by aſſault, and continued his march towards Wales, where he expected to be joined by Goring with three thouſand cavalry, and by colonel Gerard

Gerard with two thouſand recruits which he had raiſed in Wales.

Goring had written to the king from Taunton, inſinuating the facility with which he might reduce that place, and adviſing him to act upon the defenſive; but the letter fell into the hands of Fairfax, who determined to hazard a battle, before the junction could be effected. With this view he followed the royaliſts, and the king finding he could not reach Leiceſter without expoſing his rear, to certain deſtruction, determined to meet him half way. For this purpoſe the king marched back, and came in ſight of the enemy on the fourteenth day of June, who were drawn up in order of battle on a riſing ground, near a ſmall village called Naſeby. The king commanded a body of reſerve, the right wing was headed by prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and lord Aſhley commanded the main body.

On the part of the enemy Skippon and Fairfax commanded the main body, Cromwell headed the right wing, and Ireton the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his uſual ſucceſs, they were diſperſed and purſued as far as the village; but the prince in his return miſemployed his time in a fruitleſs attempt to ſeize the enemy's artillery. Cromwell was in the mean time engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale; whoſe horſe was broken after a very obſtinate diſpute. The infantry maintained the battle on both ſides for ſome time with equal fury; but at length the battallions of Fairfax and Skippon giving way, Cromwell returned and charged the king's infantry in flank with ſuch vigour as they could not reſiſt, ſo that they were immediately routed.

Although in the firſt attack, prince Rupert's troops had been victorious, they could not be induced to make a ſecond, being intimidated by the enemy's forces, which were reduced to order of battle, and prepared either for attack or defence. The king would have charged them at the head of his reſerve, had he not been prevented by the earl of Carnwath, who riding by his majeſty's ſide, ſeized the bridle of his horſe, and turned him round, ſaying with a loud oath; "will you ſo ruſh on certain death?" The royaliſts obſerving this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in ſuch confuſion, that they could not be rallied; ſo that the parliamentarians took above five thouſand priſoners, and all his majeſty's ammunition and artillery.

His majeſty and prince Rupert, after the battle, retreated with the cavalry to Aſhby de la Zouch, from whence they proceeded to Hereford, where they parted. The prince repaired to Briſtol, to put it in a poſture of defence, and the king continued his rout towards Wales, in hopes of aſſembling an army in that country. Fairfax advanced to Leiceſter, which ſurrendered on capitulation. Then he marched to the weſt-ward and reduced Bridgewater, Sherborn and Bath, and having defeated lord Goring at Lampott, undertook the ſiege of Briſtol, which was well ſupplied and fortified; and every one concluded from the renowned proweſs of prince Rupert, that it would make a gallant defence.

But his offering to capitulate on the firſt ſummons, and his ſurrendering the city before the enemy began the attack, was matter of ſurprize to every one.

Equally ſhocked and incenſed at this tranſaction, the diſtreſſed monarch revoked Rupert's commiſſions, and commanded him to quit the kingdom. Fairfax, having ſecured Briſtol with a proper garriſon, marched into the weſtern counties, bearing all before him. Cromwell now reduced the Devizes and ſeveral other places. Fairfax likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales had an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give battle, he advanced to meet him with the greateſt expedition, and falling on a part of his cavalry by ſurprize, obliged his royal highneſs to retire into Cornwall.

In the room of lord Goring, who had fled to France, the prince of Wales conferred the command of the army upon Hopton, who was routed by the enemy in his march to relieve Exeter; and the prince perceiving his danger of falling into the hands of Fairfax, retreated to the iſle of Scilly. Hopton being ſurrounded, capitulated on condition that his troops

troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, and allowed either to croſs the ſea or return to their own habitations. Their arms and horſes were delivered to Fairfax, who granted paſs-ports to all thoſe who deſired to quit the kingdom, having previouſly ſworn never more to ſerve againſt the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton, and Colepepper, retired to the prince of Wales in Scilly. By the month of April the king's troops in the weſt, were entirely routed, the city of Exeter having ſubmitted to Fairfax.

His majeſty, nevertheleſs, bore up with great courage under the variety of his dangers and diſtreſſes. He was now reduced to ſuch a dilemma, that he ſaw no other proſpect of retrieving his affairs than that of joining Montroſe in Scotland, and this expedient he intended to embrace. Receiving intelligence that a conſiderable detachment of the enemy's cavalry was poſted under the command of Poyntz, between Hereford and Worceſter, he determined to paſs through Wales, to Cheſter, and ſo into Scotland, through Lancaſhire and Cumberland.

The enemy having ſurprized Cheſter, and his majeſty finding them in poſſeſſion of the outworks and ſuburbs of that city, detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall on the back of the beſiegers, while he entered the city. Poyntz, who had followed the king with expedition, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke, who compelled him to retire to a greater diſtance. The aſſailants no ſooner perceived him, than they began to abandon the ſuburbs, in order to join his troops, and thus re-inforced he attacked and drove the royaliſts to the very gates of the city.

His majeſty's guards and cavalry, under the command of the earl of Litchfield and lord Gerard, advancing to the charge, compelled the enemy to retire; but their muſqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, diſcharged ſuch a volley on the king's new raiſed forces, that they were broken, routed, and diſperſed, after many gallant officers had been ſlain in the action. The king retreated with five hundred horſe to Denbigh caſtle, where being joined by prince Maurice, with eight hundred horſe, and ſome other ſmall re-inforcements, he croſſed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where he was informed that the parliament's forces had made themſelves maſters of Berkley caſtle and the Devizes.

His majeſty now appointed lord Digby lieutenant general of all the troops raiſed or to be raiſed on the other ſide of the Trent, and ordered him, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to proceed with fifteen hundred horſe to Scotland, to join Montroſe, who had lately been defeated by Leſley. Digby began his expedition without delay, and diſperſed a thouſand foot raiſed for the ſervice of the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaſter; and at Sherborn attacked a body of horſe commanded by colonel Copley; but was routed, and fled to Skippon, and his baggage falling into the hands of the enemy, the parliament publiſhed a copy of ſome papers which they found among his effects.

He proceeded, however, to Dumfries in Scotland, where, receiving no intelligence of Montroſe, he embarked with ſome other Scottiſh lords for Ireland. When his majeſty returned to Newark, prince Rupert addreſſed him, deſiring he might have an opportunity to juſtify his conduct. The king granted his requeſt, admitted of his apology, and publickly declared himſelf ſatisfied with his conduct and loyalty.

His majeſty's affairs now wore a very melancholy aſpect; his beſt friends and adviſers had either loſt their lives in his ſervice, or been obliged to abandon their country; his conſort had fled for refuge to Holland; his eldeſt ſon wandered an unhappy exile among the rocks of Scilly, and the reſt of his children were in imminent danger of falling into the hands of his implacable foes; his armies were either ſlaughtered or diſperſed; he was deſerted by his ungenerous nephews, whom he had nurtured with paternal tenderneſs; and he found himſelf ſo entangled by the wiles of his enemies, that his eſcape appeared impracticable.

impracticable. In this maze of perplexity, he retained a clear diſcernment, and a very extraordinary firmneſs of mind.

Having ſent orders to the governor of Oxford, to ſtation, at a fixed time, the horſe of the garriſon, between Banbury and Daventry, he left Newark at night, attended by five hundred horſe; and arrived at three in the morning at Belvoir caſtle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guards, to attend him farther on his way. He was ſo fatigued towards evening, that he found it neceſſary to take ſome repoſe in a village near Northampton. Early next morning he continued his march and reached Banbury about noon, where he found the horſe, by whom he was ſafely conducted to Oxford, after having, with the utmoſt fortitude, gone through the moſt amazing ſcenes of danger and fatigue.

Inſecure in his ſituation, and in danger of a worſe fate, he again began to treat with his enemies. He demanded of the parliament a ſafe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and ſome others, whom he deſigned to ſend with propoſals for an accommodation. He offered liberty of conſcience to non-conformiſts; he propoſed, upon the diſmiſſion of the armies, to join the two houſes; to take meaſures for ſettling the public debts, and regulating the affairs of the militia to their ſatisfaction.

He now demanded a perſonal treaty, and vindicating himſelf from the aſperſions of his enemies, made many conceſſions which plainly evinced his ardent deſire of a peace. But having reduced their ſovereign to extremity, they arrogantly impoſed conditions; charged him with employing their forces in defence of arbitrary power, and with an intention of making peace with the Iriſh rebels.

During this dreadful ſituation of his majeſty's affairs, the court of France ſent over Montreuil, on pretence of mediating a peace between the king and parliament, but in reality to effect a ſecret accommodation between his majeſty and the Scottiſh army. The ambaſſadors found the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London, inclined to treat with his majeſty; but they inſiſted on the abolition of the epiſcopacy, as an indiſpenſible condition, with which Charles refuſed to comply. While the French miniſter made a journey to the Scottiſh army, in hopes of allaying their intemperate zeal, Fairfax advanced to Oxford with his army; ſo that the king was in great danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Aſhley, with about a thouſand men under his command, advanced towards Oxford, in order to join his majeſty; but Fairfax, apprized of his deſign, fell on his troops, greatly fatigued, routed them, and took him priſoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas, and many officers of diſtinction. This was the laſt effort of this unhappy prince to defend himſelf by dint of arms. Deſpairing to avoid any longer the machinations of his enemies, he reſolved to put himſelf under the protection of the Scots, hoping that their averſion to the independents, might induce them at leaſt to protect his perſon from danger.

*A. D.* 1646. Sir John Aſhburnham and doctor Hudſon, having undertaken to conduct him through bye-ways, he left Oxford on the twenty-ſeventh of April, and as ſoon as his eſcape was known, the parliament iſſued a proclamation, denouncing the penalty of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould ſhelter or protect their ſovereign. On his diſcovery of himſelf to the earl of Leven, the general was aſtoniſhed at his preſence, but received him with due reſpect and veneration. The parliament, receiving immediate intelligence of this important event, reſolved that Fairfax ſhould abandon his enterprize againſt Oxford, and direct his courſe to Newark; but on the declaration of the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that the king's arrival was entirely unexpected by the general, who would punctually adhere to their orders, this reſolution was deferred. The Scots, hearing that Fairfax was deſtined to the northward, retired with his majeſty to Newcaſtle, where he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil; and Aſhburnham, through fear of being apprehended, fled the kingdom. The Scottiſh preachers inſulted him in their harangues from the pulpit; and the officers treated him with coldneſs

neſs and reſerve. They adviſed him to ſurrender all his garriſons to the parliament, and he complied with apparent compoſure. Ormond received orders to reſign Dublin, and other forts in Ireland, to the officers appointed by the parliament; and Montroſe retreated to the continent, having laid down his arms in Scotland at the king's command.

His majeſty gave every poſſible proof of his inclination to come to terms with the parliament; he ſent a meſſage to the two houſes, deſiring they would decide the religious controverſy by the arbitration of certain able divines; he ſignified, in letters to the city of London, his diſpoſition to ſatisfy the two houſes in every particular they required. The Scots profeſſed to deteſt all ſecret proceedings that might cauſe any animoſity between the two kingdoms, and ſtill adhered to the covenant.

The general aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland, wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenor of the covenant. The houſes then ſent propoſals to the king, more unreaſonable than thoſe, upon which they had inſiſted at Uxbridge, by which they arrogated to themſelves, the whole power of the adminiſtration. The king ingenuouſly replied, that though he could not diveſt himſelf of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would nevertheleſs, regardleſs of his own intereſt, accede to any meaſures tending to promote the public welfare.

Commiſſioners were now appointed to inſpect the accounts of the Scottiſh deputies, who propoſed to withdraw their army from England, upon payment of their arrears. After many debates, they agreed to take four hundred thouſand pounds in lieu of all their demands, and this is ſaid to have been the price for which they ſold their king to his enemies.

The duke of Hamilton, having in the beginning of September, been removed to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, was releaſed on the ſurrender of that place to the parliament. He immediately went to his majeſty at Newcaſtle, and intreated him to cloſe with the two houſes. The king, ſtill deſirous of putting a ſtop to the ravages of a civil war, propoſed that the hierarchy ſhould be confined to ſome particular dioceſes, and that preſbytery ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all other parts of the kingdom, hoping that the liberty he gave to others, might be allowed to himſelf, that of acting according to the dictates of his conſcience.

The two houſes appointed a committee about the middle of September, to confer with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, about diſpoſing of the king's perſon. The Scots claimed an equal intereſt in his perſon with the Engliſh, but after many debates, the precedency was given to the Engliſh. Charles ſent repeated meſſages to the parliament, deſiring leave to treat with them in perſon, declaring his readineſs to comply with whatever might tend to the intereſt of his ſubjects; he reminded them that it was their king who ſollicited for that, which his denial to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, would brand him with the name of tyrant to all poſterity.

It was now voted in parliament, that his majeſty ſhould reſide at Holmby in Northamptonſhire, and be treated with due reſpect; and then appointed commiſſioners to receive him from the hands of the Scots, who delivered him up on the thirteenth of January, and that very day their army began its march for Scotland. The king, in his journey to Holmby, found the roads crouded with people, who came from all quarters to behold their ſovereign in his abject ſtate, and who expreſſed their regard in prayers for his ſafety, and lamentations of his unhappy fate.

*A. D.* 1647. The independents and preſbyterians had till this time acted in concert againſt Charles, but now their mutual animoſity began to appear. Cromwell, who poſſeſſed undaunted reſolution, boundleſs ambition, and profound diſſimulation, principally guided the operations of the independents. He gained vaſt influence over general Fairfax, and filled the army with his creatures; ſuch were Rainſborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harriſon.

Cromwell finding that the majority of the members,

members, in fear of the general officers, were for diſbanding the army, pretended to approve the ſcheme of the houſe, declared himſelf attached to Preſbytery, cited ſcripture, and perſuaded Fairfax, that his grand motives were the glory of God, and the advancement of true religion.

At the ſame time, Cromwell employed his emiſſaries, to excite a ſpirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been ſo long accuſtomed to a military life, that they were averſe to the very thought of reſuming their former occupations. The commons voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the ſoldiers receive ſix weeks pay on their diſmiſſion. The ſoldiers having been long in the ſervice, complained highly at the cruelty of thoſe who propoſed to diſband them on the ſudden.

Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton and Fleetwood, were directed to inform the army of the intention of parliament to paſs votes in their favour. On this occaſion the private ſoldiers elected deputies to diſcuſs their affairs, and communicate their reſolutions to a council, compoſed of generals, field officers, and captains. Theſe were the tools, by which Cromwell and his aſſociates accompliſhed their deſigns, and were choſen from the private ſoldiers, or loweſt claſs of officers, for their reputed ſanctity, and extraordinary gifts of preaching and prayer.

It continued, however, the full intention of parliament to diſband all the troops, except thoſe deſtined for Ireland, and began to deliberate on the manner, in which they ſhould accompliſh it. The ſoldiers, in a petition to the general, ſet forth the injuſtice of this deſign, and deſired that the army might be aſſembled in one place, where they might conſider of means to redreſs their grievances, or perhaps they ſhould be under a neceſſity of purſuing ſuch meaſures as might not be quite ſo agreeable to the parliament.

A council of war being hereupon called, they reſolved to acquaint the parliament that it was high time to concert meaſures for appeaſing the army, and preventing a very dangerous rupture. The parliament, being intimidated by this intelligence, reſolved, if poſſible, to divide the forces. But all their conceſſions could not ſatisfy the army; the directors of it reſolved to balance the preſbyterian intereſt, taking care that it ſhould not be diſbanded.

The army now formed a kind of republic, in which the vote of the common ſoldier was as prevalent as that of the colonel; and every private man aſſumed a right of entering into, and executing projects of his own. A few regiments of horſe determined to ſeize the perſon of the king. For the execution of this deſign they ſelected cornet Joyce, formerly a taylor. This officer, on the third day of June, arrived with a detachment of fifty horſe at Holmby, about break of day, and going up ſtairs attended by three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment; which being opened, Joyce and his attendants approaching him with their hats off and piſtols in their hands, told him he muſt go to the army. When the king aſked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet anſwered, "By this," pointing to his piſtol, and deſired that no time might be loſt in his preparation.

His majeſty directed one of his attendants to call the committee of the two houſes, who had taken charge of his perſon. They demanded of Joyce, if he acted by order of the parliament; he replied, in the negative, and held up his piſtol. They then told him they would write to the parliament to know their pleaſure, he anſwered they might do ſo, but the king muſt go along with him immediately. The king, finding his guard averſe to any reſiſtance, reſigned himſelf to the will of Joyce, not without ſuſpicion, that he ſhould be carried to ſome unfrequented place and murdered.

He lodged at colonel Montague's near Cambridge the firſt night, and next day arrived at Newmarket, where he was treated with great reſpect by the officers of the army. The regiments being aſſembled at this place, preſented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament, and next ſubſcribed a writing which they termed "The engage-

ment," conſenting to be diſbanded, on condition of obtaining redreſs of their grievances, as adjudged by a council, conſiſting of the generals, two officers, and as many ſoldiers of every regiment; but declared they would conſent to no other propoſals. The army was now advanced to St. Alban's, when a meſſage to the houſes, requeſting immediate recompence to the ſoldiers, was ſent by the general.

Theſe demagogues had been guilty of the moſt grievous extortion. They had levied by the moſt unprecedented exactions about thirty millions of money in five years; notwithſtanding which the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They laid taxes on the common neceſſaries of life, ſequeſtered one half of the lands belonging to the royaliſts, deprived of their livings, and reduced to beggary more than one half of the clergy, becauſe they would not renounce their civil and religious principles. In juſtification of theſe proceedings, they pretended to ſeek the Lord in prayer, and impudently as well as impiouſly aſſerted their dominion as the elect of God.

The parliament, alarmed at theſe unwarrantable proceedings of the army, empowered the city of London to raiſe ſome cavalry, as if they intended to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They likewiſe orderedten thouſand pounds to be paid to the ſoldiers, who ſhould quit the army, and engage in the Iriſh expedition.

Depending on its own ſtrength, the army now preſented a remonſtrance to the two houſes, demanding that the parliament ſhould be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members; that the public accounts ſhould be equitably ſettled, and that, after ſome acts of juſtice upon delinquents, an act of amneſty ſhould be paſſed. They then impeached eleven members, who headed the Preſbyterian party, and alledging that they had hindered the courſe of juſtice, deſired they might be removed from the houſe.

The army inſiſting that all intentions of diſbanding the ſoldiery ſhould be laid aſide, and that all differences between the army and parliament ſhould be ſettled; the parliament found themſelves obliged to comply, and the king's friends began to hope, that a rupture between the parliament and army would redound to his majeſty's advantage.

Thoſe members of the houſe, who had been accuſed deſiring to withdraw, the army for the preſent ſeemed to be ſatisfied with this mark of ſubmiſſion, retired to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the king with them, wherever they went. That prince was now in a much better ſituation than at Holmby, and had obtained ſome greater degree of liberty, as well as conſideration with both parties. All his friends were allowed to approach him, his correſpondence with the queen was even permitted; his chaplains were reſtored, and he was indulged in the uſe of the liturgy; his children were ſuffered to viſit him, and ſpent a few days at Caverſham, where he then reſided. Cromwell, Ireton, and others of the independent party amuſed him with vain hopes, till they had obtained a complete victory over the city and parliament. They then treated him with much arrogance, ordered him to be ſtrictly guarded, would hardly allow any of his domeſtics to ſpeak with him in private, and employed ſpies to watch over all his words and actions. Charles now perceived that he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and began to be apprehenſive of his perſonal ſafety. Major Huntingdon, whom Oliver had employed in carrying ſecret meſſages to the king, informed his majeſty, that if meaſures were not taken to prevent it, Cromwell would certainly work his ruin.

His majeſty was now kept under a ſtrong guard at Hampton Court, from whence nevertheleſs he propoſed to eſcape if poſſible, and with this view he retired to his chamber early in the evening, on pretence of being indiſpoſed; and in an hour after midnight went down the back ſtairs, attended by Aſhburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bedchamber. Sir John Berkley waited for him at the garden gate with horſes, which they inſtantly mounted, and directed their rout towards Hampſhire. All night he travelled through the foreſt, and arrived next day at Titchfield,

a ſeat

a ſeat of the earl of Southampton, poſſeſſed by the counteſs dowager, a woman of great honour on whoſe fidelity he could ſecurely rely. Before he had reached this place, he had gone to the ſea coaſt, and expreſſed much concern, that a ſhip which he ſeemed to expect had not arrived; from which Berkley and Legg, who were not in the ſecret, concluded that his intention was to fly to the continent.

On this diſappointment, they adviſed him to ſeek refuge in the Iſle of Wight, although Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's was at that time governor. Hereupon, Aſhburnham and Berkley were diſpatched to the iſland, and enjoined to conceal from Hammond the place of the king's reſidence, till they could obtain a promiſe that he would not detain his majeſty's perſon. Aſhburnham raſhly, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was forced to put himſelf into his hands, and to accompany him to Cariſbroke caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, where he was treated at firſt with marks of duty and reſpect. Though Aſhburnham's conduct on this occaſion, carries in it much ſuſpicion of treachery, the king acquitted him of any treaſonable intention; there is, however, no doubt that his conduct was the effect of great raſhneſs and preſumption.

The king's perſon being effectually ſecured, and the parliament ſubjected to the will of Cromwell, he privately aſſembled a council of ſome of the principal officers at Windſor, to conſult about the ſettlement of the nation, and the future procedures towards his majeſty; and it is imagined, that all future proceedings againſt the king, owe their riſe to this conference.

A private aſſaſſination, they were well aware would ſtigmatize their party with every imputation of cruelty and injuſtice, and every odious epithet of traitor and murderer, would be affixed to the perpetrators of ſuch an atrocious deed. They were, therefore, perſuaded, that ſome daring expedient muſt be attempted, which would carry the appearance of juſtice, and cover its barbarity, by the boldneſs of the enterprize. To give ſanction, therefore, to their proceedings againſt the king, and ſecure the friendſhip of the army, they propoſed to adopt the favourite opinion of the equality of mankind.

His majeſty, with a view to ſatisfy, if poſſible, the deſires of his people, had promiſed, by a meſſage ſent from Cariſbroke caſtle, to relinquiſh, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of ſtate, on condition, that after his death, theſe prerogatives ſhould be reſtored to the crown.

Governed by the army and the independents, the parliament, inſtead of agreeing to theſe terms, drew up four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his poſitive aſſent, before they would engage in any treaty. Theſe preliminary acts were, for recalling all the declarations iſſued againſt the parliament and their adherents; eſtabliſhing the militia; depriving peers created ſince the troubles, of their right to ſit in parliament; and empowering the two houſes to adjourn at their own pleaſure.

*A. D.* 1648. Charles, informed of this reſolution, requeſted a perſonal treaty, and begged that the terms on both ſides ſhould be previouſly ſettled, before any conceſſions were demanded. When his majeſty's anſwer was reported in the houſe of commons, Cromwell ſpoke with great virulence againſt his perſon, calling him a man of blood and a double dealer; he adviſed them to ſend no further addreſſes to the king, but to regulate the affairs of the kingdom without his concurrence. The parliament were intimidated into compliance, though ninety-one members had ſpirit enough to diſſent. It was, however, voted, that for the future, no addreſſes or meſſages ſhould be ſent to the king, which vote received the aſſent of the houſe of lords.

Three different parties at this time prevailed in Scotland; the royaliſts, who demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the king's authority, without any regard to religious ſects, or opinions; of theſe Montroſe, though abſent, was conſidered as the head. The rigid Preſbyterians, who inſiſted on a perfect uniformity of worſhip, and were reſolved to give no aſſiſtance to his majeſty, unleſs he would

would ſign the covenant; theſe were directed by Argyle. A third party under the two brothers Hamilton and Laneric, were the moderate Preſbyterians, who wiſely endeavoured to reconcile the intereſts of religion with thoſe of the crown; and hoped by the concurrence of the Preſbyterian party in England, to ſubdue the independent army, and to reſtore the parliament as well as the king, to their juſt freedom and authority.

Upon an examination into the ſtate of the nation, the committee delared it would be neceſſary to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men for its defence. But the duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, was not able to raiſe fourteen thouſand men, and thoſe ill armed, and undiſciplined, and therefore not in a condition to march for England, till the beginning of July.

While theſe preparations were going forward in Scotland, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, three officers who had ſerved in the parliament's army, declared for the king, ſecured the caſtle of Pembroke, and influenced the greateſt part of South Wales to eſpouſe the royal cauſe. Young Hales and the earl of Norwich, excited commotions in Kent. Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, and colonel Farr, which laſt had been in the parliament's ſervice, aſſembled a body of three thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of Colcheſter, where they intended to remain, till they could join the Scottiſh army, which they heard were on the march. But Fairfax deprived the inhabitants of all relief, by inveſting and blocking up the town.

The earl of Warwick, with a fleet which was equipped on purpoſe, was ordered to oppoſe the ſeventeen ſhips which had revolted to the prince of Wales. While the forces were at a diſtance, the parliament recovered its former liberty, and began to act with its uſual ſpirit and reſolution. They ſent commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, to treat with his majeſty; who, on their arrival, were ſhocked at the manifeſt change that appeared in their unhappy ſovereign. Being deprived of ſocial converſe, he had entirely neglected his perſon; his hair being diſhevelled, was now waxen grey, not only by the hand of time, but the iron rod of affliction; and both his dreſs and viſage indicated adverſity and decay. The commiſſioners were greatly affected at the ſight of the king in this diſtreſſed ſituation.

His mental qualifications were, however, by no means affected by his external change. The earl of Saliſbury, amazed at his nervous though cool reaſoning, ſaid to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved "of late," "No," replied Sir Philip, "he "was always ſo, but now you are at laſt con-"vinced of it." Sir Henry Vane obſerved, that as his majeſty's abilities appeared to be great, the ſtricter and more ſevere ought to be the terms of agreement.

Charles readily agreed, that his proclamations againſt the parliament ſhould be annulled; he gave up to the parliament the whole power of regulating the militia, during the term of twenty years, or for a longer time, if deemed conducive to the public good. With reſpect to religion, he obſerved, that his conſcience would not permit him to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy; and as to the ſale of church lands, he deemed it not only ſacrilegious, but expreſsly contrary to his coronation oath, whereby he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; yet to evince his ſincere deſire of pacification, he conſented to their reducing epiſcopacy to its primitive uſe; that archbiſhops, deans, and chapters ſhould be aboliſhed; that the preſbyterian form of government ſhould continue three years; during which, the king and parliament, with the advice of the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, and other divines nominated by his majeſty, ſhould agree upon ſome ſuitable plan of church government; and indeed made ſuch conceſſions in general, as not only degraded royalty, but would have been wholly inconſiſtent with and ſubverſive of the order of government, had they produced a peace, and been brought into action. Though he had thus diveſted himſelf as it were of majeſty, to gratify the arrogance of a preſumptuous parliament, the two houſes, having deliberated on his conceſſions and anſwers, voted them inſufficient and unſatisfactory on the articles

ticles of epiſcopacy and the ſale of church lands.

A numerous but irregular body of forces, under the command of the duke of Hamilton, having entered England, the duke durſt not attempt a junction with the forces commanded by Langdale, becauſe the Engliſh royaliſts declined taking the covenant, and the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, though acting for the king, could not be perſuaded to incorporate with them on any other terms. The two armies marched together though at ſome ſmall diſtance; and in the whole might conſiſt of twenty thouſand men. Cromwell boldly encountered them, with a body not amounting to half that number. He ſurprized Langdale near Preſton in Lancaſhire, and though the royaliſts behaved gallantly, yet not being properly ſupported by their confederates, they were routed with great ſlaughter. Hamilton was next attacked, his troops defeated, and chaſed to Utoxeter, where he himſelf was taken priſoner. Cromwell having purſued his victory, proceeded to Scotland, where being reinforced by Argyle, he ſubdued Laneric and Monro, and returned triumphantly to England.

Deprived of all relief, the garriſon of Colcheſter, after a vigorous defence, were compelled to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, prompted by the barbarous and blood-thirſty Ireton, ſeized Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, and determined to ſacrifice them to the fury of the army.

All the priſoners joined to cenſure the ſcandalous cruelty of this proceeding. Lord Capel, regardleſs of danger, upbraided Ireton with his ſavage barbarity, and challenged him, as they were all embarked in the ſame cauſe, to inflict the ſame puniſhment on them all without exception. Lucas, who was firſt ſhot, gave the word fire, with as much courage as if he had been at the head of his regiment. Liſle having embraced the breathleſs body of his friend, deſired the executioners to come nearer. One of them ſaid, "I'll warrant you Sir, we'll hit you": he anſwered with a ſmile, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have miſſed me." So ſaying, he received their ſhot, and fell lamented by all good men.

The enemies of the army being now totally ſubdued; a remonſtrance was framed by a general council of officers, and preſented to the parliament. They there condemned the treaty with the king; inſiſted on his puniſhment for the bloodſhed during the war; demanded the diſſolution of the preſent parliament; and affirmed, that though ſervants, they had a right to repreſent theſe important points to their maſters, who are themſelves no more than the ſervants and miniſters of the people. At the ſame time they arrived with their army at Windſor, and diſpatched colonel Ewer to ſeize the king's perſon at Newport, and tranſport him to Hurſt caſtle, where he was confined in the cloſeſt manner.

On being informed of the king's removal, the houſe of commons voted that he had been removed without their conſent, and then reſolved, that the king's conceſſion might ſerve as a foundation for peace. Next day, when the commons were to aſſemble, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had ſurrounded the houſe with two regiments, and aſſiſted by the lord Grey of Groby, arreſted in the paſſage, forty-one members, whom they confined in a neighbouring houſe. About an hundred and ſixty members were excluded, and none were ſuffered to enter, but the moſt deſperate of the independents, who hardly amounted to ſixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament, was commonly known by the name of colonel Pride's Purge.

The houſe now, on the excluſion of the Preſbyterians, conſiſting altogether of the independent party, returned thanks to Cromwell for his great ſervices, who had been the means of the late violent proceedings.

A committee of this remnant of a houſe was appointed to draw up a charge againſt their ſovereign; colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher and one of the moſt furious fanatics of the army, was ordered to conduct the king to London, under a ſtrong guard. At Windſor, the duke of Hamilton, who was there impriſoned, was admitted into the king's

preſence, and falling on his knees, paſſionately exclaimed, "My dear maſter!" the unhappy monarch raiſed him up, and embracing him, replied with tears; "I have indeed been a "dear maſter to you." The king was inſtantly hurried away, and the duke, bathed in tears, foretold, that from this time he ſhould ſee his king no more.

His majeſty's own misfortunes, ſuch was his fortitude, never coſt him one tear, but he could not behold, unmoved, the hapleſs fate of his friends. On the king's arrival at Windſor, the council of war ordered, that he ſhould no longer be treated as a ſovereign. Accordingly, the externals of royalty were laid aſide, and he was treated without ceremony.

Every circumſtance of the trial was now adjuſted, and the high court of juſtice finally erected. It was compoſed of an hundred and thirty three perſons as nominated by the commons, but ſo general was the averſion to theſe violent proceedings, that more than ſeventy never attended. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and all the chief officers of the army, with ſeveral citizens of London and members of the lower houſe compoſed this high court of juſtice.

The names of the twelve judges were at firſt enrolled in the number, but as they had declared, that according to the letter of the Engliſh laws, and the genius of the Engliſh conſtitution, it was impoſſible to try the king for treaſon, as by his authority all accuſations for treaſon muſt neceſſarily be conducted, their names were afterwards expunged. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke acted as ſollicitor general; Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, attended as aſſiſtants, and the court aſſembled in Weſtminſter hall.

When the crier, in calling the perſons who were to form the court, came to the name of lord Fairfax, a female voice was heard from the gallery to exclaim, "He has more wit, "than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "In the name of all the good peo- "ple of England," "No (replied the ſame "voice) not the twentieth part of them; "where are all the people, or their repre- "ſentatives? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue, "and a traitor." One of the officers ordered a file of muſqueteers, to fire at the place, whence the voice came, but they ſoon perceived the perſon who ſpoke, to be the lady Fairfax, whom with much difficulty they prevailed upon to depart.

The repreſentatives of a great people ſitting in judgment upon their monarch to try on a charge of breaking his truſt, afforded a ſcene ſo ſolemn and awful as cannot be paralleled in the hiſtory of any age or nation.

The charge was opened, in the name of the commons, by the ſollicitor general, who repreſented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entruſted with a limited power, from a wicked deſign to eſtabliſh an arbitrary and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly made war upon the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented; and was therefore accuſed as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the common-wealth. After the impeachment was finiſhed, the preſident addreſſed himſelf to the king, and informed him, that the court expected his anſwer.

With great temper, dignity, and preſence of mind, the king diſowned the authority of the court, and refuſed to acknowledge their uſurped juriſdiction. The preſident, in order to defend the majeſty of the people, and aſſert the ſuperiority of the court above the priſoner, ſtill inſiſted, that he muſt not deny the authority of his judges, and that the preſent court owed its authority to that community of which kings themſelves were but the ſervants.

Charles having, on three ſeveral appearances before the court, refuſed to acknowledge their juriſdiction; on the fourth time ſentence was pronounced againſt him. He then deſired to be heard before the two houſes in the painted chamber; but the court refuſed to grant his requeſt, which they conſidered meerly as a delay of juſtice. In walking through the hall to the place of his confinement, the ſoldiers, prompted by their ſuperiors, exclaimed "Juſtice and execution." They loaded him with the moſt cruel and bit-

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Engrav'd for Clarendon's History of England.

*Charles 1st. taking leave of his Children.*

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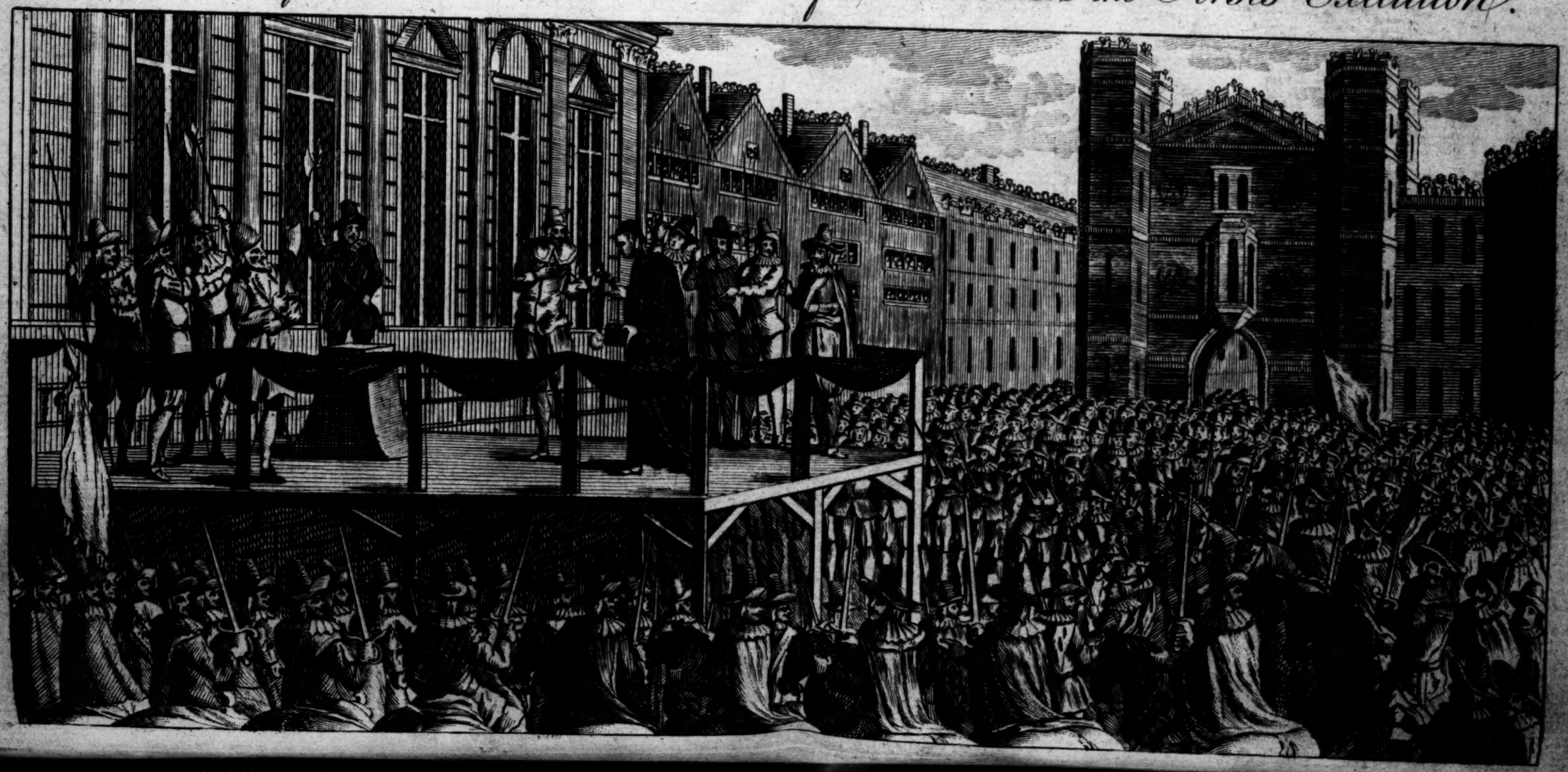
## The WARRANT to Collonel FRANCIS HACKER &c. for BEHEADING of K. CHARLES the First

### At the high Court of Justice for the Tryinge and Judginge off Charles Steuart King off England January XXIX.th Anno. Dom. 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart King of England is and Standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crimes And Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court to be put to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of which Sentence execution yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence executed In the open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the thirtieth Day off this instante month off January between the hours off Tenn in the morninge and five in the afternoone off the same Day will full effect And for soe doing this shall be your Sufficient Warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good People of this Nation of England to be asistynge unto you in this Service Given under our Hands and Seales. ——

## A View of the Place and Manner of K. CHARLES the First's Execution.



ter reproaches, they blew into his face the ſmoke of tobacco, and one miſcreant had even the inſolence to ſpit in his face. Theſe inſults he bore with his uſual patience, "Poor "ſouls (ſaid he) for a little money they would "treat their commanders in the ſame man-"ner." A ſoldier moved by ſympathy, implored for the bleſſing of heaven on oppreſſed majeſty; an officer overhearing the petition, ſtruck him to the ground in ſight of the king, who ſaid, "The puniſhment methinks "exceeds the offence."

Being conducted back to Whitehall, he begged permiſſion to ſee his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late biſhop of London, which they granted. The deſign of trying a king as a malefactor, before a court of judicature, conſtituted of his own ſubjects, was looked upon with horror, by every nation on the continent. The French and Dutch miniſters interpoſed in the king's behalf, the Scots exclaimed againſt this outrage, and the queen and prince wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But of all the generous efforts that do honour to great characters, let it be remembered, that four noblemen offered to lay down their lives for their ſovereign. Theſe were the duke of Richmond, and the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindſay.

During a ſhort interval of three days between his ſentence and execution, all his family that remained in England, were ſuffered to attend him. He wept over his orphan children, and claſped them in his paternal embrace. He beſtowed on his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth, prudent advice and pious exhortations, he charged her to tell the queen her mother, that during the whole courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, ſwerved from his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal affection and his life ſhould have the ſame duration. He implored heaven to ſhower down bleſſings on thoſe forlorn babes, as well as the reſt of his children; and reſigned himſelf to his fate with the utmoſt compoſure. Doctor Juxon attended his majeſty the night before his execution, and after ſpending great part of it in devotion, he enjoyed four hours of ſound reſt, ſo reſigned was he to his unhappy fate.

On the thirtieth of January, in conſequence of a warrant from the high court of judicature, he was conducted on foot through St. James Park to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot ſoldiers, commanded by colonel Tomlinſon. When Charles came upon the ſcaffold, which was ſo crouded, that he could not be heard, he directed his diſcourſe to colonel Tomlinſon, doctor Juxon, and ſome others about him, delaring himſelf innocent of having commenced the war againſt the parliament, but owning at the ſame time, his having conſented to the execution of the earl of Strafford, had brought the judgment of heaven on himſelf.

He died forgiving all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but adviſed them, and the whole nation, to reſtore the conſtitution of the kingdom, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block, doctor Juxon told him, there was but one ſtage more, which was ſhort though troubleſome, and would convey him to the regions of ineffable joy; "I go, (re-"plied the king) from a corruptible to an in-"corruptible crown, of which I ſhall never "be bereaved." Having thus ſpoke, he laid his neck on the block, and at one blow his head was ſevered from his body. A man in a maſk, then held up the head ſtreaming with blood, and exclaimed, "This is the head of "a traitor."

Such was the fate of Charles I. king of England. He was a prince of a comely preſence, a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect; his body was robuſt and proportioned, and being of a middling ſtature, capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues.

He had by education conſiderably cultivated an underſtanding naturally good; his penetration was acute, and his judgment deciſive; his taſte for the liberal arts was refined by ſtudy and experience, and he was a generous patron to thoſe who excelled in the different ſciences. To ſum up his character in

private

private life, we may adopt the words of the hiſtorian, who records, "That he was the "worthieſt gentleman, the beſt friend, the "beſt maſter, the beſt father, the beſt huſ-"band, and the beſt chriſtian of the age in "which he lived." Unhappily for him as well as the nation, he lived, in a time, when the precedents of many former reigns encouraged the exerciſe of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran ſtrongly towards liberty; it is, therefore, difficult to determine, how, circumſtanced as he was, he could have made the public peace conſiſt with the authority of the crown, or how, upon the whole, he could have acted otherwiſe than he did.

His actions, however, were the conſequence of his adviſing with counſellors, who were not only inferior to himſelf in experience and judgment, but generally proud, partial, and obſtinate; and as the queen continually importuned him in favour of the Roman church, it were to be wiſhed for the ſake of the national quiet, that he had been leſs tinctured with conjugal affection, or at leaſt paid leſs deference to her advice.

His conduct from the commencement of the civil war, was extremely uniform, and throughout the whole, he ſhewed a probity of heart and innocence of manners, that muſt ever endear his memory to all admirers of intrinſic excellence. He made his unfortunate exit in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign, if it may be diſtinguiſhed by that title.

He had iſſue by his queen, four ſons and five daughters; viz. Charles James, who died in his infancy, Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was ſucceeded; James, duke of York, afterwards James the ſecond, king of England; Henry, duke of Glouceſter, who died after the reſtoration; Mary, who eſpouſed the prince of Orange; Elizabeth, confined in Cariſbroke-caſtle, where ſhe died of grief; Anna, and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta Maria, married to Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. king of France.

# THE COMMONWEALTH.

*A. D.* 1649. THE Parliament now proceeding to ſettle the government, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons on pain of high treaſon, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, as ſovereign of England. They likewiſe voted, that they ſhould make no more addreſſes to the houſe of lords, and that, that houſe was uſeleſs and dangerous, and was, therefore, to be aboliſhed; the peers, however, might be elected as members of the lower houſe. They afterwards paſſed an act, aboliſhing the king's power as uſeleſs, and decreed that the nation ſhould be governed under the form of a republic, by the people's repreſentatives, the houſe of commons.

A new great ſeal was provided, containing the arms of England and Ireland, round which was theſe words, "The great ſeal of "England." The other ſide repreſented the houſe of commons, ſurrounded with this inſcription, "In the firſt year of Freedom by "God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of perſons, intitled, the conſervators of the liberties of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under cognizance of parliament.

Bradſhaw was again choſen preſident of another high court of juſtice, for the trial of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; all of them accuſed of having carried arms againſt the parliament. After a ſhort trial, they were all convicted and condemned to the block. The duke of Hamilton, on his trial, complained

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plained bitterly of the ſentence by which he ſuffered death, alledging, that he acted by virtue of a commiſſion from the parliament of his own country, and therefore, could not juſtly be tried in England.

The earl of Holland, being oppreſſed with age and infirmities, made little or no defence. Sir John Owen, on hearing the ſentence, thanked the court, for adjudging him to ſo honourable a death, and ſwore he was afraid they would have cauſed him to be hanged as a felon. This gentleman, however, and the earl of Norwich were reprieved; the other three were immediately executed. Lord Capel, in his laſt moments, behaved with great dignity and reſolution, extolling the virtues of his deceaſed ſovereign, and exhorting the people to acknowledge his ſon, the prince of Wales.

In a diſtreſſed ſituation the young king wandered from place to place, living ſometimes in Holland, at others in France, and ſometimes in the Iſle of Jerſey, pleaſing himſelf, amidſt all his diſtreſſes, with the hopes of better fortune. The marquis of Ormond no ſooner heard of the tragical death of his ſovereign, than he inſtantly went over to Ireland, levied an army of ſixteen thouſand men, with which he retook from the parliament the town of Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda; and was reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Dublin. To this kingdom, Charles determined to repair, but his deſign was ſuſpended, on his hearing that the parliament of Scotland had iſſued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary ſovereign on the following conditions; that he ſhould give proper ſatisfaction to the kingdom touching the ſecurity of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and ſolemn league of the covenant. For this purpoſe, deputies were ſent to the Hague, to ſignify their intentions to the young prince; and in a few days, the marquis of Montroſe, and the earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk, paid him a viſit.

Montroſe, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had engaged in the ſervice of the emperor; but hearing of his maſter's matyrdom, repaired to the Hague, and received from the young king a renewal of his commiſſion as captain-general of Scotland. Charles had no ſolid foundation of joy from his being proclaimed under ſuch reſtrictions. Remembering that the ruin of his father was in a great meaſure owing to the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, he was diffident of their power and unanimity, and therefore declined their invitation for the preſent; and inſtead of ſubſcribing to their conditions, perſiſted in his reſolution of viſiting Ireland; at the ſame time, ordering Montroſe to make a deſcent upon Scotland. The king's friends in that kingdom, underſtanding that he was averſe to the conditions propoſed by the parliament, determined to excite an inſurrection, and if they ſucceeded, to receive him upon his own terms. About this time, Charles ſent the lord Collington and chancellor Hyde, his plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to ſollicit ſuccours from the court of Spain.

Charles's going to Ireland at this time would have been attended with conſiderable danger, as the Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the union between the Catholics and the royaliſts, had voted a ſtrong army for that purpoſe, and appointed Cromwell lord lieutenant of that kingdom. Cromwell having defeated Ormond, and entirely ſubdued the ſpirit of the Iriſh, Charles had no hopes of reſource from that country; and was, therefore, under a neceſſity of liſtening to the Scottiſh treaty. Accordingly, the marquis of Argyle having influenced the parliament and general aſſembly of the kirk, propoſitions being prepared, and deputies appointed, Breda was fixed on as the place of conference.

*A. D.* 1650. At the time and place appointed, the young monarch was met by the deputies, who preſented him with four articles of peace, which he could not really approve; but not being in condition to ſhew his reſentment, he carefully diſſembled, offering to confirm the Preſbyterian diſcipline in Scotland, by act of parliament, but thought it unreaſonable to expect that he would renounce the form of religion, in which he had been educated. He aſked them if they had power to relax in any

demand, or to treat about the aſſiſtance he might expect from the Scots towards reſtoring him to the crown of England: but they informed him they had no ſuch power.

Though extremely diſſatisfied with their proceedings, Charles found it neceſſary to temporize, and protract the negotiation, until he ſhould receive ſome intelligence from Montroſe, on whoſe ſucceſs all his hopes were founded. That intrepid nobleman, having re-inforced his handful of men with a few recruits, which he raiſed in the Orkneys, paſſed over to Caithneſs, hoping the general affection to the royal cauſe, and the fame of his former atchievements, would allure the people to his ſtandard. But the nation was now fatigued with continual wars, many of his former adherents had been apprehended and puniſhed, and no hopes of ſucceſs remained againſt ſo great a force as was now deſtined to oppoſe him; Leſley and Holborne, being ordered to advance againſt him with an army of four thouſand men. Strachan being ſent forward with a body of cavalry to prevent his progreſs, attacked Montroſe ſuddenly, and totally defeated his army, all of whom were either ſlain or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf being ſoon after ſeized was conducted to Edinburgh, where, notwithſtanding the king's commiſſion, he was condemned to death; which he bore with an intrepid firmneſs of mind conſiſtent with his general character.

The young king, hereby deprived of all chance of ſucceeding by dint of arms, was under a neceſſity to ſign the terms, which the Scottiſh committee had preſented to him. In conſequence of this agreement, he immediately ſet ſail for Scotland, and arrived in the frith of Cromatry. Before he was permitted to ſet foot on ſhore, he was required to ſign the covenant; and with this demand he immediately complied. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and other noblemen attached to the royal cauſe, were immediately removed from his preſence, and obliged to retire to their eſtates, where they lived without any truſt or authority. Charles, though received with all the demonſtrations of the profoundeſt reſpect, was debarred from all exerciſe of regal power, and allowed to indulge in no kind of amuſement; and though of an uncommon gaiety of diſpoſition, was obliged, in religious matters eſpecially, to ſubmit to all the gloom and auſterity of the Scots.

The news of Charles's arrival in Scotland had no ſooner reached the parliament of England, than they began to prepare for a war, and for this purpoſe recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almoſt reduced. That general, having conſtituted Ireton, his ſon-in-law, deputy lieutenant, returned to England, according to the ſummons of the parliament.

Cromwell, on firſt taking his ſeat, received the thanks of the commons for the ſignal ſervices he had done the common-wealth. They then deſired to know whether Fairfax would undertake the command of the troops deſtined for Scotland; and on his refuſal beſtowed it on Cromwell. Without delay he put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. The command of the Scottiſh army was conferred on Leſley, an able officer, who laid a very proper plan for defence. Removing from the ſouth, whatever he thought might help to ſupport the Engliſh army, he fortified himſelf in a camp between Edinburgh and Leith.

On Cromwell's advancing to the Scottiſh camp, he took every poſſible meaſure to provoke Leſley to battle; but that general knew that the Engliſh army as much excelled the Scotch in diſcipline and experience, as it fell ſhort in point of numbers; and therefore prudently kept within his intrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and petty rencounters he endeavoured to animate his ſoldiers, and was generally ſucceſsful in theſe enterprizes. His army became every day more numerous, and more dexterous, and expert in their exerciſe. Cromwell made another motion, in hopes of drawing the Scottiſh general from his entrenchments, but all his efforts proved ineffectual.

In utter want of proviſions, Cromwell was compelled to retire, after the two armies had remained ſeveral weeks in ſight of each other. He therefore withdrew to Dunbar: Leſley followed

followed him, and encamping on a hill oppoſite the town, aſſured himſelf of putting an end to the war, by the deſtruction of the whole Engliſh army.

Oliver had ſcarce a reſource left, had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of forcing his way at the head of his cavalry. But the folly of the Scottiſh clergy effectually ſaved him from that diſhonour. The diſputes, which at that time agitated the two nations, being more of a religious, than a civil nature, the clergy in both kingdoms had acquired a conſiderable influence in all public deliberations; and the Scottiſh miniſters in great numbers now attended the camp. Theſe men relying ſo much on providence (which they firmly believed eſpouſed their cauſe) wholly neglected every human means, and inceſſantly importuned their unfortunate general to attack the Engliſh, aſſuring him, that heaven would deliver their enemies into their hands, of which they pretended to have received the cleareſt intimations from above.

It was to no purpoſe that their general remonſtrated againſt the imprudence of ſuch a meaſure; the private men being entirely guided by the clergy, Leſley, therefore, after taking every precaution, though ſtrongly apprehenſive of the fatal conſequence, was at length obliged to deſcend into the plain, and come to an engagement with the Engliſh army.

Cromwell too in his turn declared, that he had received from heaven a revelation, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hands; and indeed it ſoon appeared, that his revelation, though doubtleſs as ill founded as that of the Scots, was attended with much better ſucceſs.

Unaccuſtomed, undiſciplined to the war, the Scots were altogether unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of ſuch hardy, and experienced veterans as the Engliſh. Though double in number to the enemy, they were inſtantly routed with great ſlaughter, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. Three thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and about nine thouſand taken priſoners. The Engliſh general then took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh, but the caſtle did not ſurrender till the latter end of December.

This defeat produced a better kind of behaviour from the Scottiſh parliament to the king. His friends were ſuffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great ſolemnity at Scone. His ſituation, however, though ſomewhat amended, was far from being eaſy or agreeable. Of a gay diſpoſition, he could but ill digeſt the rigid auſterities to which he was confined by the clergy, or the ſtill more ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, in which he was held by Argyle and his party. Diſguſted at theſe and many other circumſtances, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty. General Middleton being proſcribed by the covenant, had retired with a party of royaliſts to the Highlands, where he waited for Charles, who eſcaping from Argyle, fled to join him with all poſſible expedition. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horſe, was ſent in purſuit of him. The king was not a little mortified at his diſappointment, in being obliged to return; but this attempt to eſcape had a good effect in his favour. The committee and Argyle were now alarmed with the apprehenſion, that the ſeverity with which they had treated him might force him to join the cavaliers, and ſo involve the nation in a civil war. He was therefore admitted to a little part in the adminiſtration, and upon the whole, their rigour towards him conſiderably abated.

Charles, well knowing that Argyle's friendſhip was highly neceſſary for the attainment of his deſires, treated that nobleman with uncommon affability and eſteem, and even hinted a deſire of eſpouſing his daughter. Argyle, well acquainted with his majeſty's principles, kept at a diſtance; but his ſon, the marquis of Lorn, attached himſelf to the king, and faithfully executed his private commiſſions. Levies throughout the whole kingdom were now ſet on foot, with ſuch induſtry, that an army of eighteen thouſand men were ready for the field in the month of May.

*A. D.* 1651. The army of Scotland, under Hamilton

Hamilton and David Leſley, encamped early in the ſpring, at Torwood in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The king himſelf was preſent in the army, and his generals determined to act with prudence and caution. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the northern counties ſupplied him with proviſions. His front was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments; and it was in vain that Cromwell uſed every expedient to tempt him to an engagement. After conſuming much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to intercept the proviſions of the army. He was oppoſed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots; but theſe were defeated with great ſlaughter. Cromwell alſo paſſed over with his whole army, and placing himſelf at the back of the king, rendered the leaving his preſent ſtation, a matter of meer neceſſity.

In this extremity, Charles came to a reſolution, worthy a prince contending for empire. The way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to repair thither; where he hoped that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the preſent form of adminiſtration, would flock to his ſtandard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his propoſals; and with one conſent, the army, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded by long marches, towards England.

Cromwell was greatly alarmed when he ſaw the king with a numerous army, advancing into England, where his preſence, from the general hatred which prevailed againſt the parliament, was capable of producing ſome great revolution; and therefore ſent a body of cavalry under the command of Lambert to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and having left Monk with ſeven thouſand men to finiſh the reduction of Scotland, purſued the king with the utmoſt expedition.

A conſiderable body of forces were raiſed in Cheſhire and Derbyſhire by the earl of Derby, but they were ſoon defeated by the parliamentary army. The king's army being greatly diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe, his majeſty laid aſide his deſign, of marching to London, and directed his rout to Worceſter, where he met with a kind reception from the magiſtrates, and next day was ſolemnly proclaimed.

Cromwell having received conſiderable reinforcements, approached Worceſter with forty thouſand men, which he attacked with incredible fury, and meeting with little oppoſition, except from Hamilton and Middleton, broke in at once upon the diſordered royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were covered with the carcaſes of the ſlain; Hamilton, a worthy nobleman, was mortally wounded, and the king compelled to flight. By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boſcobel, a lone ſeat on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Panderell a farmer.

Here his majeſty was readily received by the farmer, though death was threatened to the perſon who ſhould harbour him. Panderell having communicated the ſecret to his three brothers, they furniſhed the king with a peaſant's habit, and led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and pretended to employ themſelves in cutting wood.

While Charles remained at this cottage, he lived upon ſuch homely fare as the landlord could afford. One day, on the approach of a party of ſoldiers, he climbed up into an oak tree, where he ſheltered himſelf for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years held by the royaliſts in great veneration. During this fugitive life, he was frequently expoſed to dangers no leſs imminent, and had recourſe to various methods of concealment, till at length, after many and great diſtreſſes, which he encountered in as many different diſguiſes, he landed at Feſcamp in Normandy, for which place he had embarked at Shoreham in Suſſex.

Such was the ſucceſs, and ſuch the ambition of Cromwell, that he could no longer brook ſubjection to a republic, depending on his influence, and ſupported by his victories. Such was his reputation and intereſt, that all the reſolutions of the lower houſe, were directed by him, as well as the army; and he was in effect chief of the republic.

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An act was now paſſed by the parliament of England, aboliſhing the royalty of Scotland, empowering it, however, to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament. All cauſes in both kingdoms were now determined by a mixture of Engliſh and Scottiſh judges; juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and peace and order were maintained by the prudent conduct of general Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. The people being ſecured in their property, applied themſelves to the manual arts; and enjoyed, during the inter-regnum, more of peace and plenty than their anceſtors had experienced, in any equal period of time.

The courage and conduct of Blake, who, till now had only been employed in land ſervice, obtained him the poſt of admiral, in which he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation, to a higher pitch than it had ever before attained. Prince Rupert being obliged to quit Kinſale with his fleet, ſteered to Portugal; thither he was purſued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented by the remonſtrances of his Portugueſe majeſty, from attacking him even in ſight of Liſbon.

Rupert, having eſcaped from Blake through favour of that monarch, directed his courſe to the Weſt Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was ſhipwrecked in a ſtorm. Rupert, after undergoing many hardſhips, and finding it impoſſible to do any effectual ſervice to the royal cauſe, returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the few ſhips which remained, together with all his prizes.

Sir George Aſcue was diſpatched with a ſquadron to reduce the American ſettlements to the obedience of the commonwealth, as, except New England, they all continued to acknowledge the royal authority. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, made little reſiſtance; Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, held out for a conſiderable time, but was at length obliged to follow the example of the other plantations. Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man, were with equal eaſe brought under obedience. Nor were the arms of the republic leſs ſucceſsful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy lieutenant of the former kingdom, perſevered with great induſtry in ſubduing the revolted Iriſh, and defeated them in many engagements, which, though in themſelves of little importance, entirely ruined their declining cauſe. All perſons who had any concern in the popiſh maſſacres were puniſhed without mercy; among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neal, who juſtly ſuffered on the gallows, for the many barbarities he had committed. After the reduction of Limeric, Ireton died in that city of the plague.

*A. D.* 1652. The Britiſh dominions being now entirely ſubjected to the parliament, they were at leiſure to attend to their concerns in foreign countries. Determined to chaſtiſe the Dutch, they paſſed an act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhips belonged. The ſtates general, alarmed at theſe meaſures, ſent ambaſſadors to London, to ſollicit the repeal of the act of navigation; but the parliament, far from complying with their requeſt, demanded ſatisfaction for the maſſacre at Amboyna, the murder of Doriſlaus, the correſpondence, which during the war, the Dutch ambaſſadors had maintained with the late king; claiming alſo two millions of money for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Hollanders in the Eaſt Indies. The ſtates, foreſeeing the ſtorm, equipped a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail, which they imprudently declared at the court of London by means of their ambaſſadors.

Tromp, a brave and experienced admiral, was diſpatched by the ſtates with a fleet of forty-five ſail, in order to ſecure the Dutch navigation from the Engliſh corſairs. He no ſooner obſerved the Engliſh admiral, than he endeavoured to retire, without ſtriking as uſual. Blake fired a blank ſhot, in order to remind him of that cuſtomary compliment. Tromp taking no notice of theſe warnings, Blake fired a ball, which was returned by a broadſide from the Dutch admiral.

Blake, deſpiſing their ſuperior numbers, intrepidly maintained the fight for five hours, during which, he took one ſhip and ſunk another. According to the Engliſh hiſtorians, none of Blake's ſhips received any damage;

but the Dutch alledge, that there were ſix ſunk. The populace of London were highly incenſed, and would have aſſaulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, had they not been furniſhed with a guard for the ſafety of their perſons. Tromp then ſailed towards the Downs, in order to engage rear admiral Ayſcue, who lay at anchor with part of the Engliſh fleet; but on receiving intelligence of Blake's being ſailed to the northward with forty ſhips, to deſtroy the herring buſſes on the coaſt of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in ſight of each other near Newcaſtle, but a violent ſtorm ariſing juſt as they were ready to engage, ſcattered the Dutch fleet in ſuch a manner, that not above thirty ſail could then reach Holland, though the reſt arrived in a few weeks afterwards.

Admiral de Ruyter with thirty-four ſhips of war and a large fleet of merchantmen, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt fell in with Sir George Ayſcue off Plymouth, who, though inferior in number to the enemy, engaged them valiantly until night put an end to the action. Soon before this engagement, commodore Badily was defeated in the Mediterranean, by Van-Galen, who was ſlain in the action.

Blake, ſoon after this, falling in with Tromp and de Ruyter, near the Godwin Sands, was determined to fight them, though his fleet was much inferior to theirs. In this battle the Dutch had the advantage; Blake himſelf was wounded, two ſhips were taken, two burned, and one ſunk. He retired to the Downs, and Tromp, elated with his victory, hoiſted a broom at his main top-maſt head, as a ſignal that he would ſweep the channel clear of the enemy.

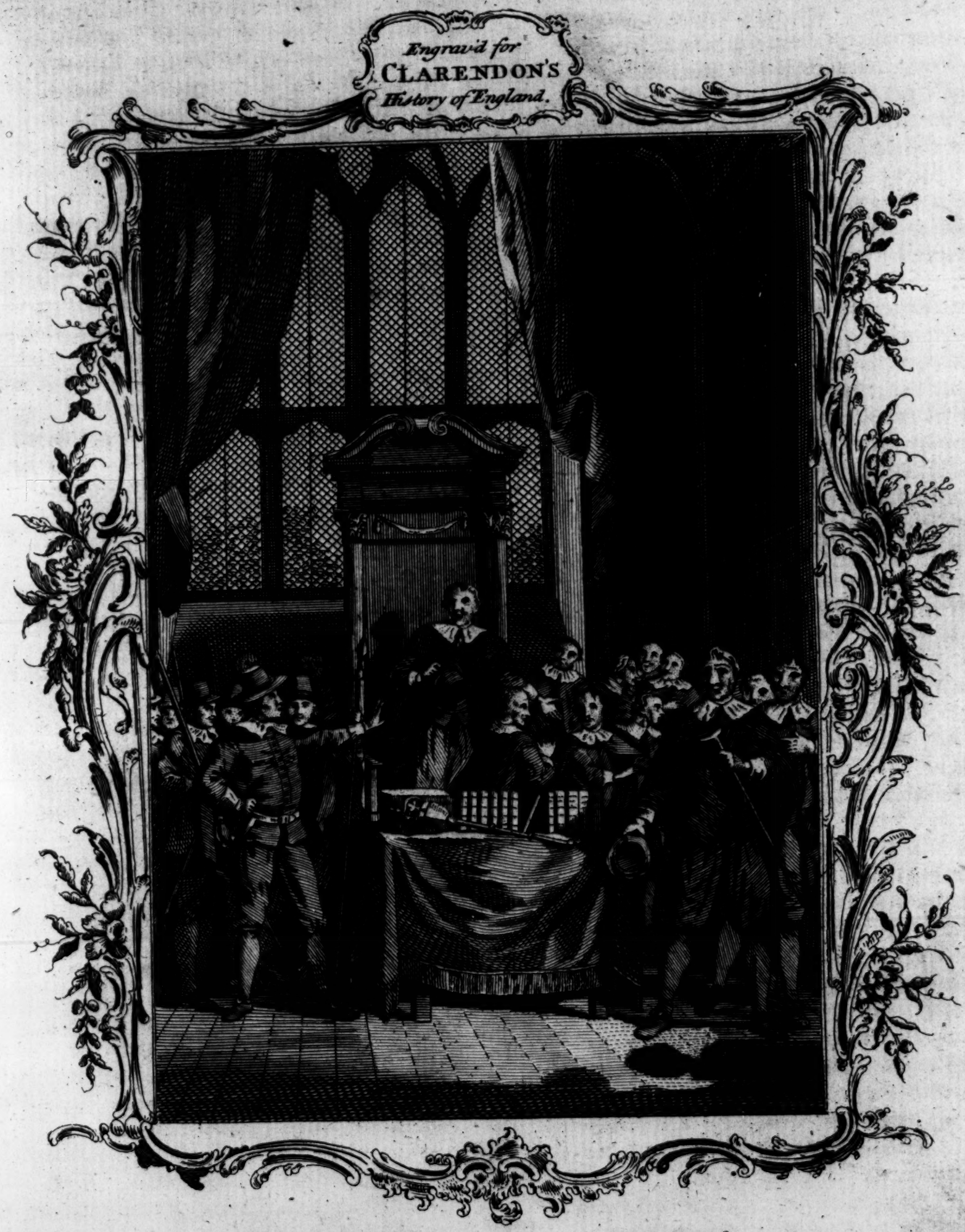
*A. D.* 1653. Determined to retrieve this misfortune, the Engliſh equipped a fleet of fourſcore ſail, the command of which was given to Blake, aſſiſted by Dean, together with Monk, who had been recalled from Scotland for that purpoſe. While they lay off Portland, they eſpied the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſail, having above three hundred merchant-men under their convoy.

The engagement begun immediately on the Engliſh bearing down to give them battle, and the fight was continued three days with the moſt invincible obſtinacy; when Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made an excellent retreat, and ſaved all the merchant-men except thirty. Eleven of his ſhips of war were taken or deſtroyed; two thouſand men were ſlain, and about fifteen hundred made priſoners. The number of ſlain among the Engliſh were nearly equal to that of the enemy. They loſt, however, but one ſhip, which was ſunk, but they had many greatly damaged.

Having ſuffered ſo greatly by the war, the ſtates applied to the Engliſh parliament, deſiring they would appoint a place, where they might treat of a pacification; but before this negotiation could be effected, a ſtrange revolution happened in England.

The people of England being highly diſſatisfied, with the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament, Cromwell conſulted thoſe officers on whoſe fidelity he could rely, and preſented a petition to the houſe, demanding the payment of their arrears. The parliament reprimanded the officers for this addreſs. Cromwell, finding matters ripe for his purpoſe, aſſembled a council of officers, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation; and while they were engaged in debates, colonel Ingoldſby entered, and informed Cromwell that the parliament had met, and were come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to ſupply the vacancies by new elections.

Being informed of this circumſtance, Cromwell haſtened to the houſe with a body of three hundred ſoldiers, which he poſted at the different avenues. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of ſoul, the Lord had impoſed on him. After ſitting ſome time to hear the debates, he ſuddenly roſe up, and in the moſt opprobrious terms reviled them; for their tyranny, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, he ſaid, "Get you "gone, give place to honeſt men, you are no "longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no "longer a parliament, the Lord has done with "you,




Oliver Cromwell diſſolves the Parliament.

"you, he hath choſen other inſtruments for "perfecting his own work." Sir Harry Vane riſing to remonſtrate againſt this outrage, he exclaimed, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry "Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry "Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak; "Thou art a whoremaſter," ſaid he. Another he called a drunkard; a third, an adulterer, and a fourth, an extortioner. "It "is you," ſaid he to the members, "that "have driven me to this. I have prayed the "Lord, night and day, that he would rather "ſlay me, than put me on this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he cauſed the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, retired to his lodging at Whitehall. Thus without noiſe, confuſion or blood-ſhed, by one ſingle ſtroke of political courage, did Cromwell unite all the power of three kingdoms in his own perſon.

Congratulatory addreſſes from the fleet, the army, and many congregations of ſaints were now poured in upon Cromwell. The republicans were the party, whoſe reſentment Cromwell had moſt reaſon to dread. That faction comprehended two ſets of men, who, though concurring in republican principles, differed in every other ſentiment.

The firſt were the Millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who affirmed, that dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction of magiſtracy ought to be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from ſuperior ſanctity; they expected the ſecond appearance of Chriſt upon earth, and alledged, that the ſaints (meaning themſelves) till that time, had alone a right to govern. The ſecond were the Deiſts, who aſpired to more liberty than they could expect under any monarch, and wiſhed for unbounded freedom in religion and politics.

The enthuſiaſm and want of abilities in the fifth monarchy men, determined Cromwell to attach himſelf to them, rather than to the Deiſts, as the fitteſt tools for his purpoſes. Though he had already aſſumed the ſupreme authority, he thought proper to amuſe them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He firſt juſtified his conduct in diſſolving the parliament, by a declaration ſubſcribed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army. He then propoſed a parliament, conſiſting of one hundred and forty four perſons, in whom, with their conſent, he would reſt the ſupreme power.

Men of mean extraction and weak intellects, who were likely ſoon to give up thoſe reins they were unable to manage, were the men whom Cromwell made choice of for members. They began the exerciſe of their function by aboliſhing the clergy, the tythes, the univerſities, the court of chancery, and the common law, in the room of which they intended to ſubſtitute the Moſaical inſtitution.

While the provinces of Holland and Zealand were drawing up remonſtrances to lay before the Engliſh parliament, admiral Tromp, with a fleet of a hundred ſail fell in with the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawſon. They engaged on the third of June, near the coaſt of Flanders, and fought with equal valour until night parted them. Admiral Dean was ſlain in the action, notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh renewed the battle next day, and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loſs; for towards the cloſe of the battle, the Engliſh were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen ſail of freſh ſhips, and the victors purſued the enemy to the coaſt of Holland. Tromp, after ſome time, having refitted his fleet, though ſtill inferior to the enemy, hoiſted ſail and bore down upon them as they lay in the Texel.

A freſh engagement began on the twenty-ninth day of July, which, with no material advantage to either party, laſted from morning till night. On the next day Tromp being reinforced with twenty-ſeven ſhips, engaged anew, and during the whole day, the victory remained doubtful. A few days after, Tromp ſailed forth with a fixed reſolution, either to repair his late misfortunes or die in the attempt. He fell in with the Engliſh commanded by Monk, and the fight immediately began with the utmoſt fury. Tromp bravely encouraging his men, was ſhot through the heart with a muſquet ball.

It is no wonder if the loſs of Tromp determined the fate of the battle. The Dutch, diſpirited

diſpirited by the death of their gallant admiral, began to give way on all ſides, and at length retired into their harbours with the loſs of their beſt ſhips, which were either ſunk, or taken. In the mean time the ſtates being heartily ſick of their late loſſes, were very earneſt in their negotiations of peace.

Cromwell, at length, ſigned the articles of peace on the following conditions. A defenſive league was concluded between the two republics. They engaged each of them, to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna, were to be ſeverely puniſhed; the honour of the flag was to be yielded to the Engliſh; eighty five thouſand pounds were to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt-India company, as an imdemnification for the loſſes, which the Engliſh company had ſuffered; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies was to be ceded to the latter. Cromwell, during theſe tranſactions, had gained ſuch a powerful influence in parliament, that they agreed to reſign their authority to thoſe from whom it had been received, and accordingly repaired to Whitehall, and confeſſing themſelves unequal to the taſk they had undertaken, they delivered the inſtrument of government to Cromwell.

*A. D.* 1654. The parliament having given up their authority to a council of officers, the latter, now declared that the power of government ſhould be veſted in Cromwell, with the title of Lord Protector, and that he ſhould be aſſiſted by a council of twenty-one perſons. His firſt act of ſovereignty was the execution of Mr. Vowel, and colonel Gerard, who were charged with having formed a conſpiracy againſt his life; the former was hanged at Tyburn, and the latter beheaded on Tower-hill. The ſame ſcaffold ſerved for the execution of don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to Portugueſe the ambaſſador. He had repaired with ſeveral others, to the New Exchange, and in a miſtake killed a man, whom he took to be this very Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceding day. Cromwell being informed of this tranſaction ordered the knight to be apprehended; and though he had retired to his brother's houſe, he and his accomplices were delivered up, the latter were hanged at Tyburn, and the knight was beheaded on Tower-hill.

The people could not be perſuaded but that Cromwell's intentions were of the arbitrary kind, notwithſtanding all the arts he made uſe of to remove their ſuſpicions and gain their eſteem. The parliament had no ſooner met and choſen Lenthall for their ſpeaker, than they entered on a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtruments of government, and of that authority, which under the title of protector, he had uſurped over the nation. Cromwell, incenſed at their refractory diſpoſition, ſummoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he harangued on the abſurdity of arraigning his title, ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, which conſtituted them a parliament, had entruſted him with the protectorſhip. On their return to the houſe, they found a guard placed at the door, which would not ſuffer any member to enter, until he had ſigned the recognition, by which he engaged faithfully to adhere to the preſent government, as veſted in a ſingle perſon and a parliament.

Many of the members, who on refuſing to ſign the engagement were expelled, engaged in a conſpiracy to take up arms in different parts of the kingdom. Cromwell, apprized of theſe intentions, diſſolved the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed by the act of parliament, telling them that he knew there was a plot formed againſt the adminiſtration.

*A. D.* 1655. A general diſaffection to the government appearing, the royaliſts formed a conſpiracy in concert with the king, and appointed a day for a general inſurrection. Cromwell obtaining immediate intelligence of this deſign, through the vigilance of his ſpies, ſeveral of them were apprehended and impriſoned; others, at the approach of the day, intimidated by the danger, remained quiet.

Notwithſtanding the general fear, Penruddock, Jones, Grove, and other gentlemen of the Weſt, aſſembled about two hundred horſe, with which they entered Saliſbury at the time of the aſſize, took poſſeſſion of the gates and market-place, and proclaimed the king; but

but being joined by none of their aſſociates, they abandoned the town, and wandered about that country, till their numbers were greatly diminiſhed, ſo that one troop of horſe was at laſt able to ſuppreſs them. The leaders being taken, were condemned and executed, the reſt were tranſported to the plantations. Cromwell now converted his attention to the affairs of the continent.

Charles II. of France ſo dreaded the power of the new republic, that although their fleet attacked the French navy, on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, forgetting the affront, he even ſent ambaſſadors to London, to ſue for the friendſhip and protection of Cromwell.

Oliver, ſoon after he was declared protector, had ſent Blake with a fleet to the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the Algerine corſairs, which had annoyed the Engliſh traders. Another fleet was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, having on board five thouſand ſoldiers under general Venables. Cromwell delivered to the admiral orders ſealed up, the purport of which he was not to know, until he reached a certain latitude. By theſe he was ordered to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and attack St. Domingo the capital. On their approach, the Spaniards abandoned their houſes, and fled into the woods; but when they ſaw Venables landing his ſoldiers at a conſiderable diſtance from the place, they recovered their ſpirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence. The Engliſh were ſo fatigued by a long march, added to the exceſſive heat of the climate, that they were ſcarce able to ſtand under their arms, ſo that they were eaſily drove on board their ſhips, with the loſs of ſix hundred men. Failing in this attempt, they ſailed for Jamaica, which yielded without the leaſt heſitation.

On their return to England, Oliver ordered the admiral and general to priſon, for having failed in their attempt upon Hiſpaniola. The king of Spain, incenſed at theſe hoſtilities, iſſued orders for confiſcating all the effects of the Engliſh in his dominions, and the Spaniſh trade was transferred to the Dutch, who ſoon indemnified themſelves for the loſſes which they had ſuffered in the war with England.

*A. D.* 1656. Admiral Blake, joined by Montague, cruized for ſome time off Cadiz, in hopes of intercepting the Spaniſh fleet from the Weſt Indies, but for want of water, was obliged to ſteer for Portugal. Captain Stayner whom he left on the ſtation, with ſeven ſhips, ſoon deſcried the galleons, and immediately gave chace. The Spaniſh admiral and two of his captains ran their veſſels a ſhore, but the two ſhips richly laden, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and two were ſet on fire. The treaſure was brought from Portſmouth in waggons, and carried in triumph through the city of London.

More honour, though leſs profit, accrued to the nation from the next action againſt the Spaniards. Blake, receiving intelligence that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips had taken ſhelter among the Canaries, ſailed thither, and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, drawn up in line of battle. The bay was fortified by a caſtle, and ſeven forts united by a line of communication; and the Spaniſh admiral Don Diego Diagues, had moored his ſmaller veſſels cloſe in ſhore; and the larger galleons further out with their broadſides to the ſea. Blake attacked them with great fury, the enemy quitted their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. Blake, atfer this great action, dying of a dropſy on his return to England, was magnificently interred at the expence of the protector, who ſincerely lamented the death of ſo gallant an officer.

Cromwell, about this time, having received a preſent from the count of Oldenburgh of ſix fine Frieſland horſes, he attempted, for his amuſement, to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, while Thurloe his ſecretary ſat in the coach. The horſes taking fright, ran with ſuch violence, that he could neither manage the reins nor keep his ſeat; but being thrown on the pole, was dragged on the ground for ſome time, and a piſtol which he had in his pocket went off in the

courſe of his career; yet by that ſingular good fortune which ever attended him, he was taken up without any conſiderable hurt.

He ſummoned a parliament to meet on the ſeventh day of September, the members of which being moſt of them his friends, liberally granted the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the war. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family, and this was the firſt act of that nature which had the leaſt appearance of a parliamentary ſanction.

*A. D.* 1657. One Syndercomb, who had ſerved as a trooper in Cromwell's own guards, was detected the beginning of this year in a conſpiracy againſt the life of the protector. This reſolute ſoldier had ſeveral times attempted to aſſaſſinate the protector, and very narrowly miſſed his aim. At his trial, he behaved with undaunted reſolution, declaring that many other perſons were engaged in the ſame deſign; and intimated that he had received undoubted aſſurances of being ſcreened from juſtice. He was convicted of high treaſon, and condemned to death, but on the day appointed for his execution, he was found dead in the priſon.

The complaiſance of the parliament was every day more and more conſpicuous. In order to diſcover the inclination of the houſe, a motion was made by colonel Jephſon, for making a tender of the crown to the protector; and the members expreſſed no ſurprize at the propoſal; yet when a formal motion was made by alderman Pack, the whole houſe was filled with confuſion; but in ſpite of all oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority.

When his acceptance of the crown was urged by the committee, he replied in ſuch a confuſed, unintelligible manner, as plainly indicated he did not deſire to be underſtood. He was certainly deſirous of obtaining the crown, and it was reaſonable to think, the motion was made with his knowledge and concurrence; but that he was prompted to act in that ambiguous manner, through fear of the army, the officers of which declared, that if he accepted the crown, they would reſign their commiſſions, and no longer eſpouſe his cauſe. He now deſired time to deliberate, appointing the eighth day of May for his anſwer, which was an abſolute refuſal. The parliament adjourned to the twentieth of January, having firſt, in reward for Cromwell's moderation in refuſing the crown, confirmed his title of protector.

Cromwell, ſuſpecting the fidelity of Lambert, Packer, and ſome other officers, diſmiſſed them from their reſpective poſts and employments. Cromwell's eldeſt ſon Richard, was now introduced at court, as his heir apparent. He was a man of an amiable diſpoſition, whoſe whole time was employed in acts of benevolence. Far from approving his father's conduct, he had beſought him in the moſt pathetic manner, to ſpare the life of the unhappy Charles.

The protector had two daughters unmarried, one of whom he beſtowed on the grandſon and heir of the earl of Warwick; the other on lord viſcount Falconbridge, of a very ancient family, formerly attached to the royal party. A plot was formed in favour of the king, by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough; Sir Henry Slingſby, a man of great property in Yorkſhire, and doctor Hewet, a clergyman of the church of England.

So plauſible an account of the probability of ſucceſs to ariſe from this combination, had been given to the young king, that he made ſome preparations in the Low Countries, intending to tranſport thoſe four regiments that afterwards joined the Spaniards. Cromwell receiving intimation that one of the king's commiſſions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapeley, ſent for him to court, and prevailed on him to diſcover all he knew of the conſpiracy. He alſo intimated that the marquis of Ormond had lately reſided in London three weeks. That nobleman came over to learn the particulars of the combination, and finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent without the knowledge of Cromwell. Mordaunt, Slingſby, and Hewet, with a great number of their confederates, were apprehended, and a court of

of juſtice was erected to try the conſpirators. Slingſby and Hewet were condemned and executed, but Mordaunt eſcaped, his wife having bribed the evidence to abſent themſelves on the day of trial.

Dunkirk being inveſted in the month of June, and the Spaniſh army advancing to its relief, the combined armies of France and England quitted their trenches, and fought the famous battle of Dunes, where the Spaniards were routed with the loſs of twelve hundred ſlain, and about two thouſand priſoners. This victory was chiefly aſcribed to the undaunted bravery of the Engliſh forces. Dunkirk being deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance, was obliged to ſurrender. Being put into the hands of Cromwell, he entruſted the government of it to Lockhart, a Scotchman, who had married his neice, and was his ambaſſador at the court of France, a perſon of great abilities.

The machinations of his enemies, and the defection of his friends and relations began to give Oliver great uneaſineſs. Fleetwood, his ſon in law, began to cabal againſt him, and was enraged to find that Cromwell had, inſtead of encouraging piety and religion as he had always profeſſed, directed his whole attention towards promoting his own grandeur. But the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, whoſe virtues did honour to her ſex, ſeems to have affected him in the moſt pungent manner.

A ſlow fever, which ended in a tertian ague attacked him in the month of Auguſt. For the ſpace of a week, the diſeaſe was ſo moderate, that in the intervals of the fits, he was able to walk abroad. In a ſhort time, the diſtember became more violent, and he began to entertain ſome thoughts of his approaching diſſolution. His phyſicians were ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, and began to drop him ſome hints on the ſubject; but his chaplains by their fanatical inſinuations ſo intoxicated his brain, that he firmly believed himſelf to be out of all danger. But notwithſtanding this deluſive aſſurance, his ſymptoms became more violent, and the council deſiring to know if his ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him, he was barely able to anſwer in the affirmative. He died in his fifty-ninth year, on the third of September, a day he had always regarded as auſpicious, and on which he had gained his two ſignal victories of Dunbar and Worceſter. His death was followed by a violent tempeſt, as if nature intended to celebrate the obſequies of ſo extraordinary a man.

His aſpect was rather unpleaſing though manly, and his conſtitution ſtrong and robuſt. The character of Cromwell has been differently drawn by different hiſtorians, according to their various princples and prejudices. Cardinal Mazarine was wont to call him a fortunate madman; father Orleans, ſtiles him a judicious villain; lord Clarendon, a brave wicked man; Gregory Leti ſays, that he was a tyrant without vices, and a prince without virtues.

Impartiality muſt compel every one to acknowledge, that Cromwell was actuated by the moſt ſuperſtitious bigotry and wildeſt ambition. Such was his courage and reſolution, that in the accompliſhment of his deſigns, he overlooked all danger and ſaw no difficulty. Though his learning was but ſuperficial, he inherited great talents from nature, and appears to have been verſed in the knowledge of mankind. He was as artful in exploring the purpoſes of others as he was ſagacious in diſſembling his own deſigns. His character and conduct are wholly irregular and deſtitute of uniformity; his humility was a cloak for preſumption, his religious zeal urged him to acts of cruelty, and his devotion degenerated into Buffoonery.

Cowel, ſeems to have drawn the moſt perfect character of this moſt extraordinary perſonage; the amount of which implies, the unparalleled nature of what he effected; in the ſeveral particulars of "overturning one "of the beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the "world; bringing his prince to an ignomi-"nious death; veiling his crimes under the "maſk of obedience to a parliament; diſ-"ſolving that parliament as ſoon as they had "incurred his diſpleaſure; erecting in their "room the dominion of the ſaints; and giv-

"ing

" ing reality to the moſt romantic idea, that " ever entered into the head of the wildeſt " fanatic; deſtroying that monſter in its in- " fancy, and openly exalting himſelf above " all things that were ever called ſovereign in " England; and finally leaving a name be- " hind him, not to be extinguiſhed but with " the whole world; which as it was too nar- " row for his fame, ſo might it have been " for his conqueſts, could the ſhort ſpan " of his mortal life have been extended " to the compaſs of his immortal deſigns."

To ſum up his character in one word, he was an amazing compound of enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy and ambition; if he poſſeſſed virtue, it was ſullied by villany, if magnanimity, it was depreciated by baſeneſs, if good ſenſe, it was rencountered by abſurdity. This age produced the celebrated John Milton, (who was ſome time latin ſecretary to Cromwell) and whoſe unrivalled learning and genius has rendered him the glory of this nation, and an object of the admiration of others.

Immediately on the death of Oliver, the council aſſembled and elected his eldeſt ſon Richard, as his ſucceſſor. After having been ſworn and taken the oath, he ſent into Scotland, Charles, general Monk's brother in-law, with aſſurances of reſpect and friendſhip for the general; which Monk received with profeſſions of acknowledgement and ſubmiſſion. Richard expended a conſiderable ſum on the funeral of his father, who was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. among the kings and princes of England.

Richard found himſelf utterly unable to manage the ſeveral parties, whom even Oliver's ſuperior ſkill and addreſs could ſcarcely reſtrain within any proper bounds; and they ſeem only to have aſſented to Richard's ſucceſſion, until each party could concert its meaſures, and act effectually for its own intereſt.

A parliament for the three kingdoms, which was convoked in the name of the new protector, met on the twenty-ſeventh day of January; and began to examine the authority of the Scots and Iriſh in ſending members to the houſe. After many debates, it was voted that the other houſe ſhould ſubſiſt, and the Scottiſh and Iriſh members ſit in parliament. They then paſſed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector.

*A. D.* 1659. A council of officers now preſented a petition, requeſting that Fleetwood might be appointed general of the army. The protector anſwered this with uncommon acrimony, and ordered them to return to their quarters, The council of officers now looked on Richard as a private perſon, and reſolved to ſettle the government, wholly regardleſs of the protector. On the twenty ſecond of April, they repaired to him, and inſiſted on the immediate diſſolution of the parliament. Deſborough, a man of a clowniſh diſpoſition, endeavoured to frighten him into compliance. The protector had neither ſpirit to deny nor power to reſiſt. The parliament was diſſolved and the protector was generally conſidered as depoſed. In a few days after, he ſigned his reſignation in form.

The ſovereign authority being thus uſurped by the council of officers, they began to conſider what form of government they ſhould next eſtabliſh. Many of them were diſpoſed to erect a military government, and to exerciſe the power of the ſword in an open manner; but as it would be difficult to compel the people to the payment of taxes impoſed by arbitrary will, it was reſolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to reſtore the long parliament which had been expelled by Oliver Cromwell; it was therefore affirmed, that, though violence might interrupt, it could not deſtroy their right to government, and that they could not be diſſolved without their own conſent.

This determination being made, the officers repaired to the houſe of Lenthall, who had been ſpeaker in the long parliament, and preſented him with a declaration of the military council, by which he and the other members were invited to re-aſſemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, two and forty met in the houſe, and the preſbyterian members, who had formerly been excluded, attempted to re-aſſume their ſeats; but

but they would not admit of ſuch troubleſome aſſociates, and the army upheld them in the renunciation of thoſe members. They appointed a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford houſe ſhould not be the majority; they conſtituted Fleetwood lieutenant general of the army, during the pleaſure of the houſe; they nominated ſeven perſons to diſpoſe of vacant commands, and decreed, that all commiſſions ſhould be iſſued in the name of the parliament, and ſigned by the ſpeaker.

Reſolved to atone, as much as poſſible, for their paſt conduct, the Preſbyterians propoſed to contribute their aſſiſtance to reſtore the royal family. Mordaunt, who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy, rather encouraged than intimidated by his paſt danger, was become the chief director of all their councils.

They projected a ſcheme for riſing in ſeveral counties at once, and a plan for ſurprizing at the ſame time, Glouceſter, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Cheſter. This ſcheme being approved by Charles, he repaired privately to St. Malo, that he might be near at hand, in caſe the enterprize ſhould ſucceed; but the conſpiracy was defeated by the intelligence of Sir Richard Wallis, who now maintained with the parliament, the ſame correſpondence which he had formerly carried on with Cromwell. Many of the conſpirators were ſeized and impriſoned, others abandoned their houſes; a violent tempeſt raged during the whole time appointed for the inſurrection; inſomuch, that ſome were unable, however willing, to join their friends, and others were filled with fear and ſuperſtition, at an incident ſo uncommon in the ſummer ſeaſon.

Sir George Booth having propoſed to ſurprize Cheſter, and being joined by Sir Thomas Middleton, they carried their plan into execution; but Lambert marching againſt them with a ſuperior force, after an obſtinate engagement, they were totally routed. Sir George Booth eſcaped from the field of battle, but was afterwards diſcovered in a diſguiſed habit, and impriſoned in the Tower of London.

Conferences were frequently held by the officers in and about London, who perceived the intention of parliament to enſlave the army; and a petition was drawn up, demanding that the parliament would immediately comply with the contents of a former addreſs, preſented by the council of Wallingford houſe; that they would eſtabliſh general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to the preſent commiſſion, would in a few months expire; that Lambert ſhould be appointed lieutenant general; Deſborough general of the cavalry; and Monk general of the infantry; that they would proſecute with the utmoſt ſeverity, thoſe communities, who had aſſiſted the enemy in the late inſurrections; and that no perſon might be elected chief magiſtrate of any corporation, who had ſhewn by his conduct, that the government of the commonwealth had not met with his approbation.

This petition was dated at Derby, and communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation; but their ſcheme being divulged, Sir Arthur Haſlerig communicated it to the houſe; which after ſome deliberation, voted, that to have any other officers than thoſe appointed by parliament, would not only be uſeleſs, but alſo chargeable and dangerous to the commonwealth.

The diſſolution or ſubjection of the parliament, was the determined reſolution of the officers, for which purpoſe Lambert approached London with his brigades. Having received aſſurance from Monk, that he would ſupport them, they caſhiered Lambert, Deſborough, and ſome other officers, who had ſigned the petition, revoked Fleetwood's commiſſion, and appointed commiſſioners for a limited time, to command the army.

Two regiments, commanded by officers of whoſe fidelity they had no doubt, were commanded by the council of ſtate, to take up their quarters in Weſtminſter, and guard the parliament; but Lambert, entering London with four regiments, took poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the houſe, re-conducted the ſpeaker to his own houſe, and excluded the members.

The officers, poſſeſſing the power of adminiſtration, now formed a council, which conſiſted of ten members, to provide for the occaſions of the commonwealth. They then appointed a committee of ſafety; in which the power of the adminiſtration was veſted. The chief members were Fleetwood, Deſborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane. The officers at the ſame time, publiſhed a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament, declaring they were ſo far from ſetting up a military government, that they had eſtabliſhed a committee of ſafety, which was enjoined to deliberate and propoſe a form of legiſlature, proper to maintain the ſubjects liberties, and the happineſs of the commonwealth, and that there was no neceſſity for a houſe of peers, a protector, or a king.

The army having thus expelled the parliament, general Monk inveighed againſt ſuch outrage and pretended a firm reſolution to aſſert their violated privileges, though deeper deſigns, either in favour of the king or himſelf, were ſuppoſed to be the motive of his actions. A jealouſy had long prevailed between him and Lambert, and every one ſaw the reaſon of his thwarting the deſigns of that ambitious general, whoſe ſucceſs he knew would deſtroy his own authority.

Seeing the neceſſity of acting with great ſecrecy and caution, Monk aſſembled his troops, diſmiſſed ſome officers whom he knew diſaffected to his purpoſes, impriſoned Cobbet, ſecured the town of Berwick, and demanded an extraordinary ſupply from the the Scots for this expedition.

Monk having learnt that Lambert with his army was advancing towards the north, ſent Cloberry and two other commiſſioners to London, to aſſure the committee of his peaceable diſpoſition, and to propoſe terms of accommodation. His chief view was to procure delay, and retard the preparations of his enemies. The committee of ſafety agreed to a treaty, which was at laſt ſigned by the commiſſioners, but Monk refuſed to confirm it, on pretence that his commiſſioners had exceeded their inſtructions. He deſired, however, to engage in a new negotiation at Newcaſtle.

*A. D.* 1660. Having received from the Scots a ſupply of thirty thouſand pounds, Monk entered England on the ſecond day of January. The parliament were no ſooner informed of his approach, than they diſpatched Scot and Robinſon, as their deputies, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to watch and report his conduct. The city ſent four of its principal inhabitants to pay him the like compliments, and at the ſame time to convince him of the abſolute neceſſity of calling a free parliament, which ſeemed to be the general wiſh of the nation.

Monk no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to the parliament, deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, though they now pretended to return to their allegiance, had ſo lately dared to expel that aſſembly. This demand increaſed their ſuſpicions, nevertheleſs they complied with his direction. He was introduced to the houſe with great ſolemnity, and received from the mouth of the Speaker, the public thanks for the great ſervices which he had done his country. He then made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the peaceable reſtoration of the parliament was not one of the ſmalleſt bleſſings which God had beſtowed on the nation; he told them, that he had received a great number of addreſſes, expreſſing their deſire of a free parliament, propoſed to reſtore the excluded members without exacting the oaths, and recommended the ſettlement of Scotland and Ireland to the notice and care of the parliament.

An aſſeſſment being demanded, the common council of London refuſed to pay it, and declared, that till a free and legal parliament was aſſembled, they would never conſent to make any payment, This refuſal would immediately have deſtroyed the authority of the parliament; they were, therefore, reſolved upon this occaſion to make at once a full trial of their own ſtrength and the general's fidelity; and therefore, ordered Monk to march into the city, to carry off their chains and demoliſh their gates, and commanded him to ſee theſe violent orders carried into immediate execution. Monk obeyed the injunction, entered the city in an hoſtile manner, levelled with

with the ground the gates and port cullices, and returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter, leaving the citizens equally aſtoniſhed and incenſed at his proceedings.

A ſmall ſhare of reflection convinced Monk that he had diſguiſed his ſentiments too long, he therefore reſolved to repair his errors without delay, and to ſhew the world, that he would no longer be the miniſter of vengeance to ſuch unrelenting tyrants. He immediately ſent a letter to the parliament, in which, after complaining of the odious taſk they had impoſed on him; he upbraided them with the new cabals they were carrying on with Vane, and Lambert, and demanded in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole community, that they ſhould iſſue writs within a week for ſupplying the preſent vacancies in the houſe, and appoint the time for their own diſſolution, and the ſummoning of a new parliament.

When he had ſent this letter to the parliament, he returned with his army into the city, and deſired Sir Thomas Allen, the lord mayor, to convoke a common council at Guild-hall. He there endeavoured to apologize for the inſults which he had been obliged to offer them; proteſted his firm adherence to the meaſures, which he had embraced, and begged that a ſtrict union might be effected between the city and army, and repreſented that the national affairs could be no way ſo well ſettled as by their union.

All kinds of public joy, and every ſpecies of feſtivity took place as ſoon as the union between the city and the army was known. The royaliſts and preſbyterians, burying in oblivion their feuds and animoſities, congratulated each other on this fortunate event, and vowed never more to expoſe their country to the calamities of a civil war, by their unhappy diviſions.

Matters in the city being ſettled, Monk with his army returned to Weſtminſter, and reſolved to finiſh the work he had begun, requeſted the excluded members to repair to the houſe. They went accordingly, and forming a majority, their firſt buſineſs was to annul all the orders by which they had been deprived of their ſeats; they reſtored Sir George Booth and all his party to their liberty and eſtates; they renewed and enlarged the generals commiſſion; they voted an aſſeſsment for the maintainance of the fleet and army; and having taken theſe ſteps for the preſent compoſure of the nation, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued orders for convoking a new parliament. While Monk was thus labouring for the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy, he ſtill affected a zeal for a republic, and would as yet engage in no correſpondence with the king; communicating his private intentions to one friend alone, one Mr. Maurice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, who was related to the general, and on whoſe ſecrecy he could ſafely rely.

With a view to new model the army, Monk directed ſome particular officers to preſent him with an addreſs; in which they promiſed to obey implicitly the orders of the enſuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be ſigned by all the different regiments; and this furniſhed him with a pretence for diſmiſſing all the officers, by whom it was rejected. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, his deſign was near being defeated by Lambert's eſcaping from the Tower; and beginning to aſſemble forces. As it was neceſſary to exert the greateſt activity in ſuppreſſing ſo dangerous an enemy; the general detached colonel Ingoldſby with his own regiment againſt Lambert, who had taken poſſeſſion of Daventry with four troops of horſe; but Lambert himſelf was obliged to ſubmit, as the greateſt part of his troops deſerted to Ingoldſby.

On the twenty ſixth of April, the ſecond day of the meeting of the new parliament, Sir John Granville, a ſervant of the king's, preſented to the houſe a letter from his majeſty; which being immediately read, a committee was nominated to draw up an anſwer; and, in order to propagate the joyful news throughout the kingdom, it was reſolved, that the letter ſhould be opened. The king's declaration contained in it, was happily adapted to maintain the ſatisfaction, inſpired by the hopes of public tranquillity. It promiſed a general indemnity

demnity to all perſons whatſoever; and, in ſhort, contained every conceſſion that could tend to the happineſs of the king and his ſubjects.

Obſerving the ſpirit of unanimity which ſeemed to influence all parties, the peers determined to repoſſeſs themſelves of their ancient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation, The doors of their houſe they found open, and all were allowed to enter; even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency. The lords voted, that the government ought to be jointly in the king, lords and commons, according to the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom.

This vote having met with the concurrence of the commons, they allotted five hundred pounds, to purchaſe a jewel for Sir John Granville, the bearer of the king's letter, preſented fifty thouſand pounds to the king, ten thouſand to the duke of York, and five thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter. Then the two houſes erazed from the records, all the acts that had paſſed to the prejudice of royalty,

Charles the ſecond was proclaimed king of England on the eighth day of May, in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houſes attending at the ſolemnity. The reſpect of foreign powers ſucceeded the ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects. Spain importuned him to return to the Low Countries, and take ſhipping in any of her maritime towns. France aſſured him of her friendſhip and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The ſtates general ſent deputies to give him the like friendly invitation; and as the Hollanders had always treated him with reſpect, he gave the preference to their offer.

Multitudes of people attended him with their congratulations in his journey from Breda to the Hague. After receiving the compliments of the ſtates general, he embarked on the twenty third; and on the twenty ſixth arrived at Dover, where he was received by Monk, whom he embraced with the warmeſt affection, calling him father, guardian, and protector. Charles proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the order of the garter upon his reſtorer. He entered London on his birth day, the twenty ninth of May, which the ſuperſtitious multitude conſidered as an omen of a proſperous reign.

Among the different ſects that England produced ſince the commencement of king Charles's reign, the moſt remarkable was that of the Quakers, founded by George Fox, the ſon of a weaver at Drayton, in Lancaſhire. They derived the name of Quakers, from thoſe violent tranſports of enthuſiaſm, he and his diſciples were ſeized with; which threw them into contorſions, and univerſal trepidation. Harvey, the famous phyſician, who diſcovered the circulation of the blood, ſo uſeful in the ſtudy of phyſic, flouriſhed at this time.

BOOK

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Engravid for Clarendons
History of England.

CHARLES II.

# BOOK XI.

## From the Reſtoration to the Revolution, a period of twenty eight years.

## CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660. WITH very conſiderable advantages, perſonal and mental, Charles II. took poſſeſſion of the throne, in the thirtieth year of his age; when his firſt care was to make choice of a proper council, which was artfully choſen, partly from among the royaliſts, and partly from the heads of the preſbyterian party. Of the preſbyterian leaders, the earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain, lord Say privy ſeal, Anneſley was created earl of Angleſey, Aſhley Cowper, and Denzil Hollis, were advanced to the dignity of barons. The admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich, and the dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon general Monk.

The king appointed Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Maurice to be ſecretaries of ſtate, and conferred the dignity of chancellor, upon his faithful adherent, Sir Edward Hyde, whom he created earl of Clarendon, and who was now conſidered as prime miniſter.

Calamy and Baxter, two of the chief of the preſbyterian miniſters, were, to gratify that party, appointed chaplains to his majeſty.

The king, during his exile, had cultivated his mind; he was verſed in the hiſtory and politics of the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Europe, and thoroughly acquainted with mechanics and ſhip building. But his other qualities were by no means correſpondent. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careleſs, indolent, and immoderately addicted to pleaſure. To the pernicious influence of his example muſt be aſcribed that deluge of luxury and debauchery, which ſoon after overrun the nation.

His majeſty's conſent being wanting at the ſummons of the parliament, they were diſtinguiſhed by the title of Convention; but now a formal act paſſed, whereby they aſſumed the denomination of a parliament. All judicial proceedings tranſacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, they deemed neceſſary to confirm by a new law; and both houſes confeſſing the guilt of the former rebellion, embraced his majeſty's pardon and indemnity.

It was the opinion of the peers, that thoſe who had ſat as judges on perſons executed in conſequence of ſentences paſſed by the high commiſſion courts, ſhould be excepted out of the general pardon. So wide an exception, which might have included every one who had ſerved the parliament, filled the nation with the greateſt apprehenſions; and men began to ſuſpect that this motion was the effect of ſome court artifice or intrigue. But his majeſty's coming to the houſe of peers, and moſt earneſtly intreating them to make the indemnity general, removed theſe ſuſpicions.

In conſequence of his majeſty's ſollicitations, the lords and commons concurred in the material articles of the bill of indemnity; but would not conſent to a clauſe relating to nineteen of thoſe, who had ſat as judges on the late king. The eſtates of Oliver Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Pride, Phillips, and Haſlerig, and one and twenty members, already dead, were confiſcated; and their families ſubjected to ſuch other penalties, as the king and parliament ſhould think proper to inflict.

An exception to the prejudice of Vane and Lambert

Lambert was alſo made, though they were not among the number of the king's judges. Oliver St. John, and ſeventeen other perſons were deprived of all benefit from this act; if they accepted, or executed any office, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. Commiſſioners were now appointed to proceed upon the trials of the ninety that had been immediately concerned in the murder of the late king. Of theſe, twenty-five were dead; twenty nine had eſcaped out of the nation; ſeven were deemed proper objects of mercy; twenty-nine received ſentence of death; but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleaſure, on account of their having ſurrendered themſelves according to the proclamation. The ten who were to be immediately executed were Harriſon, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacket, and Axtel; who, from an apparent conſciouſneſs of having done their duty, ſuffered with the ſpirit and reſolution of martyrs.

In the interim, the ſettlement of his majeſty's revenues engroſſed the attention of parliament, who herein evinced an equal regard for the liberties of the nation, and the dignity of the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardſhips and liveries had been utterly aboliſhed; and even in the preſent parliament, before the king's reſtoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for theſe revenues. An hundred thouſand pounds a year was the ſum, which the parliament propoſed; and the king, ſenſible that theſe imports did not yield ſo much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the exciſe was granted in perpetuity to the crown, as the fund for producing that revenue; but the making good theſe engagements was left to the parliament's future deliberation, no funds being yet eſtabliſhed which would produce more than two thirds of that ſum.

The greateſt affliction his majeſty ſeems ever to have experienced, was occaſioned at this time, by the loſs of the duke of Glouceſter, who died of the ſmall pox, in the twentieth year of his age.

His majeſty, as ſoon as the parliament was adjourned, publiſhed a proclamation, ordering that a certain number of able divines ſhould be choſen to review and alter the liturgy; at the ſame time, directing the biſhops to exerciſe their ſpiritual juriſdiction in the ſame form, as had been formerly uſed in the church of England. Nine of the old biſhops ſtill living, were reſtored to their dioceſes; and biſhoprics offered to the moſt eminent preſbyterians, but except Reynolds, who was made biſhop of Norwich, they all refuſed the offer.

In the month of October, the princeſs dowager of Orange arrived in London; and in a ſhort time after, his majeſty was viſited by his mother the princeſs Henrietta, and Edward, prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. The queen mother at this juncture, propoſed a match between her daughter Henrietta, and the duke of Orleans, to which the king conſented.

Deputies were ſent from the parliament, which met on the ſixth of November, to congratulate the queen on the happy turns of affairs with reſpect to the reſtoration of her royal family; and the commiſſioners, to inſinuate themſelves more into the king's favour, preſented each of his ſiſters with ten thouſand pounds; they then concerted meaſures for enabling his majeſty to diſband the army ſtill ſubſiſting; which was accordingly done, reſerving only one regiment of infantry, and another of cavalry, as a guard for the king's perſon. The two houſes then cauſed the bodies of Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Ireton, and Pride, to be taken out of their graves, and carried upon ſledges to Tyburn, and buried under the gallows, after hanging a whole day.

The king diſſolved the parliament on the twentieth of December, after thanking them for their affection in terms of the moſt grateful regard. The chancellor in his ſpeech recommended the ſettlement of the militia, and alſo hinted the formation of a conſpiracy, for ſurprizing Windſor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London, affirming, that many diſbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this deſign, and that their intention was to raiſe an inſurrection in the weſt, under the command of general Ludlow.

*A. D.* 1661. During his majeſty's abſence, who

who accompanied his mother to Dover, in her way to France, in the beginning of this year, one Venner, a frantic enthuſiaſt, having by his vehement harangues inflamed his own mind and thoſe of his followers, iſſued forth into the ſtreets of London. They marched in triumph from ſtreet to ſtreet, every where proclaiming king Jeſus, whom they ſaid was their inviſible leader. They took poſſeſſion of a houſe in the city, and defended themſelves until the greater part was killed; the few that remained being taken, were tried, condemned, and executed; affirming, that if they were deceived the lord was their deceiver.

The affairs of Scotland now engaged his majeſty's attention; orders were iſſued to diſband the troops and demoliſh the forts in that kingdom. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was ſent commiſſioner to the parliament, which was now aſſembled, and diſcovered in all their proceedings, a very compliant diſpoſition. The commiſſioners had even intereſt ſufficient to procure an act, repealing at once all laws which had paſſed ſince the year 1633, under pretext of the violence which had been uſed, in extorting the late king's conſent to theſe ſtatutes. As laws in favour of preſbytery had been enacted ſince that period, theſe of conſequence were by this means annulled, and the prelacy in effect reſtored. Charles was crowned on the twenty-third of April with great pomp; and in the courſe of this year, he eſtabliſhed the Royal Society, now ſo well known in every part of the world.

When the parliament met, his majeſty recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity: at the ſame time, he informed them of his intention of eſpouſing the Infanta of Portugal; which match, by the advice of his council, he had already concluded. The commons having choſen Sir Edward Turner ſpeaker, immediately proceeded to buſineſs; they paſſed an act for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, and it was made high treaſon to intend or deviſe his impriſonment or dethronement.

To call him a papiſt, or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to deprive him of the affections of his ſubjects, was declared puniſhable with excluſion from all offices, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. They annulled the act for excluding biſhops from ſitting in parliament; declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone, and empowered him to diſpoſe of all the land forces. Both houſes were adjourned to the twentieth of November, his majeſty having paſſed the bills, and thanked them for the above proofs of their loyalty and affection.

Heavy complaints againſt the king, were made by the cavaliers, for leaving them deſtitute; while thoſe who had proſecuted them with the utmoſt ſeverity, enjoyed, by the act of indemnity, all the wealth they had unlawfully extorted from the royaliſts, before the reſtoration. On the other hand, the miniſtry ſpread through the whole city, rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the king and government. Their deſign was to amuſe the public, and likewiſe to inflame the people and parliament againſt the non-conformiſts, who were the ſuppoſed authors of the combinations. The king, the earl of Clarendon, and moſt of the members of both houſes were averſe to the preſbyterians, and under the general term of non-conformiſts were very deſirous to humble them.

The parliament, on their meeting in November, petitioned the king to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and ſoldiers to retire to the diſtance of twenty miles from London; and on his majeſty's complying with their requeſt, voted twelve hundred thouſand pounds for his immediate occaſions.

*A. D.* 1662. His majeſty ſending for the commons on the firſt of March to Whitehall, charged them with neglect in adjuſting his revenue; mentioned a republican party that ſtill ſubſiſted in the kingdom; expreſſed his ſincere attachment to the church of England; and gave the royal aſſent to an act, for eſtabliſhing uniformity in public worſhip, and in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament.

On the twenty-firſt of May, the marriage of Charles with Catharine, infanta of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. This princeſs, though virtuous, poſſeſſed no perſonal charms; her chief attraction was a portion

portion amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. The celebration of the nuptials was ſucceeded by the trial and execution of criminals.

Vane was indicted for his behaviour after the king's death; with regard to the helping Cromwell to the protectorſhip; and defended himſelf with equal courage and capacity. He obſerved, that he had only acted in obedience to an eſtabliſhed authority; which authority, if deemed criminal, the whole kingdom muſt be guilty. He reminded the court of the rigorous perſecution he underwent in his firſt oppoſing Oliver Cromwell, declaring, that though it had been in his power to eſcape from his enemies at the reſtoration, he choſe rather to ſtay, and give teſtimony with his blood to the cauſe of liberty, which he had eſpouſed. But all he could ſay was ineffectual; the judges took advantage of the letter of the law, and condemned him to death, Being brought to the ſcaffold, he began to harangue the ſpectators on the ſubject of liberty; but the ſound of drums and trumpets prevented his being heard, and he ſubmitted to his hard fate with great reſolution, though he was naturally of a timid diſpoſition. Lambert, though condemned, was indulged with a reprieve; and the judges affirmed, that if Vane had behaved with equal ſubmiſſion, he would have met with the like clemency from the king; but little credit was given to this aſſertion, it being generally believed, that a reſolution had been taken to ſacrifice him to the manes of the earl of Strafford. Lambert ſurvived his condemnation thirty-ſix years, being confined in the iſle of Guernſey, where he lived contented, forgetting his former ſchemes of ambition, as well as forgotten by the world.

The act of uniformity, obliging the clergy to ſubſcribe to the articles, or abandon their livings on the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, about two thouſand of the clergy in one day abandoned their cures, ſacrificing their intereſt to their religious principles. During theſe proceedings, admiral Lawſon, who in the beginning of the year ſailed with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Barbary, concluded a peace on the part of England with the Dey of Algiers.

*A. D.* 1663. A petition was now preſented to the king and council, by the preſbyterians, who thought themſelves much aggrieved, praying that they might be exempted from the penalties inſerted in the act of uniformity; and his majeſty iſſued a proclamation for that purpoſe; this indulgence was extended to the Catholics, whom the king was ſuppoſed to favour.

The earl of Briſtol, who in his exile had embraced this Romiſh religion, now employed all his raillery in ridiculing the earl of Clarendon, and rendering him obnoxious to his ſovereign. Nor was the earl the only perſon that endeavoured to traduce that faithful miniſter. The dutcheſs of Cleveland, the favourite concubine of Charles, becauſe Clarendon diſdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her ambition, uſed all her influence with the king to effect his ruin. Secretary Nicholas, who was Clarendon's intimate friend, was depoſed, and ſucceeded by Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papiſt.

Charles, whoſe ingratitude was a ſtriking part of his character, was deaf to the frequent petitions of thoſe unhappy royaliſts, whoſe attachment to his father and himſelf had reduced them to beggary.

He granted, however, a few penſions, to the Penderells, Mrs. Land, and ſome others, who had contributed to his preſervation after the battle of Worceſter. But the greateſt part of the royaliſts were ſtill involved in poverty and diſtreſs, aggravated by the diſappointment of their moſt ſanguine hopes, and the additional mortification of ſeeing all places of power and profit, poſſeſſed by their inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they alledged, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends. The narrow revenue of the king, and his profuſe diſpoſition always kept him in neceſſity; and notwithſtanding all the ſupplies voted him, his treaſury was ſtill very empty and great debts were incurred; which laid him under the neceſſity

ceſſity of ſelling Dunkirk to the French; an act which does him great and laſting diſhonour.

Although the earl of Clarendon had in a great meaſure loſt his majeſty's confidence and eſteem, yet he was not ſo void of gratitude, as to forget the many important ſervices he had done him; he therefore ſtill continued the earl in his chancellorſhip, and ſhewed him ſome ſmall favour, which conduct rendered the Catholics fearful of his regaining that credit, which through their policy and intrigue he had loſt.

The earl of Briſtol, prompted, as is imagined, by this motive, impeached the chancellor of high treaſon. In this inconſiſtent charge, he was accuſed of having endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king; of promiſing to uſe his influence in aboliſhing the penal laws againſt the papiſts; of having ſcandalized his majeſty; adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk; reviled the parliament; embezzled the public money; and enriched himſelf by ſelling employments. The lords treated this ill-founded impeachment with contempt, and lord Briſtol was aſhamed to appear in public for ſome time afterwards.

*A. D.* 1664. During the receſs of parliament, which was prorogued to the ſixteenth day of March, the king and queen made a progreſs through the weſtern counties; and were received by the univerſity of Oxford with great magnificence. The miniſtry diſcovered, during the king's abſence, another conſpiracy formed by the independents, and republicans, to ſurpize ſeveral towns in the north, and excite a general inſurrection. This was nothing more than an idle ſcheme of ſome inconſiderable fanatics, and diſbanded ſoldiers, thirty of whom were taken and executed; however, it furniſhed the king with a plea, to demand, in his next ſpeech to the two houſes, the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments. With this demand they alſo complied, in conſequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was expoſed to continual troubles from the ſuggeſtions of a ſet of wretches, who arrogated to themſelves a right of meeting for a new election, under pretence that the preſent parliament was already diſſolved, in conſequence of that act.

The commons having examined the obſtacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs and indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of the nation. This was the prelude to a Dutch war, which ſeems not to have been owing to what was here voted, but to very different motives.

The king's extravagance, which kept him always poor, prompted him to hope that he might convert to his private uſe ſome of the ſupplies granted for the maintenance of the war; he delighted in ſhip-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy, that ſhould maintain the ſuperiority of the ocean; the duke of York longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and his power, as high admiral, againſt a people whom he deteſted, not only for their republican principles, but as one of the chief bulwarks of proteſtantiſm; the Dutch had oppoſed the African company in their attempts to eſtabliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, and were looked upon as rivals to the whole trading part of the nation.

A war with Holland was therefore heartily approved, both by the court and parliament. Downing, the Engliſh reſident in Holland, delivered a memorial to the ſtates, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, of which the Engliſh complained. Mean while, as Charles was fully determined on the war, he ſecretly diſpatched Sir Robert Holmes, with a fleet of two and twenty ſail to the coaſt of Africa. Holmes not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome plauſible claim, but likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Cape Verde, and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral veſſels trading on that coaſt. When the ſtates remonſtrated againſt theſe hoſtilities, the king affected a total ignorance of Holmes's enterprize, and the better to carry on the deception, committed Holmes to the Tower, but reſtored him to liberty in a ſhort time.

Finding their applications for redreſs entirely

tirely uſeleſs, the ſtates ſent private orders to de Ruyter, to ſail for the coaſt of Guinea, and make repriſals on the Engliſh. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with his uſual vigour and ſucceſs. He retook all the conqueſts, which the Engliſh had made, except Cape Corſe; expelled them from ſome of their old ſettlements, and ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips, that fell into his hands. He then ſteered to the Weſt Indies, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of Barbadoes, but failed in the attempt.

Theſe hoſtilities on the part of the Dutch having rouſed the ancient ſpirit of the Engliſh, the naval preparations were carried on with great diligence. No ſupplies had been granted by parliament, but the king by his own intereſt and credit, was enabled to fit out a fleet; the city of London gratified him with a loan of an hundred thouſand pounds; he himſelf viſited the docks, encouraged and rewarded the workmen, and in a ſhort time, the Engliſh navy was put into a very formidable condition.

A ſubſidy of two millions and a half, which was to be raiſed in three years by quarterly payments, was granted by the parliament, which met on the twenty fourth of November. This done, the king publiſhed a declaration, enjoining his ſubjects to make repriſals on all ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſtates of Holland; mean while the Dutch alſo put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

*A. D.* 1665. Prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich, ſerved under the duke of York, who was appointed admiral of the Engliſh fleet, which conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen ſail, beſides fire ſhips and ketches. Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of near equal force, received poſitive orders to give battle to the enemy. In the heat of the action, when engaged in furious combat with the duke of York, Opdam's ſhip blew up, and himſelf periſhed with all his crew. This incident decided the fortune of the day, for the Dutch, diſpirited by the loſs of their admiral, immediately broke the line, and made toward their own coaſt; and Tromp, ſon of the admiral of that name, favoured the retreat of the Dutch by ſuſtaining the fight alone for ſome time.

The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, whereas the Dutch had nineteen either ſunk or taken; but the victory might have been ſtill more compleat, had it not been for orders to ſlacken ſail, given by Brounker, a gentleman of the duke's bed-chamber, who ſaid he was authorized by his maſter. The duke diſowned the orders, but Brounker was not ſufficiently puniſhed for his preſumption. It is confeſſed, that during the whole action, the duke diſcovered equal courage and conduct; He was long engaged in the heat of the battle, and kept his ſtation, when the earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one ball at his ſide, and he was beſmeared with the blood and brains of thoſe three gallant officers. He now became the nations idol, and as the queen was ſuppoſed to be barren and wholly neglected by Charles, he was conſidered as preſumptive heir to the crown.

A reſolution was now formed by the king and council, not to permit the duke to hazard a ſecond engagement; whereupon the command of the navy was given to the earl of Sandwich; of which, however, he was ſoon deprived, for the king having ordered him to ſet ſail for Berghen, where a fleet of Dutch merchantmen lay at anchor, inſtead of obeying the command in perſon, he diſpatched Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet for that ſervice; who attacked them with great impetuoſity, but met with ſo warm a reception, that he was obliged to deſiſt from the enterprize with great loſs. Charles, incenſed at the earl for omitting to go thither in perſon, deprived him of the command, and ſent him on an embaſſy to Madrid.

For ſeveral weeks during the courſe of this year, the plague raged violently in London, deſtroying above one hundred thouſand inhabitants of that city. The king retired to Hampton Court, in order to avoid the contagion; thence he removed to Saliſbury, but that city being infected, he proceeded to Oxford. Barnard Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, at the inſtigation of the king of England, took up arms againſt the ſtates general; in conſideration of receiving a large ſubſidy, from the

the Britiſh court. This turbulent prelate aſſembled a body of twenty thouſand men, with which he invaded the province of Overyſſel, and reduced ſeveral places, but was glad to compromiſe matters, on finding the ſubſidy from England ill paid, and a large reinforcement to the Dutch being ſent by the duke of Lunenburgh and the king of France.

Twelve hundred thouſand pounds for ſupporting the war, and one hundred thouſand to the duke of York for his eminent ſervices, were granted by the parliament which met at Oxford. The king now iſſued a proclamation, commanding all non-juring miniſters, to remove with their families to the diſtance of twenty miles from the places of their uſual reſidence. Theſe perſons would have been much aggrieved by this command, had not the munificence of their friends increaſed in proportion to the ſeverity of the government.

*A. D.* 1666. France having eſpouſed the intereſt of the Dutch, war was declared againſt that kingdom, on the king's return to London, in February. The Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſail, was now at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp. Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded the Engliſh fleet, which amounted only to forty, notwithſtanding which diſparity, they bore down on the enemy in the morning of the firſt of June. The Dutch prepared for battle by cutting their cables on the approach of the Engliſh veſſels.

The combat commenced with prodigious fury on both ſides. De Ruyter and Tromp, were obliged to ſhift their flags to other ſhips, their own being ſo greatly damaged, that they were momentarily expected to ſink. One of their fleet was blown up by the Engliſh, and admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. Sir William Berkely, who commanded the van of the Engliſh, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, being over-powered by numbers, his ſhip was taken, and himſelf ſlain. Two Engliſh ſhips were alſo loſt, notwithſtanding the courage and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, diſplayed amazing ſpirit and intrepidity. The approach of night obliged them to deſiſt, but it was only to fall on with renewed vigour the next morning.

Tromp, in the utmoſt danger of being taken by the Engliſh, was ſaved by de Ruyter, who came to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off. In the courſe of the action, the Dutch were reinforced by ſixteen freſh ſhips, ſo that Albemarle found himſelf under a neceſſity of retreating towards the coaſt of England, where he was followed by the victorious enemy. Albemarle, on the third day, having made a previous diſpoſition, ſent the diſabled ſhips a-head, while he remained in the rear with eight and twenty ſail, ſo as to form a line a-ſtern occaſionally, for the reception of the purſuers.

Rupert's ſquadron came in ſight about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Dutch were within gun ſhot, upon which, Albemarle bore up before the wind, to join this ſeaſonable reinforcement. The two Engliſh fleets being joined in the morning of the fourth day, they bore down on the Dutch, and a battle enſued with equal rage and reſolution on both ſides, continuing until a thick fog interrupted the deciſion of the victory. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours. Both ſides laid claim to the victory, but although the valour of both nations was ſufficiently ſignalized, the Dutch had a manifeſt advantage.

De Ruyter's ſhips being refitted, he took his ſtation at the mouth of the Thames, to effect an eaſy junction with the French admiral, who was now ready to enter the channel to join his allies. Albemarle and Rupert obſerving de Ruyter's ſituation, haſtened to the attack, and the fight began with great obſtinacy. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, fell upon the Dutch van, which he entirely defeated, having killed the three admirals, who conducted it.

Sir Jeremy Smith was attacked by Van Tromp, who, during the heat of the action, was parted from de Ruyter and the main body, but by what means is uncertain. De Ruyter with

with great courage and conduct, continued to ſuſtain the fight, againſt the main body of the Engliſh, till night put an end to the combat. Next day, ſeeing the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſperſed, he was obliged to retreat. For many hours the Engliſh hung upon the rear of the Dutch, who owed their ſafe arrival in their ports, chiefly to the courage and conduct of de Ruyter.

The ſovereignty of the ſea now confeſſedly belonged to the Engliſh, who braved the Dutch in their harbours. The duke of Albemarle diſpatched Holmes with a ſquadron to take and deſtroy all that fell in his way belonging to the enemy. He accordingly burned in the road of Ulye, a great number of merchant ſhips, and two large men of war appointed for their convoy; then he made a deſcent upon the iſland of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to aſhes. To prevent a junction between the French and Dutch ſquadrons, Holmes, on his return to England, was ſtationed near the Iſle of Wight.

On the ſecond of September, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. A fire breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, diffuſed itſelf with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it reduced a conſiderable part of the city to aſhes. Three days and nights did the fire continue to rage, and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. Four hundred ſtreets, including eighty-nine churches, many hoſpitals and public edifices, and thirteen thouſand two hundred private houſes, were entirely deſtroyed.

The extent of this amazing fire, and which covered four hundred and ſix acres of ground, was from the Tower along the river to the Temple church, and from the north-eaſt gate as far as Holborn-bridge. His majeſty and the duke of York perſonally aſſiſted on horſeback, from its beginning till it was totally extinguiſhed. The ſtreets of London were extremely narrow, the houſes were built entirely of timber, the ſeaſon was remarkably dry, and a violent eaſt wind happening at that time to blow, are ſuppoſed to be the cauſes of the ſurprizing damage that was done; although many perſons were of opinion, that the city was purpoſely fired by the Catholics, whom the inſcription on the monument charges with the crime, and which inſcription was erazed by order of king James II. but after the revolution replaced. The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has eventually proved advantageous both to the city and kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very ſhort time. The king regulated the plans of the new ſtreets, ſo as to render them more ſpacious and convenient than thoſe which had been burned; and he prohibited the uſe of lath and timber, as the materials for the conſtruction of houſes.

This improvement in the buildings has contributed greatly to the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and conſequently to the health of the inhabitants, among whom there has been no appearance of the plague ſince that time.

The regulations which the king had made, were approved by the parliament, who appointed commiſſioners for deciding all thoſe queſtions of property, which might be occaſioned by the fire. They alſo voted a ſupply of one million, eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed partly by a poll-bill, and partly by aſſeſſments.

*A. D.* 1667. It now became too apparent to the king, that none of the purpoſes for which the war had been undertaken could ever be fully accompliſhed. The Dutch, unconnected with any other power, had been able to contend with the whole naval force of England, and were daily improving in courage and conduct. The king, therefore, neither active nor ambitious in his temper, was glad to embrace any plauſible pretext for concluding a war, which began to ſink the ſpirits of his ſubjects, already ſufficiently depreſſed by the plague and the fire.

A reſolution being taken to begin the conferences at Breda the enſuing May; Charles, by his plenipotentiaries, inſiſted on the reſtoration of the two ſhips taken by the Dutch from the Engliſh before the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations; and they

they demanded the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, retaken from the Hollanders ſince the beginning of the war. The king relaxing in the latter article, looked upon the peace as already concluded. He had ordered the ſhips to be unrigged and laid up, keeping only a ſmall ſquadron of cruizers in commiſſion. The Dutch did not fail to avail themſelves of this neglect in Charles. De Ruyter ſailing from the Texel with fifty ſhips of war, on the tenth of June entered into the mouth of the river Thames, attacked the fort of Sheerneſs, which he took almoſt without oppoſition, and deſtroyed three guard ſhips in the mouth of the Medway, having broke the chain laid acroſs the mouth of that river.

This proceeding of de Ruyter alarmed all the coaſt, and filled the city of London with conſternation. Platforms were raiſed in different places, and provided with artillery; the trainbands were drawn out, and the city put in a poſture of defence. De Ruyter, declining ſo hazardous an enterprize as an attempt to make himſelf maſter of the Thames, ſteered his courſe for Portſmouth, upon which he made an unſucceſsful attempt. He then ſailed to Torbay, where he ſeized ſeveral veſſels; attempted Plymouth, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; inſulted Harwich; chaſed a ſquadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague; once more entered the Thames, and kept all the ſea ports on this ſide the iſland, in fear and conſternation. The people, fired with indignation, loudly exclaimed againſt the king, for leaving the kingdom defenceleſs, and ſpending the money raiſed for the purpoſes of the war.

The king, conſcious of his own want of popularity, determined, if poſſible, to retrieve the favour of the public by ſome important ſacrifice. He pitched upon the chancellor as a proper victim; a nobleman, who had often taken the liberty to check him in his inordinate career, and thereby incurred his diſpleaſure; beſides, his favourite miſtreſs was continually inveighing againſt this faithful miniſter; and the duke of Buckingham, and other courtiers, ridiculed his perſon and character. The king hearing ſoon after, that he had oppoſed a ſcheme projected by ſome commoners, for ſettling upon his majeſty an annual revenue of two millions of money, conceived a hatred againſt him, which was heightened by a very material incident.

Charles had placed his affections on one Mrs. Stuart, whoſe virtue he had long endeavoured in vain to corrupt; but Clarendon, alarmed at the conſequences of a diſputed title, perſuaded the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and by that means defeated the king's project; whereupon the ſeals were given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman; the king no longer remembering the ſervices of Clarendon, when policy and inclination united to ſacrifice him to popular prejudice.

The ſeſſion of parliament was uſhered in with ſome acts of a popular nature; and the firſt addreſs of the members contained their acknowledgment of his goodneſs manifeſted in the diſmiſſion of the earl of Clarendon. The king in his anſwer aſſured them, that he would never employ that nobleman in any public office.

A charge of high treaſon was in a few days preferred againſt Clarendon, accuſing him of adviſing his majeſty to keep up a ſtanding army, to diſſolve the parliament, and render himſelf abſolute; of having ſaid the king was a papiſt; and at the ſame time, adviſed and had been inſtrumental in the ſale of Dunkirk; of having betrayed the ſecrets of his majeſty to his enemies; and of having adviſed the fatal ſeparation of the fleet, which in the late war had nearly been attended with the loſs of one part of his majeſty's navy. A great animoſity between the two houſes was the conſequence of this accuſation, as the peers refuſed to commit him on ſo general a charge.

In the mean time, Clarendon, well appriz-ed of the king's inveterate hatred, and his want of popularity, withdrew to Calais; whence he ſent an apology to the houſe of peers, for his abſenting himſelf from the kingdom, declaring, that during the time of his keeping the ſeal, he had never received a farthing more than the lawful perquiſities of his office, excluſive of the king's bounty, and that as a miniſter, he had never taken any ſtep without the concurrence of council.

This apology the houſe of peers deemed a libel, and under that denomination ſent it to the commons, and by a vote of both houſes, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They then paſſed a bill of baniſhment againſt the earl of Clarendon, which immediately received the royal ſanction. This worthy nobleman, incorruptible judge, and able minini ſter withdrew into France, where he ſpent the remainder of his life, in reviewing and digeſting the materials he had collected for compoſing that well known and much admired work the hiſtory of the civil war of England. In the cloſe of the year, the king went in proceſſion, and laid the firſt ſtone of the Royal Exchange, which noble pile of building was ſoon compleated.

*A. D.* 1668. All the ſtates of Europe began now to be alarmed at the growing greatneſs of Lewis XIV. of France; and as the Dutch, from their ſituation were expoſed to his deſigns, they were deſirous of uniting with the Engliſh, as the beſt expedient for their own defence. To retrieve his reputation with his ſubjects, Charles engaged in a triple alliance with the ſtates of Holland and the king of Sweden, to ſtop the progreſs of the French king, who propoſed to himſelf the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

By this alliance, which was concluded in five days, the contracting powers aſſumed to themſelves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with reſpect to the Low Countries, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. Sir William Temple, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, concluded afterwards a treaty of commerce with the ſtates general; and a peace between Spain and Portugal was ſoon happily reſtored.

The triple alliance gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and baniſhed for a time the ſpirit of jealouſy and diſcontent which had too long reigned. But the affairs of Scotland were in much confuſion, great incroachments on the liberties of the people having been made by the miniſters to whom the king had committed the care of the government.

The chief circumſtance which inflamed the minds of the Scots, was the rigorous execution of the laws for the introduction of the epiſcopacy. When the ſevere law was made in England againſt conventicles, the Scottiſh parliament followed this violent example, by enacting a law to the ſame purport. Whoever refuſed to comply with the new model of the church government, was ſubjected to military force, and the ſoldiers were allowed to quarter themſelves on thoſe who forſook their churches.

Sir James Turner, a man of a rapacious and cruel temper, commanded theſe freebooters, whom he conſtantly quartered on thoſe who refuſed to pay a ſevere fine which he demanded of the ſuppoſed delinquents. The inhabitants of the weſtern counties took up arms, and ſurpriſed Dumfries, where Turner was quartered with his banditti. At Laneric they renewed the covenant, and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they profeſſed their attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government; requiring only the reſtoration of preſbytery and their former miniſters.

Theſe unhappy people were attacked and routed by Dalziel near Pentland Hills. When forty of them being taken, choſe, rather than renounce the covenant, to be executed, and bore their fate like martyrs. This ſeverity was contrary to his majeſty's inclinations, who forbad the further effuſion of blood; and ordered that the priſoners might be ſet at liberty, on their promiſing to obey the laws for the future; and that thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit, ſhould be ſent to the plantations.

When the parliament of England, after a long adjournment, re-aſſembled, the king imagined he ſhould find them in a very complaiſant diſpoſition; but to his great ſurprize, they were ſo piqued at his lenity towards the non-conformiſts, that they not only neglected to thank him for the triple alliance, but appointed commiſſioners to examine certain perſons who were ſuppoſed to have miſbehaved in the late war. The king, to obtain their favour, was obliged to iſſue a proclamation againſt conventicles, in conſideration of which

they

voted him three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors, and were then adjourned.

The famous theatre at Oxford, erected by Sheldon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and chancellor of the univerſity, was opened with great magnificence in the month of July.

*A. D.* 1669. His majeſty, in a ſhort ſpeech to the parliament, which met in October, requeſted a ſupply for the diſcharge of his debts, and recommended the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland to their mature deliberations. But the commons waving theſe articles, determined to examine into the manner in which former ſubſidies had been expended.

They found, by this enquiry, the books kept by Sir George Carteret, in ſuch confuſion, that they expelled him from the houſe. They then thanked the king for the proclamation he had iſſued againſt conventicles; and at the ſame time appointed a committee to enquire into the conduct of the non-conformiſts.

A diſagreement between the two houſes had ſubſiſted for ſome time paſt, reſpecting the affairs of one Skinner, a merchant of London, who had complained to the houſe of peers, of ſome injury he had received from the Eaſt-India company. The lords decreed that the company ſhould pay five thouſand pounds to the complainant. The commons, in conſequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to priſon for having applied to the upper houſe, in an affair that related to the common law of the kingdom, and the peers inſiſted on the company's petition being a ſcandalous libel. The king, hereupon, prorogued the parliament to February, as there ſeemed no proſpect that their diſputes would come to an iſſue.

*A. D.* 1670. Ways and means for ſupplying the king's neceſſities, was the firſt buſineſs of the houſes on their meeting, who granted him an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each ton of Spaniſh wine, and eight on each ton of French. They alſo paſſed an act, authorizing his majeſty to diſpoſe of his quit-rents and fee-farms, by which expedient his preſent neceſſities were ſupplied; but himſelf and ſucceſſors left in a more dependent ſituation than before.

His majeſty's council, which, if not always praiſe worthy, were till this period generally excuſeable, now became extremely wicked and pernicious, and were attended with ſuch conſequences, as had well nigh proved fatal both to prince and people. It was commonly obſerved, that a total alteration was made in the committee of the council appointed for foreign affairs, and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, lord keeper Bridgeman, and ſecretary Travor, men of inviolable honour, were ſeldom at the council board; the king being wholly guided by the Cabal, as it was called, a word compoſed of the initial letters, of the names of his adviſers, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale.

The notions inſtilled into the king and duke by the pernicious councils of the cabal, ſoon became too apparent. They aſſerted, that even this parliament, ſo remarkably attached to the crown, had already diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent; that they had been penurious in their temporary ſupplies, and kept the king's revenue in a very precarious ſituation; that his kinſman, the king of France, if properly applied to, would enter into ſuch engagements with him, as would raiſe him above all fear of a revolt; that a war with Holland, in conjunction with Lewis, would procure him every advantage that he could wiſh to enjoy, and furniſh him with a pretence for equipping a navy, and raiſing forces, with which he might retrieve the loſt power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to abſolute monarchy. The dutcheſs of Orleans, a lady whoſe influence over the mind of the king her brother was well known, arrived in England about this time, and was ſumptuouſly entertained by him at Dover for the ſpace of a fortnight.

The ſentiments of the cabal, as well as the king's inclinations, had been ſounded by the French ambaſſador, who found them favourably diſpoſed towards forming an alliance with the king his maſter. The

French

French king, knowing the diſpoſition of Charles, reſolved to bind him to his intereſt, by procuring him new pleaſures. For this purpoſe, he ſent over with the dutcheſs of Orleans, Mademoiſelle de Querouailles, whom the king had no ſooner ſeen, than he was captivated with her charms. She accompanied him to London, where ſhe was created dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained her influence over him during the whole courſe of his life. The death of the king's ſiſter, however, attended as it was with very diſagreeable circumſtances, conſiderably abated the ſatisfaction he found in the company of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

The death of the dutcheſs of Orleans, ſoon after her return to Paris, was occaſioned by a diſtemper which commenced on her drinking a glaſs of ſuccory water. It was ſuppoſed, that ſhe fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of her huſband, who was much chagrined at the gaiety of her diſpoſition, and the intimacy that ſubſiſted between her and Lewis XIV. Charles himſelf was fully purſuaded of his guilt, but as the misfortune was irreparable, he thought proper to admit the exculpations of the French king, who affirmed, that the phyſicians on opening her body, could diſcover no ground for the general rumour. The king took occaſion from this incident, to ſend the duke of Buckingham to Paris to finiſh the ſecret alliance, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans.

His majeſty addreſſed the parliament at their meeting on the twenty-fourth of October, in a ſhort ſpeech, and left the buſineſs to be explained by the lord keeper. That miniſter repreſented the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply, the augmentation of the naval power of France, the remarkable decay of the Engliſh navy, and the ſeveral engagements into which the king had entered with the different ſtates of Chriſtendom.

The alliances Charles had made being conſidered by the commons as tending to the honour of the kingdom, began to prepare bills for raiſing two millions five hundred thouſand pounds to ſatisfy the king's demands; but before they could be paſſed, his majeſty adjourned the parliament. Sir William Temple, who reſided at the Hague as ambaſſador, was recalled to England, the king and cabal knowing he had too much integrity, and love for his country, to be a tool to the miniſtry. In the winter, the prince of Orange arrived in England, and was received by the king his uncle, with the greateſt demonſtration of love and affection.

*A. D.* 1671. A bill called the Coventry act, which made the maiming any perſon a capital offence, was paſſed on the re-aſſembling of the parliament. This law was occaſioned by an outrage committed upon a member of the lower houſe. A propoſal having been made for laying a tax upon the playhouſes, it was oppoſed by the courtiers, one of which obſerved, that the players were the king's ſervants, and contributed to his diverſion. Sir John Coventry then aſked, whether his majeſty's pleaſure lay among the male or female players? As the king kept two players, Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwin, at this time, every body knew at whom the ſarcaſm was levelled.

In revenge for this freedom of Coventry's, the duke of Monmouth engaged Sands, Obrien, and ſeveral officers of the guards to ſet upon him, as he ſhould return to his lodgings in the evening. He made a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with great difficulty overpowered. They ſlit his noſe with a knife, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him for the future, to treat his majeſty with greater reſpect. The commons, exaſperated at the aſſault, immediately enacted the law above mentioned, and added a clauſe, importing, that thoſe who had attacked Sir John Coventry, ſhould not be intitled to a pardon from the crown.

In the month of March, died Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, and wife of the duke of York, by whom he had Mary, princeſs of Orange, and Anne, afterwards queen of England. The dutcheſs, on her death-bed, openly profeſſed the Romiſh religion, and ended her life in that communion. Some have thought that ſhe had been perſuaded

ſuaded contrary to her conſcience, to ſign a paper containing the grounds of her converſion. The death and converſion of his dutcheſs, put an end to the diſguiſe, which the duke of York had hitherto worn, and he now openly profeſſed himſelf a Catholic.

The whole kingdom was alarmed and diſguſted by this circumſtance; while the attention of the cabal was employed in concerting meaſures for a war with Holland, and finding ſome pretence for commencing hoſtilities, they at laſt reſolved, that the captain of the veſſel employed in conveying lady Temple from Holland, ſhould demand an obedience to be paid to the Engliſh flag, from the whole Dutch fleet, and on their refuſal to fire upon them. This officer, after he had received lady Temple and her children on board his veſſel, ſailed through a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent, and as they did not ſtrike their top-ſails, diſcharged a broadſide at them without heſitation.

Aſtoniſhed at ſo extraordinary a proceeding, the Dutch admiral ſent an officer to enquire into the reaſons of his conduct. The Engliſh captain replied, he had acted according to his orders. Van Ghent told him, that though the ſtates general had by treaty engaged to pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag, he could not expect that a large fleet commanded by an admiral, would ſtrike their topſails to a ſingle veſſel, which was not even a ſhip of war, but a private boat for pleaſure and diſpatch. It will ſcarcely be credited, that the captain, charged with not ſufficiently aſſerting his ſovereign's honour, was impriſoned on his return to England.

At this period, lived an infamous deſperado, named Blood, whoſe daring enterprizes have tranſmitted his name to poſterity. This man was a diſbanded officer of the protector's, and had been concerned in a plot for exciting a rebellion in Ireland; for which he himſelf was attainted, and ſome of his confederates capitally puniſhed. While the duke of Ormond was viceroy of that kingdom, he had undertaken to ſurprize the caſtle of Dublin, but failing in his attempt, determined to attempt the life of the duke. For this purpoſe, he followed him into England, and one night, accompanied by eight of his confederates, he aſſaulted his coach in St. James's-ſtreet, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon.

Blood, placing the duke on horſeback behind one of the gang, propoſed to finiſh his life at Tyburn, and actually rode on and fixed a rope to the gallows. The other accomplices had got as far as Berkley, now Devonſhire houſe, when the duke, endeavouring to diſengage himſelf, fell from the horſe together with the ruffian, to whom he had been faſtened, and while they lay ſtruggling on the ground together, Ormond's ſervants came to his aſſiſtance. Blood by this time had returned, but finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his deſign, ordered his confederates to fire at the duke, in which the villains obeyed him, and then made their eſcape.

A ſcheme for ſeizing and carrying off the regalia in the Tower, was projected by this Blood, and his attempt was very near ſucceeding; for he had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office, and got out of the Tower with his prey, but was apprehended in the ſtreets, with ſome of his accomplices. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon the duke of Ormond, and Blood was ſuppoſed to be the ringleader. When queſtioned on the ſubject, he boldy acknowledged the fact, but refuſed to diſcover his confederates, declaring, "That the fear of death ſhould never in-"duce him, either to deny a crime, or to "betray a friend." The king prompted by curioſity to ſee and converſe with this extraordinary perſon, Blood was introduced to his majeſty, and confeſſed his having once entertained a deſign on his life, on account of his ſeverity towards the godly; but that his reſolution failed, and he altered his intention on ſight of his majeſty.

He acknowledged that he expoſed himſelf to danger by this confeſſion, but warned the king of the conſequences that might attend his execution, aſſuring his majeſty, that his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt



 oaths,

oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy.

Through motives of fear, or admiration, his majeſty pardoned this daring malefactor, gave him an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, and diſtinguiſhed him by many marks of perſonal regard.

The earl of Mancheſter and lord Fairfax, who had fought againſt Charles I. and aſſiſted in the reſtoration of his ſon, died about this time.

*A. D.* 1672. It was agreed in the beginning of this year, that, while the fleets of England and France ſhould attack the ſhipping, and interrupt the commerce of the ſtates general, the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, ſhould attack their territories by land. Charles having by his profuſion laviſhed away two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, granted by parliament, beſides ſeven hundred thouſand livres received by ſtipulation from the king of France, ſtill found himſelf in great neceſſity. He therefore gave the miniſtry to underſtand, that it would be impoſſible to begin the war without a farther ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds; but as he could not think of obtaining it from parliament, propoſed to confer the office of treaſurer on him who ſhould deviſe the means of furniſhing the preſent demand. Shafteſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately communicated to the king, who beſtowed on him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This modeſt device was nothing leſs than keeping the money which ſhould be paid into the exchequer and ſhutting it up.

Dreadful, and ruinous to the city and country, was the conſequence of theſe meaſures. The bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; diffidence and jealouſy every where prevailed, together with an interruption of commerce, by which the trading part of the nation were reduced to extreme indigence, and men were univerſally exaſperated at thoſe myſterious councils from which the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which began with the deſtruction of public credit, and open violation of the moſt ſacred engagements both foreign and domeſtic.

The arbitrary intentions of the king and his miniſters were ſufficiently evinced by their next proceeding. A proclamation was publiſhed, ſuſpending the penal laws, which had been made againſt non-conformiſts, and granting to proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion; and to Catholics, the exerciſe of it in their own houſes. About the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended, and a proclamation iſſued for impreſſing ſailors, puniſhing all thoſe who ſhould dare to arraign his majeſty's meaſures; martial law was alſo eſtabliſhed for the regulation of the army. The earl of Shafteſbury, another member of the cabal, was made lord keeper in the room of Bridgeman, who was turned out for refuſing to affix the ſeals to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws.

Foreign affairs were conducted in the ſame ſcandalous manner. A perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet before the declaration of war. Sir Robert Holmes, who was ſent on this expedition, fell in with a ſquadron from the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Sprague, and if re-inforced by this officer, he would doubtleſs have ſucceeded in his deſign; but he permitted Sprague to proceed, concealing his orders to engroſs the honour and profit of the attempt.

Under pretence of friendſhip, Holmes, on his approach to the Dutch fleet, invited the admiral Van Neſs, who conducted the convoy, to come on board; one of his chaplains ſent a like inſidious meſſage to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers had been previouſly informed of the deſign of the Engliſh, and had already prepared for defence. Three times were they vigorouſly attacked by the Engliſh, and as often did they bravely repel the aſſailants. In the third, one of the Dutch ſhips was taken, together with three or four of their ſmalleſt merchantmen, but the reſt, under favour of a thick fog, continued their courſe, and ſafely arrived in Holland. The ſtates exclaimed againſt this piratical attempt with great virulence; even Charles was aſham-

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ed of having conſented to the enterprize; and his ſubjects in general condemned it as a ſcandalous proceeding.

The utter ruin of the ſtates general ſeemed to be now intended. Lewis king of France, was at the head of an army conſiſting of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, commanded by the ableſt officers in Europe; his ſubjects were enriched by commerce, and his finances managed with the greateſt œconomy, while the Dutch were diſtracted between two powerful factions. In this ſituation of affairs, the ſtates conſented to honour the Engliſh flag in whatſoever manner Charles ſhould think proper, and appointed his nephew the prince of Orange captain general and admiral, though he had not reached the twenty third year of his age. De Wit, a conſummate ſtateſman, who preſided in the council of the united provinces, had made the neceſſary preparations for the threatened invaſion, and now reſolved to make a powerful effort by ſea, while the levying of troops, and improving the diſcipline of the army was committed to the care of the prince of Orange.

One hundred and thirty-five ſhips, including fire ſhips, were ſent to ſea, under the command of de Ruyter; Cornelius de Wit, acting on board, as deputy from the ſtates. De Ruyter's intention was to have prevented the junction of the French and Engliſh fleets, but they were already joined and lay at anchor in Solebay, to the number of one hundred and thirty ſhips of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief, and the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; mareſchal d'Etrées commanded the French ſquadron.

The earl of Sandwich, whoſe experience was equal to his courage, informed the duke, that the diſorder in which the fleet rode at anchor, expoſed him to great danger; but the anſwer given him ſeemed to imply a ſuſpicion of his courage. On the approach of the enemy, every one flew to his poſt with the utmoſt precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cabals in order to prepare for the action. Sandwich commanded in the van, and though reſolved to conquer or die, he yet behaved with ſo much prudence, that to him the ſafety of the whole fleet was viſibly owing. He hurried out of the bay, and by this wiſe meaſure, afforded time to the duke of York, who conducted the main body, and to mareſchal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to get out to open ſea. The earl ſuſtained a moſt furious attack from the enemy; he repulſed the ſhip of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement; he ſunk another ſhip which attempted to board him, together with three fire ſhips which came full againſt him; and continued to ply his artillery, until the fourth fireſhip grappled him on the quarter, although his ſhip was much ſhattered, and ſix hundred of his men ſlain.

Sir Edward Haddoc, his captain, had warned him to eſcape the impending danger; but touched in the tendereſt point by the duke's reflection on his courage, he diſdained to ſurvive the ſuppoſed diſgrace; ſo that himſelf and all his crew that remained were buried in the general ruin; and thus was deſtroyed one of the moſt gallant officers that ever England produced, by the inſolent reflection of a young admiral, who preſuming on his elevated ſtation, had treated with indignity, a man, in every thing but mere rank, much his ſuperior.

In the interim, the fight was maintained for the ſpace of two hours with the utmoſt obſtinacy, between the duke of York and de Ruyter. The duke was obliged to ſhift his flag to another ſhip, and his own diviſion was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joſeph Jordan, who ſucceeded Sandwich, came to his aſſiſtance. The battle continued till night, when the Dutch ſheered off, but were not purſued by the enemy. As d'Etrées took no part in the action, it was generally imagined he had received private orders to avoid fighting, that the Engliſh and Dutch might mutually deſtroy each other.

By this time Lewis had invaded the territories of the ſtates general, on the ſide of Germany, taking and deſtroying every thing before him, almoſt without oppoſition. In theſe circumſtances, the magiſtrates of Amſterdam obliged the burgeſſes to keep watch and ward; the other towns followed their example,

ample, and having opened all the ſluices, the whole province of Holland was laid under water; whereby a ſtop being put to the conqueſts of Lewis, he left the command of the army to the duke of Luxemburg at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he went to Paris, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the populace. The paſſage of the Rhine, which he effected with much eaſe and expedition, was celebrated by the bards of France, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in paſſing the Granicus, and the ſurname of "Great" beſtowed on him by his flattering ſubjects.

The emperor, and ſeveral of the German princes, were induced by the continued ſucceſs which attended the arms of France, to aſſiſt the Dutch, who were in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed. Of all their allies, there was none on whom they ſo much depended, as the Engliſh parliament; which the king's neceſſities at laſt obliged him to aſſemble.

*A. D.* 1673. Turner, late ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, being appointed baron of the exchequer, Sir John Charlton was choſen ſpeaker in his room. The king having in his ſpeech enlarged upon the expence of the war, proceeded to demonſtrate the neceſſity of engaging therein, obſerving at the ſame time, that his indulgence to non-conformiſts had been productive of the peace of the kingdom, and concluded with aſſuring them, that he doubted not of their proportioning the ſupplies to his preſent exigency. Shafteſbury, as lord chancellor, expatiated on the ſame topics, aſſerting moreover, that the ſtates being the inveterate enemies of England, the parliament had laid it down as an invariable maxim, that Delenda eſt Carthago; this hoſtile government muſt by all means be deſtroyed.

The houſe, diſſatisfied with his majeſty's conduct, paid little regard to the ſpeech of Charles or his chancellor; they diſapproved of the war, and determined to inſiſt on the immediate redreſs of the nation's grievances. They then preſented an addreſs againſt the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience, beſeeching that his majeſty, by annulling the ſame, would remove the doubts and fears of his ſubjects, and to convince him of their affection towards his perſon and government, voted a tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, for eighteen months, to anſwer the king's preſent occaſions.

Hereupon the king profeſſed that he had no intention to evade or renounce the advice of his parliament, and that he was willing to concur in any meaſures that might tend to the public good. He then publiſhed a proclamation for the redreſs of their grievances; but the commons were not ſatisfied with this, being determined to prepare a bill which ſhould effectually prevent the evil of which they complained; and likewiſe to defer paſſing the bill for the ſupplies, until the declaration for liberty of conſcience ſhould be recalled.

The intricate ſituation of his majeſty's affairs now perplexed him greatly, the cabal being divided in their opinion concerning the ſteps he ſhould now purſue; ſome recommending a compliant; others a refractory behaviour; but Lewis exhorted him to make peace with his ſubjects, as the Dutch war could not be maintained without their aſſiſtance.

The artful Shafteſbury, perceiving the king's want of reſolution, determined to conſult his own ſafety by a timely change, and to eſpouſe the intereſts of that party, which was likely to gain the aſcendant. The country party received him with open arms, and afterwards uſed him as their agent in the accompliſhment of their moſt important deſigns.

His majeſty, greatly alarmed at Shafteſbury's having left him, repaired to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the declaration, broke the ſeal with his own hand; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would grant his aſſent to every bill concluded to redreſs their grievances. But the recall of the indulgence was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the commons, nor remove thoſe ſuſpicions which they had conceived of the arbitrary deſigns of the court. They were determined to ſecure their religion by another act. They paſſed a law for impoſing a teſt on all thoſe who ſhould enjoy any public employment. This act, uſually called the teſt act, requires

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that the real preſence in the Euchariſt be renounced, and the ſacrament received in the eſtabliſhed church, beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

The commons, having been aſſiſted in their endeavours againſt the king's declaration of indulgence, by the diſſenters, who determined to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had obtained the favour of the parliament; and a ſcheme was formed for uniting the whole proteſtant intereſt againſt the common enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill paſſed the lower houſe for the benefit of the proteſtant non-conformiſts, but met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of of peers. The vote for a ſupply was carried into a law, as a reward to the king for his ready compliance. A bill of indemnity likewiſe paſſed, which ſecured the miniſters from all farther ſcrutiny.

Theſe conceſſions which the king made to the commons, did not prevent his reſolution to perſevere in his French alliance, and in the Dutch war; and of conſequence in all thoſe arbitrary deſigns, for which theſe fatal meaſures had been adopted. The money he had received from parliament enabled him to fit out a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral; the duke of York being diſqualified by the teſt. Sir Edward Sprague, and the earl of Oſſoroy, ſerved under the prince, and being joined by the French fleet under the command of d'Etrées, they ſteered for the coaſt of Holland where they found the enemy riding at anchor within the ſands of Schonvelt. The circumſtances attending this battle are ſo variouſly as well as obſcurely related by hiſtorians, that a diſtinct account of it cannot be given.

Meeting off Fluſhing, on the fourth of June, they came to a kind of random engagement, but were parted by a gale of wind, before any conſiderable damage was done on either ſide. Prince Rupert was averſe to the war, and the duke of York, who influenced the conduct of the admiralty, from private pique to the prince, kept the fleet in continual want of neceſſaries, ſo that he was obliged to put into harbour for ſupplies.

Rupert, however, put to ſea as ſoon as he was in a condition to ſail. The fleet met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle which during a courſe of ſo many years had happened between theſe maritime powers.

The Dutch were commanded in this action, as well as the two former by de Ruyter and Tromp, who had lately been reconciled by the mediation of the prince of Orange. De Ruyter was oppoſed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert, their rear-admiral, to d'Etrées. They fought in this battle as if death or victory had been the only alternative. D'Etrées, and all the French ſquadron except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of advancing againſt them, ſhot a head to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was furiouſly attacked by prince Rupert.

The courage and conduct of this prince procured and preſerved to him the moſt laſting glory. Having diſengaged himſelf from the numerous enemies with which he was encompaſſed, and joined his rear-admiral Sir John Chicheley, he bore down to the aſſiſtance of Sprague, who was almoſt overpowered by Tromp and his ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on the St. George; while Tromp did the ſame from the golden Lion to the Comet; and the action was renewed with redoubled ardor, until the St. George was likewiſe diſabled. The admiral was drowned to the great ſorrow of Tromp, who beſtowed on his valour the merited applauſe. Prince Rupert obſerving the whole diviſion in great conſternation, ſent three fire ſhips into the midſt of the Dutch fleet; making at the ſame time a ſignal to the French to bear down; which if they had done, they would probably have obtained a compleat victory. But the French neglecting to obey his ſignal, Rupert was obliged to leave the victory undecided, by prudently ſteering for the coaſt of England, thereby preſerving his diſabled ſhips.

A congreſs for peace was now opened at Cologne, by the mediation of the king of Sweden; but the kings of England and France inſiſted nearly on the terms which they had already impoſed, and the ſtates finding their affairs to be in a better poſture than

formerly, relaxed daily in their offers; and there was little probability of the parties coming to any agreement.

A marriage was now propoſed between the duke of York, and a princeſs of the houſe of Auſtria; but the emperor becoming a widower in the courſe of this year, eſpouſed her himſelf; which was a ſecond inſtance of his contempt for the king of England. The duke then made his addreſſes to Mary, ſiſter of the duke of Modena, whom Lewis declared an adopted daughter of France, engaging at the ſame time to pay her portion.

Alarmed at this propoſal, the Engliſh parliament proteſted againſt the marriage with the utmoſt warmth. Charles, however, told them, that their oppoſition came too late, and that the marriage was not only concluded, but ſolemnized by proxy. The commons perſiſted in their remonſtrance, and proceeding to the ſcrutiny of ſome other parts of the government, voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and declared, that unleſs it appeared that the Dutch rejected all reaſonable terms of peace, they would grant no farther ſupplies.

Charles ſeeing no other method of evading the effects of their reſolute behaviour, reſolved to prorogue the parliament, and coming ſuddenly to the houſe of peers, he ſent the uſher to ſummon the commons. The ſpeaker and the uſher happened almoſt to meet at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſhut the door and cried, "To the chair, to the chair," while others anſwered, "the black rod is at "the door." The commons immediately voted; that the alliance with France was a grievance; that ſeveral of his majeſty's privy council were grievances; and in particular the duke of Lauderdale. During the time of voting, the uſher continued knocking at the door; but the ſpeaker leaped from the chair before the votes were collected, and the houſe roſe in the utmoſt diſorder. The king prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh of January, having in a pathetic ſpeech declared, that he had uſed his beſt endeavours to prevent the growth of popery; and earneſtly beſought them to maintain that unanimity with their ſovereign, a breach of which would be matter of the greateſt triumph to their enemies.

The princeſs of Modena arriving in England, with her mother about this time, her marriage with the duke of York, was celebrated at Dover, on the twenty-firſt of November.

*A. D.* 1674. The parliament meeting agreeable to their adjournment, on the ſeventh of January, the king endeavoured to ſoften their reſentment, by ſome acts of a popular nature. But all his endeavours were ineffectual, as the diſguſt of the commons was too deeply rooted to be removed by theſe expedients. They preſented a petition to the king, deſiring he would appoint a general faſt; intimating thereby the calamitous ſituation of the nation; they attempted to impoſe a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery, and what much alarmed the court, attacked the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious advice they juſty aſcribed all the public grievances.

Shafteſbury having engaged with the country party, lord Clifford being dead, and Buckingham being informed that the parliament reſolved on bringing him to juſtice, requeſted a hearing before the houſe, which being granted, he ſtrove by long and incoherent ſpeeches to juſtify his conduct, and impeach that of Arlington. He was required diſtinctly to anſwer a ſet of queries, relative to ſome arbitrary proceedings of government; but as his replies were perplexed and confuſed, they doomed him to the ſame fate with the duke of Lauderdale. Arlington made ſo good a defence, that they dropped the proſecution.

The continuance of the war, againſt the opinion of parliament, being impracticable, Charles began to attend to the propoſals which the ſtates had made for a ſeparate peace. They wrote a ſubmiſſive letter, empowering the marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, to conclude a treaty with king Charles in their name, on certain conditions which were ſpecified therein.

His majeſty, communicating the propoſals of

of the Dutch, and desiring the advice of parliament, they exhorted him to put an end to the war. The conferences were then opened with the marquis de Fresno, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with these additions, that the Dutch should yield the honour of the flag to the English in the most extensive terms, and pay about three hundred thousand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of the war.

The restoration of peace drew from the parliament, a form of thanks to the king; but they still continued to examine grievances. They requested the king to disband his land forces; they named a committee to examine the militia bill passed in the Scottish parliament; they prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privileges of the Habeas Corpus, and introduced another obliging the members of both houses to take the test oath.

The king, displeased with the rigour of their proceedings, prorogued the parliament to prevent their measures taking effect.

It might reasonably be supposed, that as the French king paid Charles a yearly pension of one hundred thousand pounds, he would have resented his making a separate peace with the Dutch; but instead thereof, he readily accepted his mediation. About this time, the young prince of Orange advanced into Flanders with a numerous army, and ravaged all before him, taking several places of importance before the end of the campaign.

Sir William Temple was sent ambassador to the Hague, to induce the states to come to terms of accommodation with France. The Dutch were very desirous of putting an end to the war, put the prince of Orange was now inspired with ambitious views, and the desire of military glory.

The prince of Orance, during all the campaign, shunned the English minister, and told him afterwards, that until a greater impression could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation. This year was remarkable for the death of the earl of Clarendon, who departed this life in the eighth year of his exile, at Rouen in Normandy.

The duke of Monmouth, who had greatly distinguished himself in France, and was become the favourite of the people, now succeeded the disgraced duke of Buckingham as chancellor of the university of Cambridge. The duke of Lauderdale, intimidated by the vote passed against him in the house of commons, openly renounced the measures of the cabal; professed uncommon zeal for the protestant religion, appeared constantly at church, received the communion with great fervency, and even advised his majesty to put the laws in execution against the Roman Catholics.

But all this finesse was insufficient to appease the resentment of the commons, who introduced a bill against popery, in which was inserted many severe clauses for the detection and punishment of priests. They presented a second address against the duke of Lauderdale, and on the king's returning an evasive answer, seemed resolved to insist on his removal.

While the country party was thus active, the courtiers were by no means idle. The earl of Lindsay brought into the house of peers a bill for a new test; by which all members of either house, were obliged to renounce the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever; and to declare before God, that they would never attempt to alter the government either in church or state. This bill was only carried by two voices in the house of peers. It was then sent down to the house of commons, where, had not their attention been engaged by a matter of a different kind, it had met with a stronger opposition.

A suit in chancery being commenced against one doctor Shirley, he was cast, whereupon Sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, presented an appeal to the house of peers. The lords took cognizance of the cause, and cited Fag to appear before them. He laid his complaint before the lower house, who undertook his defence, and insisting that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from

from any court of equity, committed Shirley to priſon. Conferences were held on the ſubject, but without coming to any agreement. Four lawyers were committed to the Tower by the commons, for diſobeying the orders of the houſe, and pleading in this cauſe before the peers. The lords declared this commitment a breach of the Magna Charta, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners, but he refuſed; and they petitioned the king to puniſh him for contempt of orders.

The king, having in vain recommended unanimity and concord to the lords and commons, prorogued the parliament, to the thirteenth day of October. On the opening the ſeſſion, according to adjournment, the king demanded a ſupply, as well for the building of ſhips, as for diſcharging the debts which lay upon his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to pay his debts, but granted three hundred thouſand pounds for repairing and augmenting the navy. They then turned their attention to the redreſs of public grievances; but their deliberations were interrupted, by the inſolent behaviour of father St. Germain, a French jeſuit, who entered the houſe of one Luzancy, a convert to the proteſtant religion; and by threatening him with death, exhorted a writing, by which he renounced his converſion. Luzancy's complaint made ſo much diſturbance in the houſe of commons, that Charles was obliged to offer two hundred pounds reward for the apprehenſion of St. Germain, who had, however, fled the kingdom previous to the offer.

His majeſty's extravagance, levity, and weakneſs of conduct, now became the ſubject of lampoon and ridicule throughout the kingdom. Exaſperated by the liberties taken with his perſon and adminiſtration, he ſuppreſſed all the coffee-houſes, and iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a reward to thoſe who ſhould diſcover the authors of libels and pamphlets written againſt the government.

The dutcheſs of Mazarine having left her huſband in a quarrel, paid a viſit at the Engliſh court, where ſhe was very politely received. She was near ſupplanting the dutcheſs of Portſmouth in the king's affections; he gratified her with an annual penſion of four thouſand pounds; the gay, the polite, the witty, and among the reſt the famous St. Evremond, made her houſe the place of their frequent reſort. The king, at the requeſt of the peers, diſſolved the parliament for fifteen months, on the commons reaſſuming the diſpute about privilege.

*A. D.* 1676. The ſeveral powers at war, agreed, in the beginning of this year, to ſend plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, to negotiate a treaty under the mediation of the Engliſh monarch, who, in July following, ſent thither lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambaſſadors. The Dutch, who were deſirous of peace, ſoon appeared; Lewis likewiſe ſent his ambaſſadors; the Swedes were alſo willing to negotiate; but as theſe powers could take no ſteps without the concurrence of their allies, no terms of accommodation could as yet be ſettled.

On the aſſembling of the parliament in February, the king declared that he was willing to grant every ſecurity in his power towards the maintenance of the proteſtant religion, as exerciſed in the eſtabliſhed church of England, together with the liberties and properties of his loving ſubjects; he laid before them his wants, and deſired a ſupply that would enable him to make a conſiderable addition to his navy.

*A. D.* 1677. A declaration againſt the legality of the preſent meeting of parliament, ſeemed likely to interrupt their proceedings. It had been enacted by an old ſtatute of Edward III. that parliaments ſhould be ſummoned once a year or oftner, if need be. The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year, and being eſteemed on that account illegal, it was ſuppoſed to be equal to an entire diſſolution. The inference ſeems rather to be forced; and beſides a latter act, that which repealed the triennial law had decreed, that it was neceſſary to aſſemble parliaments only once in three years. So much ſtreſs, however, was laid on this objection, that Buckingham, Shafteſbury,

Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton, maintained with great zeal in the houſe of peers, the illegality of the parliament, and invalidity of all its future deciſions. As a puniſhment for this oppoſition, they were committed to the Tower, there to continue during his majeſty's pleaſure. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton, made ſome conceſſions, and were ſoon diſmiſſed; but Shafteſbury, deſirous of acquiring popularity, applied for remedy to the laws, but being condemned by the judges, was alſo obliged to make a proper ſubmiſſion to obtain his diſcharge, after being confined twelve months.

Five hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand pounds, which the commons granted for the building thirty ſhips, they took care ſhould be applied to that uſe only. They likewiſe gratified the king with the continuation of the additional exciſe for three years, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a good underſtanding between the king and the parliament. But the following important events now engaged the attention of the latter.

Lewis had taken the field early in the ſpring, and inveſted Valenciennes, which he took in a few days by aſſault. He then inveſted Cambray and St. Omer. In order to ſtop his progreſs, the prince of Orange aſſembled an army, and advanced to the relief of St. Omer. The duke of Orleans, and mareſchal Luxemburgh were detached againſt him. By an artful movement of the mareſchal, the prince was ſurprized and defeated, and Cambray and St. Omer ſoon reduced.

Alarmed at the progreſs of the French arms, the parliament drew up an addreſs to the king, repreſenting the danger which threatened the kingdom, from the exorbitant power of Lewis; and deſiring that he would concert meaſures for the ſecurity of his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby remove the fears of his people. Charles in his anſwer, complained of their violating his prerogative, by inſiſting on his engaging in alliance with any power whatſoever, and then adjourned the parliament to the tenth of July.

Sir William Temple prevailed on the earl of Danby, to propoſe a match between the prince of Orange, and the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter to the duke of York. She and her ſiſter Anne, had been educated in the proteſtant religion by the expreſs order of the king, and the prince of Orange ſeemed to be well pleaſed with the proſpect of ſuch a match. Coming to England, by permiſſion, at the end of the campaign he demanded Mary in marriage, and was treated with great diſreſpect by the duke of York, whoſe averſion to the match was evident.

The king propoſed that they ſhould firſt agree on a plan of pacification, before he conſented to the marriage. But the prince refuſed to treat of peace, till after the conſummation of the nuptials; the king, therefore, agreed to the prince's own terms. The portion of the princeſs was fixed at forty thouſand pounds; and the marriage articles were immediately drawn. On the fourth of November they were married, and the people in general made great rejoicings on the occaſion.

Soon after the marriage, the king and prince turned their attention to the propoſed plan for a pacification. After ſome diſpute, it was agreed, that Lewis ſhould reſtore all that he had taken from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there ſhould be mutual reſtitution between France and Holland; and that Spain ſhould recover poſſeſſion of the Netherlands belonging to that crown. The prince engaged to uſe his endeavours in perſuading the ſtates to agree to thoſe conditions, and Charles undertook to procure the conſent of the French monarch; declaring at the ſame time, that he would never depart from this plan; and with this aſſurance the prince returned with his bride to Holland.

A notification of this agreement was made at Paris by Mr. de Duras, afterwards earl of Feverſham; which though highly diſagreeable to the French monarch, he received with ſeeming unconcern. He ſaid, that the king of England might always command a peace, but he deemed it hard to reſign ſome of thoſe towns in Flanders, on the fortifications of which he had expended large ſums; he hoped

his brother would not break with him for a few towns; and would commiſſion his ambaſſador at London to treat of the matter.

A negotiation of a very different nature was now ſet on foot, in which Charles promiſed, that, notwithſtanding all the importunities of his parliament, he would not declare in favour of the allies. The Engliſh ambaſſadors at Paris demanded two hundred thouſand pounds a year, during the war; but Charles accepted two millions of livres inſtead thereof, at the inſtance of the French miniſter at the court of London.

*A. D.* 1678. His majeſty informed the parliament, on their meeting in January, that he had concluded an alliance with Holland; and obſerved at the ſame time, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the nation could not be ſecure, unleſs ninety ſhips of war were kept in commiſſion, beſides an army of thirty thouſand men. He communicated the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange, and deſired a ſupply adequate to the neceſſities of the kingdom.

His conduct, however, did not meet with the approbation of the commons, who petitioned, that he would not engage in any treaty with France, until ſhe ſhould be reduced to the ſame ſtate in which ſhe was at the peace of the Pyrenees; and gave him to underſtand, that when he ſhould communicate to them the nature of his alliances, they would enable him to proſecute the war with vigour; or to make an honourable and advantageous peace. In the mean time, Lewis reduced Ghent, and Ypres, which ſo alarmed the Dutch, that they came to a reſolution of making a ſeparate peace. The king of France availing himſelf of the advantage he had gained over Charles, inſiſted on terms very different from thoſe which he and the prince of Orange had agreed to.

The reſolution of the Dutch to make a ſeparate peace, induced Charles, in the beginning of April, to ſend his chancellor to the two houſes, requeſting their advice on the ſubject. The commons exhorted him to declare war immediately againſt France; and voted the Dutch alliance inſufficient for the ſecurity of the nation, deſiring in another addreſs, that he would pay more regard to their addreſſes, and remove from his councils the duke of Lauderdale. The king affected aſtoniſhment at this meaſure, and would not at that time return the anſwer they deſired. An army of thirty thouſand men, ſo ſucceſsful were the recruiters, was raiſed in the ſpace of ſix weeks.

Three thouſand men, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, were ſent over to Oſtend; ſome regiments were recalled from the French ſervice; a fleet was equipped with great expedition, and the court breathed nothing but defiance againſt the French monarch. The ſtates general by their ambaſſador declared, that if the king of England would immediately denounce war againſt Lewis, they would break off their negotiations with France, and act vigorouſly in conjunction with their allies. The king replied, that as the ſtates were ready to accept of the conditions preſcribed by France, and Lewis had offered to purchaſe with a ſum of money, that which he could not prevent, he thought himſelf juſtifiable in receiving the gratuity.

His majeſty having deſired Sir William Temple to conſult with the French ambaſſador, on this ſubject, Temple refuſed to have any concern in ſuch a ſcandalous negotiation. But the king found others, who undertook the office without reluctance; and the bargain was ſtruck for the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds. The French miniſter then gave him to underſtand; that unleſs he would, by a ſecret article, engage never to keep an army exceeding eight thouſand men in his three kingdoms, the money would not even then be paid.

The king being informed of this very extraordinary demand, "Cod's fiſh! (ſaid he) "does my brother of France think to ſerve "me thus? are all his promiſes to make me "abſolute maſter of my people come to this? "or, does he think it a thing to be done with "eight thouſand men?" Had Charles poſſeſſed reſolution to proſecute plans of conſequence, or poſſeſſed the ambition of being umpire to the

the kings of Europe, he ſeems at this period to have held the balance in his hand.

Charles, on the meeting of the parliament in May, informed them, that Lewis had offered a truce until the twenty ſecond of July, and alledged the inexpediency of diſbanding the forces before the expiration of that term; notwithſtanding which ſpeech, they voted that all the troops levied ſince the month of September ſhould be diſcharged. The following month, the king aſſured them, that a peace between France, Spain, and Holland was on the point of concluſion; from whence he inferred the neceſſity of keeping a good fleet at ſea, as the Spaniards had declared, they could not ſupport the expence of maintaining garriſons in Flanders, which muſt be left expoſed, unleſs England would ſupply the fortified places with men and proviſions; and recommended the ſafety of Oſtend, to their ſerious regard, in which place, if neglected, the French might keep a fleet of forty ſhips of war. He deſired they would add three hundred thouſand pounds to his revenue; in which caſe they might appropriate yearly, fifty thouſand pounds, towards the maintenance of the fleet and artillery; and the prince of Orange having demanded the firſt moiety of his wife's fortune of forty thouſand-pounds, which was already due, he begged them to conſider that his honour was engaged for the payment of it.

His requeſt for the increaſe of his revenue was refuſed, by the commons, who granted ſix thouſand pounds for the payment of the army; and enacted a ſtatute, decreeing, that for the future the dead ſhould be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufactory, and then the king prorogued the parliament.

France and Spain having come to an accommodation, all the confederates, except the duke of Lorraine, who was reſtored to his dominions, enjoyed the benefit of a pacification.

The attention of the whole nation was now engaged by the following remarkable incident. One Kirby, at the inſtigation of doctor Iſrael Tongue, a clergyman of London, on the twelfth of Auguſt, approaching his majeſty in St. James's Park, ſaid to him; "Sir, keep with-" "in the company, your enemies have a de-" "ſign upon your life." The king deſired Kirby to bring Tongue to him at eight o'clock that evening. He was accordingly introduced to his majeſty, with a bundle of papers relating to this conſpiracy, and referred to lord treaſurer Danby. He ſaid that the papers were thruſt under his door without his knowledge; but imagined it was done by a certain perſon, who had often entertained him with ſubjects of the like nature. The improbability of the ſtory induced his majeſty to look upon the whole as a fiction, and he requeſted it might be kept a ſecret, for fear of the conſequences it might produce among his ſubjects.

With a view to clear the jeſuits from all ſuſpicion of being concerned in this affair, the duke of York inſiſted on a proper enquiry being made before the privy council. Kirby and Tongue were now ſent for; the latter of whom declared, that he received his intelligence from one Titus Oates, who had been bred a clergyman of the church of England; had afterwards embraced the Catholic religion; lived ſome time in the Engliſh ſeminary at St. Omer; had been ſent from thence on an errand to Spain; had finally abjured the Romiſh faith; and lately arrived in his native country.

Some writers have repreſented Oates as the moſt infamous of mankind, but the character they have given him being unſupported by proper proofs, we ſhall pay no regard to it.

The evidence which Oates gave before the council was in effect as follows; that he had been employed by ſeveral jeſuits to carry letters to father Suima, an Iriſh jeſuit at Madrid; that in the courſe of his journey thither, he had broke open letters, and diſcovered a deſign of exciting a rebellion in Scotland; that he ſaw ſeveral Engliſh ſtudents at Valadolid, who were obliged by the jeſuits of the college to renounce their allegiance to the king of Great Britain; that one of them in a ſermon to the ſtudents, preſumed to affirm, that Charles Stuart was not a lawful king, nor the ſon of Charles the firſt, but of a black Scotchman; that upon his return to England,

where

where he made farther diſcoveries, he was ſent to St. Omer with other letters to the ſame purport as the former; that in April 1678, he came over from St. Omer with ſeveral jeſuits, to aſſiſt at the grand conſult which was held by about fifty jeſuits at the White-horſe tavern in the Strand, where they ſigned an agreement to kill the king; that in June following he became privy to the treaty with Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, to poiſon, and Grove and Pickering to ſhoot his majeſty; that he heard a jeſuit aſſert in a ſermon, that proteſtant and other heretical princes, were *ipſo facto* depoſed, and that it was as lawful to deſtroy them, as Oliver Cromwell, or any other uſurper.

Reſolved to ſcrutinize with the utmoſt care and induſtry into a matter in which the king and kingdom were ſo immediately concerned; the council re-examined Tongue and Oates, and then ſat twice a week to make farther enquiries, and employed Oates to ſeize the perſons, and ſecure the papers of the conſpirators.

Sir George Wakeman, phyſician to the queen, Edward Coleman, ſecretary to the duke of York, and eight prieſts and jeſuits were arreſted in conſequence of Oates's depoſitions, From the ſeizure of ſo many Catholics, the people were induced to believe, that they were the authors of the plot, and this opinion was confirmed by an incident that happened a few days after. This was the murder of juſtice Godfrey, who had taken Oates's depoſition, and who, after having been miſſing for ſeveral days, was found dead in a ditch near Pancras church. The coroners inqueſt were of opinion that his death was occaſioned by ſtrangling and ſuffocation, and brought in their verdict, "wilful murder by "perſons unknown."

Five hundred pounds and an aſſurance of protection, were immediately offered by the king, for the diſcovery of Godfrey's murderers. The lords were no ſooner informed of the plot, than they communicated it to the commons, and both houſes entered ſo warmly into the matter, that for ſeveral days they ſat till night in examining the evidence. They recommended Oates to his majeſty, aſſigned a guard to attend his perſon, and accommodated him with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds.

A bill was brought into the houſe of commons to expel all popiſh recuſants out of the kingdom, and both houſes having examined Oates for ſix or ſeven hours, voted, "that "the lords and commons are of opinion, "that there hath been, and ſtill is a dam-"nable and helliſh plot, contrived and "carried on by popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſi-"nating and murdering the king, for ſub-"verting the government, and for rooting "out and deſtroying the proteſtant religion." The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis, were committed to the Tower, and ſoon after impeached of high treaſon.

William Bedloe, in confirmation of Oates's evidence, depoſed, that Walſh and le Phaire, two jeſuits concerned in the murder of Godfrey, informed him of the particular noblemen who had taken up arms, and of the preparations that were making in Flanders and Spain; that there was not a Catholic of any quality or credit but was privy to the plot, and ready to concur in its execution; and that himſelf being well acquainted with all the public and private roads in England and Wales, was appointed to carry inſtructions and intelligence from one army to the other.

Oates's depoſitions being in ſome meaſure confirmed by that of Bedloe, excited ſuch a ferment in the nation, that the king was obliged to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all popiſh recuſants under the ſevereſt penalties to repair to their own houſes, and not to venture from thence, without a particular licence, to a greater diſtance than five miles. At the ſame time, another proclamation was publiſhed, offering a reward to any one who ſhould diſcover or apprehend a Romiſh prieſt or jeſuit; and the royal aſſent was given to a bill for diſqualifying papiſts from ſitting in parliament.

Coleman, convicted on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, being condemned and executed, the other criminals were ſoon after brought to their trials. On the ſeventeenth of December, were arraigned and tried at the Old Bailey, Ireland and Pickering, both prieſts, Grove,

Grove, a lay brother, Whitebread, provincial of the jeſuits, and Fenwick, a member of the ſame ſociety. But, as in the courſe of the evidence, there appeared no ſufficient proof againſt the two laſt, they were reſerved for another occaſion, and the trial was confined to the three firſt, who, after much examination, were found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

*A. D.* 1679. One Miles Prance, a goldſmith, of the Roman catholic perſuaſion, having been apprehended on ſuſpicion of being concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, and being brought before the committee of the upper houſe, denied the charge with the deepeſt imprecations; but Bedloe affirming, that he was one of the men he ſaw in Somerſet gardens with the dead body, he was immediately conveyed to Newgate, and confined in the condemned hole. Being carried before the earl of Shafteſbury, he diſcovered ſome particulars, and promiſed to make a fuller confeſſion, if he could be aſſured of obtaining a free pardon. This being granted, he was examined before the king and council at Whitehall, where he confeſſed that Godfrey was murdered in Somerſet-houſe, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly, two Iriſh prieſts, Robert Green, cuſhion keeper to the queen's chapel, and ſeveral others.

Prance afterwards confeſſed to Dr. Lloyd, that the manner of Godfrey's death was as follows; that Hill, Gerald, Kelly, himſelf, and ſome others, reſolved to murder Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, as a bitter perſecutor of the catholics, and an enemy to the queen's ſervants. That on the twelfth of October, about nine in the evening, as he was returning home by the water-gate of Somerſet-houſe, Kelly and Berry, another of the accomplices, feigned a quarrel, and Hill, after much importunity, prevailed on Godfrey, as being a juſtice of the peace, to interpoſe his authority; but he no ſooner entered the gate, than Gerald, throwing a handkerchief about his neck, twiſted it tight, and with the aſſiſtance of the other parties immediately ſtrangled him.

That they then conveyed the body to the houſe of doctor Godden, where it lay two nights, and was then removed to another apartment, where it was ſeen by Bedloe. At length they determined to convey it into the fields, with the rings on the fingers, and the money in the pockets, and to thruſt the ſword through it, that he might be ſuppoſed to have murdered himſelf. They accordingly carried the body in a ſedan towards Soho-fields, where Hill waited with a horſe, upon which it was mounted before him, and that they left it in a ditch on Primroſe-hill.

Green, Hill, and Berry were condemned and executed in conſequence of this depoſition, notwithſtanding the contradictions in the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes who were afterwards examined. Hiſtorians are greatly divided in their opinions concerning the legality of theſe proceedings.

It was to no purpoſe that the king exerted his utmoſt endeavours to influence the elections for the new parliament; the ſpirit of the times defeated all his attempts. Religion, liberty, property, even the lives of men were ſuppoſed to be in danger; nothing, it was thought, but a vigilant parliament could defeat the deſigns of the court, and the Catholics. Charles, in order to avert part of the ſtorm that threatened him, removed the duke of York from his preſence, who retired with his wife and daughter to Bruſſels, in obedience to a written order from the king.

The king earneſtly deſired, at the meeting of the parliament, that Sir Thomas Meeres might be choſen ſpeaker; but the houſe unanimouſly re-electing Seymour, the king refuſed to approve the election, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new choice; and a violent conteſt enſued. They aſſerted, that the king's approbation was meerly form; the king maintained, that ſince he had the power of rejecting, he was not obliged to aſſign any reaſon. After a long altercation, the diſpute was compromiſed by electing one Gregory a lawyer, who was approved by the king.

The houſe began to prepare new articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Danby. Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witneſs, were ſummoned to the bar of the houſe, to be examined concerning the plot.

They likewiſe voted that a horrible conſpiracy had been contrived and carried on for aſſaſſinating the king, deſtroying the proteſtant religion, and ſubverting the government; the peers concurred with them in this vote, and a day of faſting and humiliation was petitioned for by both houſes.

Charles earneſtly interceded with the lords for the earl of Danby, who, he ſaid, had voted in obedience to the orders he had received; that for their ſatisfaction, he would deprive him of his employments, and remove him from his preſence. Notwithſtanding this interpoſition, nothing was heard but the moſt virulent invectives againſt the earl of Danby. Shafteſbury among the peers exerted all his eloquence in reviling the adminiſtration; alledging, that in England, popery would firſt enter, to pave the way for ſlavery; but in Scotland, ſlavery had entered and popery would follow. Danby having withdrawn, the commons brought in a bill, obliging him to ſurrender himſelf into the hands of juſtice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded againſt by an act of attainder. This bill was ſent down from the lords with ſome amendments; a diſpute aroſe, and conferences were held upon the ſubject; at length the peers acquieſced and the bill paſſed. Then the earl of Danby ſurrendered himſelf to the uſher of the black rod, and was committed priſoner to the Tower.

At a loſs how to proceed, in ſo critical a ſituation, his majeſty conſulted Sir William Temple, who adviſed him to weaken the oppoſition by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. The king, in compliance with the advice of this great man, created the earl of Eſſex lord treaſurer in the room of Danby; beſtowed the office of ſecretary of ſtate upon the earl of Sunderland, and admitted lord Halifax, eminent for his genius, learning and eloquence into the council; and theſe three, together with Sir William Temple, were firſt conſulted in all affairs of importance. Shafteſbury was declared preſident of the council; but not being honoured with the confidence of his majeſty, he adhered, as heretofore, to the country party.

Hoping that this change of councils would produce a change of meaſures, the people in general were in great ſpirits, but the commons received the news with great indifference. So little were they ſatisfied with this alteration, that they proceeded to vote unanimouſly; that the duke of York's being a Roman catholic and the preſumptive heir to the crown, was the chief encouragement to the deſigns and plots of the papiſts againſt the king, and the proteſtant religion. It was even ſuppoſed, that a bill would be ſoon introduced for excluding him from the throne. In order to prevent this meaſure, the king concerted ſome limitations, which he imparted to the parliament. The particulars of which were, that the death of a king, if his ſucceſſor was a catholic, ſhould not diſſolve the parliament; that during the whole courſe of his reign he ſhould not be allowed to confer eccleſiaſtical benefices or ſpiritual offices upon any but pious and learned proteſtants; that no members of the privy council, or judges, ſhould be appointed or diſplaced, but by the authority of parliament; that all juſtices of the peace ſhould be proteſtants; and that with regard to the militia, no lieutenant of a county ſhould be deprived of his office, but by order of parliament.

Notwithſtanding the offer of the above limitations, the commons proceeded with the bill for preventing the dangers that might ariſe from popery, in the reign of his preſent majeſty, as well as in that of his ſucceſſor; and ordered another to be brought in for vacating the ſeats of thoſe members, who ſhould accept of any employment under the crown.

The commons were of opinion, that the liberties of the nation could be no way ſo well ſecured, as by excluding the duke of York from all chance of ſucceeding to the throne, as his bigotry with regard to religion, his arbitrary principles, and obſtinate temper were well known.

Hereupon, a bill was introduced, importing, that James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulſter, ſhould be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland; that upon the death or reſignation of the king, the

the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion to the duke; that all acts of royalty exerciſed by him ſhould be not only void, but deemed treaſonable; that if he entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be accounted guilty of high treaſon, and that all who ſupported his title ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. This important bill paſſed the lower houſe, by a majority of ſeventy-nine voices. They then proceeded to ſet on foot, a ſevere enquiry againſt thoſe members, who received penſions from court; and eighteen were diſcovered. The ſtanding army and the guards were voted illegal, and they brought in the bill of Habeas corpus, that great bulwark of Engliſh freedom, obliging the judge, under ſevere penalties, to grant a writ at the requeſt of every priſoner, directing the jailor to produce him in court, and certify the cauſe of his commitment.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the parliament from the twenty-ſeventh of May, to the fourteenth of Auguſt, on being informed, that the commons intended to draw up a remonſtrance upon the grievances of the nation, like that which was preſented to his father, before the commencement of the civil war.

This parliament was afterwards diſſolved without the advice of council, and writs iſſued for new elections. From this period, Charles, finding all his attempts to oppoſe deſpotiſm ineffectual, became penſive and ſullen, and diſcovered a viſible change of temper throughout his conduct.

The jeſuits, Whitebread the provincial, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were convicted on the evidence of Oates, Dugdale, Prance and Bedloe; but ſentence againſt them was deferred, till after the trial of Langhorn, the lawyer, who was accuſed by the ſame evidences, as principal agent in the conſpiracy. Langhorn objected to the credit of miſcreant informers, who had received pardon and recompence for betraying their fellow ſubjects. Notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, he and the jeſuits received ſentence of death, and proteſted their innocence to the laſt moment of their lives. The lawfulneſs of depoſing and aſſaſſinating princes, a maxim held by ſeveral jeſuits, was renounced by Whitebread in particular.

Chief juſtice Scroggs, on the eighteenth of June, proceeded to try the queen's phyſician, Sir George Wakeman. Oates had ſaid at his firſt examination, that he knew nothing againſt this perſon, but by report; yet he now ſwore he had ſeen a letter from him to Aſhby, the jeſuit, adviſing him to uſe a milk diet, and be pumped at the bath, and likewiſe intimating his approbation of the ſcheme for taking off the king. Wakeman in his own defence, reminded the judge of the inconſiſtency of the informer's allegations, who at firſt declared he knew nothing againſt him but by report. He proved by his own ſervant and the apothecary at Bath, that he did not write, but dictate the letter ſent to Aſhby, and alſo obſerved the abſurdity of preſcribing a milk diet with the uſe of the Bath water. Bedloe alſo prevaricating in his evidence, Wakeman was acquitted, as were three benedictine monks who were tried at the ſame time.

The chief juſtice, whoſe moderation was remarkable, was now charged with partiality by theſe witneſſes, who found their credit entirely blaſted. In the latter end of Auguſt the king was ſeized with an intermitting fever at Windſor. The diſtemper being thought dangerous by his phyſicians, the king, with the advice of Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halliſax, ſent a courier for the duke of York, but recovered before his arrival. The duke of York, fearful that the duke of Monmouth, who was favoured by the king, and much eſteemed by the people, might rival him in the ſucceſſion, would not return to the continent, till Monmouth was deprived of his commiſſion, and ordered to quit the kingdom. Having gained this point, he returned again to Bruſſels, but ſoon obtained leave to reſide in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of that people, and be at hand in caſe of the demiſe of the king his brother.

A ſtrange and infamous plot was at this time planned between one Dangerfield and a midwife named Collier, a woman of diſſolute morals. Dangerfield intimated, that there was a deſign on foot to ſet up a newformof government, and depoſe the king, who on this intelligence ſupplied him with money, to encourage him in the detection. He concealed ſome ſeditious papers in the houſe of colonel Manſell, and then brought ſome officers of the cuſtoms into the apartments to ſearch for ſmuggled merchandize. In the courſe of the ſearch, the papers were found, and the council on enquiry, concluding they were forged by Dangerfield, ordered all the places of his reſort to be ſearched, and in the houſe of Collier, the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, whence it acquired the name of the meal tub plot. Dangerfield, on his commitment, confeſſed the particulars of the forgery, which he ſaid was contrived by the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. The earl and counteſs were ſent to the Tower, and the king himſelf is ſaid to have encouraged this impoſture; but the information and confeſſion were deemed equally falſe by the generality of people.

The earls of Eſſex and Halifax having repeatedly adviſed the king to aſſemble the parliament, which he refuſed; Eſſex reſigned his treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed upon Laurence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became his chief counſellors. Lord Ruſſel, a nobleman of approved integrity, quitted the council board; Sir William Temple retired into the country; and the earl of Radnor took the place of Shafteſbury, who was diſmiſſed the council for an inſult offered to the king in his abſence.

Enraged at being removed from the council, Shafteſbury perſuaded Monmouth to return to England, even without the king's permiſſion; accompanied him in a progreſs thro' many parts of the kingdom, procured petitions from his emiſſaries, demanding a parliament, and excited ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent againſt the government, that it was feared a rebellion would have been the conſequence.

*A. D.* 1680. The duke of Monmouth's conduct highly incenſed the king, who was not a little concerned at ſeeing himſelf deſerted by his counſellors. All the antiminiſterial members were re-elected in the new parliament, and diſcontent prevailed throughout the nation.

His majeſty, on the meeting of the parliament in January, repreſented to them, that the preſent ſtate of the nation rendered an intermiſſion indiſpenſable, and therefore prorogued them to the fifteenth day of April. He then acquainted the council with his having ordered the duke of York to return to court, thinking his preſence requiſite at a juncture, when propoſals were made, in which he was nearly intereſted. That prince returned in February, and was received by the king with every token of affection. The partizans of the court retorted the practice of petitions upon their antagoniſts; they provided a great number of addreſſes to his majeſty, expreſſing their abhorrence of the licentious freedom which had been taken in demanding a parliament.

The earl of Shafteſbury, who headed the anticourtiers, was reſolved, if poſſible, to ruin the duke of York, in oppoſition to whom he ſet up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but propagated a report that the king had actually been married to Mrs. Walters, the duke's mother. The king declared in council againſt this rumour; and ordered the author of ſuch a malicious ſlander, to be minutely ſought after. At length, he iſſued a declaration, that he was never married or contracted to Mrs. Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother, nor to any other perſon whatſoever but queen Catharine.

The earl of Caſtlemain, and Collier, the midwife, being tried reſpecting the meal-tub-plot, were acquitted; and the grand jury threw out the bill of indictment againſt the counteſs of Powis. In the month of Auguſt died at Briſtol, Bedloe the informer; who declared that the queen and duke of York were at the head of the deſign of introducing popery, and inſiſted that the evidence he had given

given againſt the jeſuits was ſtrictly true.

Notwithſtanding the numbers and the power of the court party had lately increaſed, yet thoſe in the oppoſition ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to maintain their influence in the nation, and were ſo daring in their efforts, that the king, alarmed at their preſumption, inſiſted on his brother's returning to Scotland, till the commotions ſhould ſubſide; aſſuring him he would never deſert his cauſe; and the duke complied, but with great reluctance.

When the parliament aſſembled, his majeſty informed them that he had concluded an alliance with Spain. He aſſured them that he was diſpoſed to concur in all reaſonable meaſures for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion; he exhorted them to continue the enquiry into the conſpiracy; demanded a ſubſidy for the ſupport of Tangier; and recommended, as the moſt certain method of enhancing the public weal, a firm union between them and himſelf.

An addreſs was now preſented to the king, by the commons, deſiring he would remove from all public employment, Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, and firſt judge of Cheſter. They received the informations of the new witneſſes, Dangerfield, Jenniſon Dugdale, and Tuberville, and recommended Dr. Tongue to the king, for the firſt good benefice in the gift of the crown that ſhould become vacant. The lords Ruſſel and Capel, enumerated the grievances of the nation, and were ſeconded by a great number of members; ſome of whom inveighed moſt bitterly againſt the duke of York. At length, the houſe renewed the votes which had paſſed againſt him in a former parliament, when lord Ruſſel moved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to prepare a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne.

The party of anticourtiers was now become very conſiderable; but the king was aſſured of the attachment of thoſe, who deteſted republican principles, from the dire effects of which, they had ſo lately been delivered.

The bill for the excluſion of the duke of York produced violent debates among the commons. The ſpeakers in favour of it were lord Ruſſel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir John Erneley, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The former party aſſerted, that the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the conſtitution; that the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown of England had been often ſet aſide; that ſuch an expedient was indiſpenſably requiſite at a juncture, when the duke's zeal for the Romiſh faith, his connections with catholic princes, and his arbitrary diſpoſition, threatened the revival of popery, the perſecution of proteſtants, together with a dreadful train of miſeries inevitably reſulting therefrom. The latter party argued, that abſolute tyranny or ſucceſsful uſurpation alone, had ever ſet aſide the right of of ſucceſſion, that it could never be diſpenſed with without introducing the moſt violent convulſions, unleſs the whole nation concurred in the change; that a legiſlature, which deviates from a fundamental point of the conſtitution, ſubverts that very principle of authority on which itſelf is founded; and that the conſequence of driving the king to extremity ought to be well conſidered, as it was well known, his majeſty would never give up the right of ſucceſſion.

Theſe arguments, however, had no force, and the bill was carried by a great majority; though it was differently received by the other houſe, where the whole bench of biſhops, except three, declared againſt it as a dangerous innovation; and after a debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night, it was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three.

This diſappointment was ill reliſhed by the commons, who, when the king by a meſſenger exhorted them to diſpatch the affair of the conſpiracy, and proceed to the trials of the lords in the Tower, replied, that the delay was occaſioned by the pernicious counſels of thoſe who had adviſed him to diſſolve the laſt parliament, and prorogue the preſent.

They then drew up a remonſtrance, repreſenting the danger to which the nation was expoſed, from the king's partiality to the papiſts; and inſinuating that he was concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his ſubjects.

It had been well if the commons had ſtopped here, but they determined that the poor old lord Stafford, whoſe misfortunes were already ſufficiently great, ſhould experience the effects of their vengeance. He was brought from the Tower to his trial on the thirteenth of November, and, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his defence, the ſimplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic proteſtations of innocence, he was convicted of treaſon upon the evidence of Dugdale, Oates, and Tuberville, who ſeem to have been the hireling informers of a party. Hearing the verdict; he cried out "God's holy name be praiſed." On the twenty-ninth of December, he was brought to the ſcaffold, where in the moſt earneſt manner he declared his innocence. On his repeating the proteſtations of his innocence, the populace were melted at the meekneſs and reſignation of this ancient nobleman and cried aloud "We believe you, "my lord—God bleſs you, my lord." The very executioner was ſtruck with ſympathy, and could not perform his office without heſitation, and when he held up the head according to cuſtom, exclaiming, "this is the head of a traitor;" all was a ſcene of ſilence, ſtillneſs, and unutterable ſorrow.

Lord Stafford was the laſt victim to that (real or ſuppoſed) conſpiracy; and his death is the greateſt inſtance of cruelty and inexorable barbarity during the whole courſe of this reign. The commons then voted, that a bill ſhould be brought in, for baniſhing the moſt conſiderable papiſts from the kingdom; alledging, that while the catholics retained any hopes of ſeeing the duke of York aſcend the throne, the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people would be in imminent danger. They propoſed ſeveral other bills, deſtructive of the prerogative; and in an addreſs requeſted that the bill to exclude James, might receive his majeſty's aſſent.

*A. D.* 1681. His majeſty told the commons, that he was extremely concerned at their attachment to the bill of excluſion, againſt which, his own opinion was cofirmed by that of the lords. He deſired them to deliberate on other meaſures for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and then recommended to their ſerious regard, the ſtate of the nation and the ſituation of Chriſtendon; the ſupport of their allies, and the eſtabliſhment of the peace of the kingdom. Previous to this anſwer, they had brought in a bill for exempting proteſtant non-conformiſts from the penalties impoſed by an act in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and it paſſed through both houſes; but it was not to be found when his majeſty came to the houſe to ſign it, the king having directed the clerk of the crown to conceal it.

Articles of impeachment were now drawn up by the commons againſt lord chief juſtice Scroggs, for having endeavoured to ſtifle the conſpiracy; and for having diſmiſſed the grand jury of Middleſex, in an irregular manner, when the duke of York was preſented as a popiſh recuſant; and reſolved, after violent debates, that the act of excluſion was the only ſufficient ſecurity for the king's life, the proteſtant religion, and the eſtabliſhed government; that till that act was paſſed, they could grant no ſupplies, without endangering the king's perſon, and the proteſtant religion; as well as betraying the people they repreſented; that all thoſe who had adviſed his majeſty to perſiſt in oppoſing the bill of excluſion, had given pernicious counſel, were favourers of popery, and enemies to the king and kingdom. They voted, that whoever ſhould lend money, or promote loans to the king, upon the cuſtoms, exciſe, or other taxes, or accept or purchaſe tallies, or anticipations, upon the king's revenues, ſhould be deemed an enemy to the parliament, and as ſuch be liable to a proſecution.

The commons having received information that his majeſty was reſolved, rather than injure his brother, to prorogue the parliament, voted, that whoſoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue the parliament, was a traitor to his king and country, a penſioner of France, and

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one who favoured the intereſts of that crown. The king, incenſed by theſe meaſures, diſſolved the parliament, and at the ſame time convoked another to meet on the twenty-firſt day of March at Oxford.

When the parliament came to aſſemble at Oxford, the members were armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they apprehended an immediate rupture. The repreſentatives of London were ſurrounded by a numerous band of horſemen, diſtinguiſhed by knots and ribbons, inſcribed "No popery, "no ſlavery." The king complained of the intolerable proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exerciſe arbitrary power over others, ſo he would not ſuffer it to be exerciſed over himſelf. He hoped the bad conſequences of former animoſities, would diſpoſe them to more moderation, and induce them cooly to deliberate on meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He expreſſed an anxious deſire of obviating all reaſonable fears ariſing from the poſſibility of a popiſh ſucceſſor; and added, that he was willing to agree to any ſcheme for placing the power of governing in proteſtant hands, during the life of any king profeſſing popery.

The houſe having choſen their former ſpeaker, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be made acquainted with the ſubject of their debates; and then proceeded to conſider the ſpeech delivered from the throne; after which, the king's expedients, in lieu of the excluſion bill, were taken into conſideration.

Propoſals were made to the commons, that the duke ſhould be baniſhed during life, to the diſtance of five hundred miles from any part of the Britiſh dominions; that the government ſhould be veſted in a regent; that this office ſhould be conferred upon the princeſs of Orange, and in caſe of her death, devolve to her ſiſter Anne; that ſhould the duke of York have a ſon, educated in the proteſtant religion, the ſaid regent ſhould act during his minority; that though the kingdom ſhould be governed in the name of James II. no man ſhould take arms for him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of capital puniſhment; and that thoſe ſhould incur the ſame penalty, who ſhould affirm, that the ſimple title of king, takes away all defects mentioned in this act; or in any degree eludes the obligation of it; that all officers, civil and military, ſhould bind themſelves by oath to the obſervance of this ſtatute; that acts of the ſame nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland; that if the duke of York ſhould enter either of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be excluded, "*ipſo facto*," and the ſovereignty devolve to the regent; that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name; and their children educated in the proteſtant religion.

Notwithſtanding the very extraordinary nature of theſe propoſals, they were rejected by the commons, who reſumed the bill of excluſion, and actually ordered it to be read a ſecond time, when Charles, ſeizing the opportunity, ſtole upon them, and diſſolved the parliament before they were apprized of his deſign. He forthwith retired to Windſor; whence he next day repaired to London, where he publiſhed a declaration, containing his reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments. The king had no ſooner taken this expedient, than addreſſes were brought him from all parts of the kingdom, containing the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty; applauding the king's conduct in diſſolving the parliament, and inveighing againſt the commons for encouraging ſedition.

The flatteries of his ſubjects ſo elated Charles, that he became arbitrary, and even cruel. He entertained all the informers, who had formerly ſerved the purpoſes of the oppoſite faction, and, in order to convince the world of the ſuperiority he had acquired, committed Shafteſbury to the Tower; and impriſoned at the ſame time ſeveral perſons of inferior rank, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as leaders in that party.

Oates's ſervices, of all the informing party, were alone rejected, and he was expelled his reſidence at Whitehall, by an order of council, and even forbid to come within a certain diſtance

distance of that place. But the chief object of the king's resentment was the earl of Shaftesbury, to prosecute whom no sums were spared, no expedient left untried.

A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, the witnesses swore to such improbable circumstances, as must have invalidated their evidence, had they not already incurred most infamous characters. A draught of an association was found indeed among his papers, but it appeared not to be the earl's hand-writing; nor could it be proved, that he had communicated this scheme to any person, or signified his approbation of any such project. The sheriff of London being of the same principles with Shaftesbury, took care to summon a jury that rejected the bill of indictment against him, on which occasion, acclamations of joy were heard throughout the city.

The court party prevailed extremely in Scotland. The duke of York, as king's commissioner, had assembled the parliament of that kingdom in July; wherein an act was passed, acknowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood, and that the succession could not be altered by any law or consideration whatsoever.

They also passed an act for imposing on persons in office a test oath, acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience. When the oath was tendered to the earl of Argyle, he said he took it as far as it was consistent with itself and the protestant religion; declaring he did not mean to bind himself up from endeavouring, agreeable to his loyalty and conscience, to effect any alteration that might prove advantageous to church or state. For this expression he was committed prisoner to the castle, tried for perjury, convicted and condemned to death.

The sentence, however, being ordered to be suspended till his majesty's further pleasure should be known, the earl escaped from his confinement, and took refuge in Holland. The duke's partizans pretended that he had no design upon the life of Argyle, but only against the hereditary jurisdiction, by which he maintained a very dangerous authority in the Highlands. The king having thus conquered all opposition, the duke repaired to London, and acquired such an influence over his brother, that he was, in effect, king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

*A. D.* 1682. On another voyage to Scotland in the beginning of this year, the ship in which the duke embarked, striking on a sand bank in the passage, was lost. The duke saved himself in the long boat, with a few persons, whom he named for admittance; and it will scarcely be credited, that while he left many persons of distinction to perish, he took care to save a few priests and a number of favourite dogs.

The people of Scotland, to avoid the test oath, the imposition of which was attended with many acts of oppression, resolved in great numbers to withdraw themselves into another country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conscience that was denied them at home, and accordingly sent up agents to London, to treat with the proprietors of Carolina, about their settling in that colony. But the duke found means to conciliate the affections of the nobility and clergy, and the prelates of that kingdom wrote letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, extolling the duke's mild and upright administration in general, and his affection for the church in particular.

The authority of the king being now become absolute, he resolved to humble the presbyterians, and practised the most unjustifiable methods for gratifying his revenge. By this means the mutual animosity between the two parties was now inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king declared himself the head of a faction. The city of London still maintained its independence, and the sheriff influenced the grand jury in such a manner, as defended the presbyterians of that metropolis from oppression. But the king found means to attach to his interest Sir John Moor, then lord mayor, and he named two persons for sheriffs, who he knew would be dupes to the ministry; a person devoted to the king's will,

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was alſo ſecured to ſucceed Moor as lord mayor.

Theſe ſeveral circumſtances ſo alarmed the earl of Shafteſbury, that he conſulted his ſafety by flying into Holland, though he had before urged in parliament the ruin of that country in thoſe remarkable words, "Delen-"da eſt Carthago." But he died in a few days after his arrival in Holland.

*A. D.* 1683. Although the magiſtracy of London were devoted to the king, yet he foreſaw a ſtrong oppoſition at the enſuing election, and that he ſhould be every year oppoſed, both in London, and in all the corporations under preſbytery influence; he therefore formed a plan for raiſing a deſpotic ſway over all the corporations in England. He began with iſſuing a writ of "Quo warranto," againſt the city of London, to enquire into the ſolidity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two inſtances. The firſt was, their impoſing a toll in order to defray the expences of rebuilding their markets; the other, the preſenting an addreſs to the king, containing a ſcandalous reflection upon his majeſty and his adminiſtration. The cauſe was tried in the court of king's bench, and the council for the city proved, that all the corporations had a power to make bye laws; that ſubjects had a right to petition the king; that the reflection in the addreſs was not levelled at the king, but his evil counſellors who had adviſed him to prorogue the parliament; and inſiſted, that if the magiſtrates had committed any fault, they were puniſhable as individuals; but their conduct could be no reaſon for annihilating the body corporate.

Theſe arguments, though concluſive in themſelves, had no weight with the judges, who, influenced by the miniſtry, declared, that the city of London had forfeited its privileges, and that its charter was at the king's diſpoſal. The judgment, however, was not recorded till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. The citizens were amazed and diſmayed at this tranſaction, and a common council being aſſembled, the majority agreed to a tame ſubmiſſion, before the ſentence ſhould be recorded. A petition was accordingly preſented to that effect, and the king offered to reſtore the charter on the following conditions. That no mayor or officer of the commonalty, ſhould exerciſe his authority, until his election ſhould be confirmed under the king's ſign manual; that if his majeſty ſhould diſapprove of their choice of a mayor and ſheriffs, they ſhould proceed to a new election, and provided the ſecond ſhould be diſagreeable to the king, he ſhould appoint perſons of his own nomination; that the mayor and court of aldermen ſhould be empowered to diveſt any alderman of his office, by the king's permiſſion; that ſhould any alderman after his election, be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward ſhould be obliged to chuſe another; and ſhould he be diſapproved by the court, a third ſhould be elected by the court itſelf; and that the juſtices of the peace in London ſhould act only by virtue of the king's commiſſion. To theſe rigorous terms, the common council ſubmitted, by a majority of eighteen voices. The fate of the city of London alarmed many other corporations, who delivering up their charters to the king, were obliged to pay large ſums for the redemption of them.

Before the earl of Shafteſbury departed for Holland, he engaged the duke of Monmouth, the lords Ruſſel and Grey, to riſe in arms, and to oppoſe the duke's ſucceſſion on the demiſe of Charles, and they afterwards aſſociated with them the earls of Eſſex and Saliſbury. The chiefs of the conſpirators that remained, were the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Eſſex, the lords Ruſſel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandſon to the famous patriot who oppoſed the tax of ſhip money in the reign of Charles I. Theſe correſponded with Argyle and the malecontents of Scotland, and ſtill determined to proſecute the ſcheme of inſurrection, though they were influenced by very different motives. Sidney was a republican; Howard ſought the gratification of his own ambition; Eſſex inclined to the principles of Sidney; Ruſſel and Hampden were for excluding the duke of York and remedying all grievances; while Monmouth aſpired to the crown.

Colonel Rumſey, lieutenant colonel Walcot, and others, forming a kind of ſubordinate conſpiracy, propoſed to aſſaſſinate the king in his way from Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, poſſeſſed a farm on that road, called the Rye-houſe, whence the conſpiracy was denominated the Rye-houſe plot. They agreed to ſtop the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and to ſhoot him from the hedges. It was likewiſe determined, that his guards ſhould be engaged by forty horſe under Walcot, while Rumſey ſhould perpetrate the aſſaſſination. In the midſt of their deliberations, the palace in which the king reſided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place ſooner than he intended, ſo that their intentions of deſtroying him on his return to London were defeated.

One Keiling, who had been in the conſpiracy, having arreſted the mayor of London, for which he was in danger of a proſecution, to procure his pardon, diſcovered the plot to the miniſtry. Rumſey, and Weſt, a lawyer, no ſooner underſtood that this man had informed againſt them, than they agreed to ſave their lives by turning king's evidences, and ſurrendered themſelves accordingly. Warrants were now iſſued againſt the chiefs of the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded; Grey eſcaped from the meſſenger by whom he had been arreſted; Ruſſel was impriſoned; Howard baſely purchaſed pardon by betraying his friends, the earl of Eſſex, Sidney and Hampden, who were immediately ſecured; and many other conſpirators detected and impriſoned. Walcot was firſt brought to trial, and condemned, together with Hone and Rouſe, upon the evidence of Weſt and Rumſey. They died with compoſure, acknowledging the juſtice of the ſentence by virtue of which they were executed. The ſame witneſſes were produced againſt lord Ruſſel; whom, however, they accuſed with great reluctance. He was beloved by the people in general, and his very enemies could not but revere his virtues. Lord Howard ſwore he was engaged in the deſign of the inſurrection; but every witneſs declared he had no concern in the intention of killing the king. He was, however, above denying the deſign in which he was concerned; though the laws againſt treaſon were wreſted for his conviction. After his condemnation, the king was ſtrongly ſollicited in his behalf. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchaſe his pardon of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, with the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds; Ruſſel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merits of her father in behalf of her huſband. But Charles was inexorable; he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Ruſſel; who had denied that the king had authority to remit the barbarous part of the ſentence againſt lord Strafford; and oppoſed him in ſuch a manner in the late parliaments, as to incur the king's moſt inveterate hatred.

Ruſſel was ſentenced to be hanged, but his majeſty ordered him to be beheaded, ſaying, "my lord Ruſſel ſhall find I am poſſeſſed of "that prerogative which he thought fit to "deny me in the caſe of lord Strafford." Lord Cavendiſh, the intimate friend of Ruſſel, offered to effect his eſcape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a priſoner in his room; the duke of Monmouth ſent a meſſage to him, importing, that he would ſurrender himſelf, if he thought that ſtep would contribute to his ſafety. But Ruſſel nobly declined theſe generous offers, and reſigned himſelf to his fate with admirable fortitude. His lady, that he might not be ſhocked in his laſt moments, ſummoned aſtoniſhed reſolution, and parted from him without ſhedding a tear. "Now, ſaid he, the bitterneſs of "death is paſt," and afterwards behaved with the utmoſt ſerenity. Immediately before he was conveyed to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, ſaying with a ſmile, "Now I have "done with time, and muſt henceforth think "of eternity." The ſcaffold was erected in Lincolns-inn-fields, that the triumph of the court might appear more conſpicuous in his being conveyed through the city of London.

He was attended in the coach by Tillotſon and

and Burnet, and the people wept as he paſſed through the ſtreets. On the ſcaffold he preſented a paper to the ſheriffs, expreſſing his zeal againſt popery, and proteſting his own innocence, with reſpect to any deſign againſt the king's life He then prayed that God would preſerve his majeſty and the proteſtant religion, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke with an unchanged countenance, and the utmoſt fortitude.

To the trial of Ruſſel ſucceeded that of Algernon Sidney, a bold republican, who had been deeply concerned in the war againſt the king's father, though he vigorouſly oppoſed the uſurpation of Cromwell. Lord Howard was the ſole witneſs that appeared againſt him; but the proſecutors produced ſome diſcourſes upon government found among his papers, and affirmed, that theſe were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was founded, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrannical and oppreſſive meaſures; and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of an individual. There was no proof that the papers were his hand writing, or that he had ever ſhewn them to any perſon, nor did they contain any thing treaſonable; and in his defence he inſiſted, that the law ſtrictly required two living witneſſes, to ſupport a charge of treaſon.

The infamous Jefferies, now lord chief juſtice, giving the charge to a jury which had been packed for the purpoſe, it is no wonder that his arguments had no weight. He was convicted, and in a few days executed. He complained of the iniquity of the ſentence by which he loſt his life; but far from denying his connections with Ruſſel and the other conſpirators, he gloried in his ſuffering for the good old cauſe, in which from his early youth he had been inliſted. Hampden, againſt whom too, Howard was the ſole evidence, was indicted for a miſdemeanor, and caſt in a fine of forty thouſand pounds. Sir Thomas Armſtrong had been outlawed for the conſpiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh, the Engliſh miniſter, who ſent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was entitled by the ſtatute, as the time preſcribed for his ſurrendering himſelf was not yet elapſed. Jefferies declared he was not entitled to the benefit of the ſtatute, becauſe he did not ſurrender voluntarily; he inſulted him from the bench, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he bore with the reſolution and ſpirit of a man.

It is not a litte remarkable, that on the morning of lord Ruſſel's execution the earl of Eſſex was found murdered in his apartment in the Tower, his throat being cut from ear to ear. Though the coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict, ſelf-murder, and the earl had been ſubject to fits of melancholy, ſome circumſtances ſeemed to countenance a ſuſpicion of his having fallen by another hand; two children declared, that they ſaw a hand throw a bloody razor from the caſement. Lady Eſſex made a very minute enquiry into every circumſtance relating to this event, and communicated the particulars to Doctor Burnet, who ſays there was not the leaſt foundation for a proſecution. He alſo informs us, that the earl was a vindicator of ſuicide, and much ſubject to fits of melancholy.

The duke of Monmouth now correſponded with the earl of Argyle, by whoſe means he hoped to be joined by the covenanters in Scotland, who were ſo enſlaved by the government, that any hazard was preferable to that ſervility under which they groaned. Argyle, who then reſided in Holland, undertook to ſupply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would remit eight thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. Bailie of Jerviſwood, a man of talents and integrity, conducted this affair, and was apprehended among the perſons concerned in the conſpiracy. As the miniſtry could find no evidence againſt him, they inſiſted upon his purging himſelf by oath, of all ſuſpicion of having been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, otherwiſe they would hold him guilty. To this he objected as inhuman and tyrannical, and refuſed to anſwer their queſtions upon oath, whereon he was committed to priſon and amerſed in the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds.

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As if this ſeverity was inſufficient, the duke of York directed the miniſtry to ſearch for evidence againſt Bailie, and they accordingly employed the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous means to gratify his revenge. At length the earl of Tarras, who had likewiſe been impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, and Murray of Philliphaugh, were induced by threats, to ſwear that Bailie had tampered with them to riſe in rebellion; by which this unhappy man was convicted of treaſon; and as he was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard uſage and diſtemper, the judge, fearing that death would diſappoint the duke's inhuman deſires, ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation.

He died in the full conſciouſneſs of his own innocence, denying all deſign upon the king's life with his lateſt breath.

His majeſty now uſed his utmoſt endeavours to increaſe his popularity, and conſcious that the ſuſpicion of popery was what excited the moſt terrible apprehenſions, he thought proper to beſtow his niece the lady Anne upon prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. The credit and power of the duke of York were now become terrible, even to the miniſtry, and the earl of Halifax reſolved to balance them with another influence. He diſcovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, and prevailed upon him to ſend two ſubmiſſive letters to the king, which awakened the paternal affection of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, endeavoured to reconcile him to the duke of York, and ſummoned an extraordinary council, to acquaint the members of Monmouth's ſincere penitence; a declaration of which was inſerted in the Gazette.

The duke of Monmouth finding his confeſſion reflected diſgrace upon himſelf and all his party, no ſooner obtained pardon in form, than he denied his having ever made it; and Charles, provoked at this duplicity of behaviour, baniſhed him from his preſence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He withdrew into Holland, where he was cordially received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards correſponded with his father; but the duke of York was never acquainted with the ſecret of the correſpondence.

*A. D.* 1684. The outward gaiety of the king was but a cloak for his inward uneaſineſs. Whether he found himſelf ſtraitened for want of money, or dreaded the conſequences of his preſent unpopular meaſures, it is hard to determine. He was one day overheard to ſay, in oppoſing ſome of the duke's violent councils, "Brother, I am too old to "go again to my travels, you may, if you "pleaſe."

*A. D.* 1685. From what cauſe ſoever his majeſty's uneaſineſs proceeded, ſome writers ſcruple not to affirm, that he had meditated a change in his method of governing, and had reſolved to ſend the duke of York beyond ſea; to recal Monmouth; to convoke a parliament; to diſcard his unpopular miniſters; and to throw himſelf entirely on the good will and affection of his ſubjects. Whatever his deſigns were, they were prevented by his death, which happened on the ſixth day of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign, and was occaſioned by a kind of apoplectic fit, after which he languiſhed only a few days.

Charles gave evident proofs of his dying in the Romiſh faith, by receiving the ſacrament according to the rites of that church, during his laſt illneſs. Two papers written with his own hand, in defence of the Catholic religion, were found in his cloſet, and the duke imprudently cauſed them to be publiſhed; which tended to ſtigmatize the memory of his brother, and to convince the world of his own bigotry and ſuperſtition.

The character of Charles II. has been very elaborately drawn by four cotemporary writers; the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Hallifax, Biſhop Burnet, and Dr. Welwood; by each of whom he is repreſented according to their particular principles and prejudices. The prelate ſeems to diſcover a want of candour, in comparing him in cruelty and deceit, to the Roman emperor Tiberius; the other three, by palliating his vices and exaggerating his virtues, forfeit all title to impartiality.

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JAMES II.

All his actions ſeem to have taken their riſe from his ruling paſſion, the love of indolent luxurious pleaſure. He was often cruel, unjuſt, and compliant, not from principle, but becauſe his attention was diverted from examining into the merit of cauſes. Ambitious of power, but void of reſolution, he became a tool to his brother; fond of popularity, but negligent of the means requiſite to its attainment, he failed of conciliating the eſteem of his people; capable of inveſtigating the œconomy of government, and maxims of policy, but averſe to ſo tedious a diſquiſition; his public meaſures were directed by the advice of mercenary miniſters, or the conſequence of his own caprice or neceſſity.

As a king, he was unworthy imitation; as a private gentleman, eaſy of acceſs, ſociable, affable, polite. A good companion, an indifferent maſter, a bad huſband.

Sir Iſaac Newton, Sydenham, Butler, Dryden, Wycherley, Otway, Buckingham, Rocheſter, and Temple, celebrated authors, diſtinguiſh this reign.

# JAMES II.

A. D. 1685. IT is rather a matter of ſurprize, as the ſtream of popular opinion ran extremely againſt James, from his known attachment to popery, that, on the death of Charles, he ſhould be immediately proclaimed in London, without the leaſt tumult or appearance of oppoſition; on the contrary, his ſucceeding to the throne ſeems to have given pleaſure to the people.

On the very firſt day of his reign, James called a council at Whitehall, and in a ſpeech, which was afterwards printed, and read with univerſal applauſe, he declared his intention of defending the liberties of the people, and maintaining the religion eſtabliſhed by law.

A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, by which all thoſe who had held offices under the late king were continued in their reſpective poſts; the popularity of which ſtep in a new ſovereign needs no comment. Rocheſter was lord high treaſurer, his brother Clarendon keeper of the privy ſeal, and Hallifax preſident of the council. James and his queen were crowned on the twenty-third day of April, when the populace obſerved, that the royal diadem was too large for his head, and ſhook from ſide to ſide, a circumſtance from which they deduced a bad omen. A little before the meeting of the parliament, Oates was tried in the court of king's bench, upon two indictments of perjury, and convicted on the evidence of above twenty witneſſes. He was ſentenced to pay a fine of two thouſand marks, to be publicly whipped twice in three days, to ſtand in the pillory once every year, and be impriſoned for life. He bore his fate with great reſolution, proteſting his innocence in the moſt ſolemn manner, was cheriſhed and ſupported by a numerous party, and in the following reign was rewarded with an annual penſion of four hundred pounds, and his liberty.

Intelligence being received, that the duke of Monmouth was landed on the weſtern coaſt, the parliament preſented an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of their zeal and aſſiſtance, in quelling this rebellion, granted him a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand pounds, and then adjourned for ſome time.

As James had taken a quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, Monmouth would willingly have delayed making any attempt for the preſent; but ſuch was the impatience of his followers, and ſuch the ardour of the earl of Argyle, who ſet out from Scotland a few days before him, that all his objections were over-ruled, and this unfortunate nobleman puſhed upon his ruin.

In four days after his landing, two thouſand horſe and foot had joined him, whereupon he publiſhed a manifeſto, reproaching the king as author of the fire of London; the French

alliance; the two Dutch wars; the murder of Godfrey; the aſſaſſination of Eſſex; the diſſolution of parliaments; the ſubornation of juries; and the moſt flagrant acts of tyranny and oppreſſion; and invited the people to join him in his endeavours to redreſs the grievances of the nation.

Monmouth, hearing that the duke of Albemarle advanced with a ſtrong body of militia to block him up in Lyme in Dorſetſhire, where he was now poſted, marched to Axminſter, and Albemarle retreated with precipitation. At Taunton, the duke of Monmouth was received amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, and his army being conſiderably increaſed, he aſſumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. He then iſſued a proclamation, ſetting a price upon the head of the duke of York; a ſecond, declaring the preſent parliament a ſeditious aſſembly; and a third, denouncing Albemarle a traitor. He then marched to Bridgewater, where he was likewiſe well received, and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Briſtol, the inhabitants of which were deterred from joining him by the preſence of the duke of Beaufort, their governor, or they would probably have declared in his favour.

The regular troops being diſperſed through the kingdom, James, alarmed at the progreſs made by Monmouth, ordered the militia of the Weſtern counties to be raiſed, and recalled ſix regiments of Engliſh and Scots that were in the ſervice of the ſtates general. Having aſſembled about three thouſand foot and dragoons, he beſtowed the command of this little army upon the earl of Feverſham, who took poſt at Sedgemoor. Monmouth, who had returned to Bridgwater, reſolved to attack them vigorouſly, to prevent his being ſurrounded by them.

The king's army having provided for their reception, the battle began at day break, and after a conteſt of three hours, the rebels fled, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Monmouth retired from the field of battle with about fifty horſe; but theſe being ſoon diſperſed, he rode towards Dorſetſhire, until his horſe could carry him no farther. He then alighted, and exchanging dreſs with a ſhepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, they laid down in a ditch, and covered themſelves with fern. The ſhepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who diſcovered the duke in this forlorn condition, with raw peas in his pockets, which he had gathered in the fields to ſuſtain life.

He burſt into tears upon his being ſeized, and anxious to preſerve life, wrote to the king in terms of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. His appearance of penitence and ſorrow, induced James to order him to his preſence, in hopes of drawing from him a diſcovery of his confederates; but Monmouth, however deſirous of life, would not condeſcend to purchaſe it by an action attended with ſo much infamy. Finding all his intreaties vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared for death, with a ſpirit becoming his rank and character. This favourite of the people was conducted to the ſcaffold amidſt the tears and lamentations of the ſpectators. When he laid his head on the block, and made the ſignal, the executioner ſtruck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but the ſheriff compelled him to reſume the work, which, with three other ſtrokes, he finiſhed. Such was the unhappy fate of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the Engliſh people. He was brave, ſincere, good-natured, open to flattery, and addicted to pleaſure; but his fondneſs for ambition induced him to take meaſures for which he was unqualified, and aſpire to honours to which he had no title.

The cruelty of the king's officers towards the priſoners which they took at Sedgemoor, exceeds all credit. The earl of Feverſham ordered about twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the ſame manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, an inhuman wretch, who had ſerved at Tangier. He continued to execute others occaſionally for his diverſion, with ſuch circumſtances of wanton barbarity, as are ſhocking to human nature. He allowed his

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ſoldiers to live upon free quarters and his own regiment, he was wont to call by way of pleaſantry, "Kirke's lambs," an appellation, which the people of Somerſetſhire remembered with horror for a long time.

Judge Jefferies, who was no improper miniſter of James's vengeance, was now ſent the weſtern circuit, to finiſh the horrid tragedy. At Dorcheſter he ordered nine and twenty perſons to be executed immediately after conviction. He proſecuted the ſame work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty perſons are ſaid to have been ſacrificed, in this circuit, under colour of juſtice. Jefferies himſelf made it his boaſt, that he had hanged more men than all the judges of England, ſince the time of William the conqueror. He no ſooner returned from his circuit, which the king was wont to term his campaign, than he was created a peer, and in a ſhort time advanced to the dignity of chancellor; a circumſtance that gives us a ſufficient idea of the diſpoſition of James, and accounts in ſome meaſure for the ſhortneſs of his reign.

The converſion of his ſubjects to the catholic religion engaged the attention of James to ſo great a degree; that the Spaniſh ambaſſador Ronquillo, conſidering the tranquillity of England as very neceſſary for the ſupport of Spain, took the liberty to remonſtrate on the ſame ſubject, and adviſed the king not to follow too implicity, the dangerous councils of his prieſts. "What! ſaid James, is not the "king of Spain wont to conſult with his con"feſſor?" "Yes, replied the ambaſſador, "and that is the very reaſon why our affairs "are ſo unproſperous."

Hints and cautions are thrown away upon bigots. James reſolved to proceed with his enterprize, previous to which, he thought it neceſſary to render himſelf abſolute, and then he ſhould be able to employ the moſt effectual means to obtain the much deſired end.

The duke of Ormond was turned out of his poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland, and though the primate and lord Garnard, two proteſtants, ſtill enjoyed the office of juſtices, the whole power was veſted in the hands of Talbot the general, ſoon after advanced to the earldom of Tyrconnel, a man, who from the bigotry of his prejudices, was actuated with the moſt furious zeal for the catholic cauſe; which he ſoon evinced, by placing catholics in the ſeveral offices, in the room of proteſtants, whom he turned out.

In the midſt of theſe proceedings, Clarendon, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, arrived, but ſoon perceived, that as he refuſed to gratify the king, by changing his religion, he poſſeſſed no more than the ſhadow of authority; and was ſoon deprived even of that, by Tyrconnel's being appointed to the office in his ſtead.

All places, civil and military, being now in the hands of the catholics, filled the proteſtants with terrible apprehenſions. A renewal of the ancient maſſacres was dreaded, and many alarmed at the imminent dangers to which they were expoſed, abandoned the kingdom, and infuſed into the Engliſh the utmoſt horror of thoſe outrages, which, ſhould the catholics gain the aſcendant, would ſoon after be practiſed in England. The more candid and ſenſible part of the catholics themſelves were diſſatisfied with theſe violent meaſures, and could eaſily forſee the conſequences. Influenced by the advice of the queen and his confeſſor, Peters a jeſuit, whom he made a privy councellor, James paid no regard to the opinion of his ſubjects.

*A. D.* 1686. The people of England were now more than ever alarmed with the fear of the eſtabliſhment of popery. Such was the violent and impetuous temper of James, that in violation of a ſtatute, prohibiting the reeſtabliſhment of the high-commiſſion court or any other of a like nature, he erected a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion court, compoſed of ſeven members, ſecular as well as clerical; among the former were lord chancellor Jefferies, and the earls of Rocheſter, and Sunderland.

The ſame kind of powers which had been veſted in the former high-commiſſion courts, were now poſſeſſed by theſe commiſſioners. James alſo ſent a circular letter to the biſhops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching upon points of

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controverſy. But the injunction was very little regarded by the proteſtant divines, who expoſed the abſurdities and cruelties of the catholic communion with ſuch learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public, and redounded to their immortal honour. On this occaſion Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Teniſon, Patrick and Sherlock, diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly.

The complaints of the people at the arbitrary proceedings of the king, were by no means leſſened, when they ſaw an army of fifteen thouſand men encamped on Hounſlow-heath in the time of profound peace. James became now daily more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland ſacrificed his religion to his intereſt, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rocheſter conſented to a conference with ſome popiſh prieſts, but declared himſelf diſſatisfied with their arguments, and refuſed to change.

Hereupon, Rocheſter was deprived of the office of treaſurer, which was put in commiſſion; but he was gratified with a conſiderable penſion; The king deprived his brother Clarendon of the privy ſeal, which was given lord Arundel. He even condeſcended to exhort Kirk to become a convert, but that barbarian told him he was pre-engaged, having promiſed the king of Morocco, that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Muſſelman.

*A. D.* 1687. With a view to the extirpation of the proteſtant religion, and the thorough eſtabliſhment of popery, James now affected to be a great patron of toleration, and profeſſed enemy to all manner of perſecution. He aſſumed a power of publiſhing a declaration of general indulgence, of ſuſpending alone all the penal ſtatutes, which required a conformity to the eſtabliſhed worſhip.

The diſſenters could not help diſcovering their joy on being permitted to worſhip God, even for a ſmall time, in their own manner, notwithſtanding they could not but ſee through the flimſineſs of the deluſion.

James, determined to appear as ridiculous throughout all Europe, as he already did in his own kingdom; diſpatched the earl of Caſtlemain ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to make his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and to reconcile his three kingdoms to the holy ſee, from which they had unhappily fallen by hereſy. The earl was received at Rome with the moſt mortifying indifference. Pope innocent, who was at variance with the French king, looked upon James as the partizan and penſioner of that monarch. Though he granted audience to the ambaſſador, he always pretended to be ſeized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's ſpeech and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, with his uſual coldneſs, adviſed him to travel in the cool of the morning, and to repoſe himſelf during the heat of the day; otherwiſe the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health.

His majeſty now reſolved to introduce the catholics into the church and univerſities; having already given them a ſhare in the adminiſtration of civil affairs. Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the royal mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the degree of Maſter of Arts. They all perceived the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an admiſſion, and preſented a petition to the king, beſeeching him to recall his mandate. Their petition was diſregarded, and the deputies were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion to anſwer for this act of diſobedience. The king ſuſpended the vice chancellor, but it had no effect; as a man of ſpirit was choſen by the univerſity to ſucceed to that office.

Having failed in his attempt at Cambridge, the king was more determined in his proceedings with the Oxonians. The place of preſident of Magdalen College being vacant, the king ſent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whoſe character lay under imputation. The fellows of the College petitioned the king to revoke his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day arrived on which by their ſtatutes, they were bound to proceed to an election. They choſe Dr. Hough a man of learning, integrity, and reſolution. The king was incenſed at their diſobedience, and the vice preſident

preſident and fellows were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical court, where they proved Farmer in every ſhape unqualified for the office.

Hereupon the king granted a mandate in favour of Parker, lately advanced to the ſee of Oxford, who was as diſſolute as the other, and the fellows refuſed to comply with this injunction. The king, incenſed at their refractory behaviour, repaired in perſon to Oxford, and ſummoned the fellows before him. He reproached them in the moſt virulent terms for their arrogance and preſumption, and commanded them to elect the biſhop of Oxford, under pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure. The collegians were not to be moved by his menaces; and he was neceſſitated to return to London, equally aſhamed of, and deſpiſed for his expedition.

Hereupon the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners expelled the preſident, and all the fellows except two, who complied; they filled the college with catholics, and eſtabliſhed Parker in the poſſeſſion of the office. This outrage was of itſelf ſufficient to convince the nation of the king's arbitrary deſigns; nor can any thing be imagined more illegal and unjuſt than theſe proceedings.

*A. D.* 1688. The veneration in which the diſſenters held the prince of Orange, and the conſideration that the princeſs was looked on as preſumptive heireſs to the crown; determined James, if poſſible, to procure the prince's concurrence in repealing the penal laws, believing this would diſpoſe the parliament to a compliance with his will, in confirming the declaration. To effect this deſign, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the penſionary, to aſſure this counſellor in a letter, that the intereſt of England, as well as that of the prince, required the abolition of the teſt and penal laws. Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an anſwer; importing, that the prince and princeſs would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conſcience; and ardently wiſhed, that the proteſtant diſſenters were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; but they could never conſent to the abolition of the teſt and penal laws, which were enacted to defend the proteſtant religion, by excluding the catholics from parliament and from public employments.

The uneaſineſs this anſwer muſt neceſſarily have given the catholics, was ſoon compenſated by a proclamation, declaring the queen's pregnancy, and ordaining a day of thankſgiving for the occaſion. Addreſſes of congratulation were immediately wafted to the king from all corners of the iſland, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public bleſſing; but theſe addreſſes were procured by the emiſſaries of the miniſtry. All the proteſtants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit, as ſhe of late years had been in an ill ſtate of health; and the belief that the whole was an impoſture, ſpread almoſt univerſally among the proteſtants.

Elated with the hope of male iſſue, the king ſeemed to ſet the prince of Orange at defiance. He diſclaimed the correſpondence between Fagel and Stuart; he permitted the Algerine pyrates to prey on the Dutch veſſels; recalled the ſix Britiſh regiments that were in the ſervice of the ſtates general; augmented his navy; and ſeemed deſirous of a pretence to declare war againſt Holland.

It now became neceſſary for the prince of Orange to conſult his own ſafety, whereupon he offered paſſports to ſuch Engliſh or Scotch officers as deſired to quit the ſervice, as the beſt expedient to purge the troops of thoſe individuals, on whoſe attachment he could not rely.

Determined to ſhew his contempt for the malecontents, the king publiſhed another declaration, granting liberty of conſcience, and aboliſhing the penal laws. To the declaration he ſubjoined an order, commanding the biſhops to cauſe it to be read in all the churches of their reſpective dioceſes. The prelates no ſooner received theſe orders, than they repaired to Lambeth, in order to conſult with the primate. Having deliberated on the ſubject, they unanimouſly agreed, that they could

not obey the king's command, without betraying their conſciences, and their duty to God and their country. They then drew up and ſigned a petition to the king, repreſenting, that, though they were extremely deſirous in any lawful way to give ſatisfaction to the proteſtant diſſenters, yet, as the declaration of indulgence was founded on an authority formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not in prudence, honour, or conſcience, conſent to be acceſſary to diſtributing it through the kingdom; and therefore beſought his majeſty to free them from the neceſſity of reading the declaration in public. Determined on the moſt rigorous proceedings againſt the biſhops, James commanded that they ſhould be brought before the council; where, being aſked if they owned the petition, the archbiſhop acknowledged it was written by his own hand, and the reſt declared that they had ſigned it. Then the chancellor demanded, if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's bench, and anſwer the charge which ſhould be exhibited againſt them; but they refuſed to comply, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were bound to maintain, as well as the intereſts of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppoſe all innovation in church and ſtate. The chancellor threatened to commit them to the Tower, unleſs they would immediately retract their aſſertions, and withdraw the petition. They ſaid they were not afraid of threatenings, as they had acted in obedience to the laws; that they were in fear of no man, and willing to go whereſoever his majeſty choſe to ſend them.

The attorney general was ordered to commence a proſecution againſt them, for writing and publiſhing a ſeditious libel againſt the government; and an order was drawn for their commitment to the Tower, whither the king determined to ſend them by water, as the city was in a perfect uproar on their account. The people were no ſooner informed of their deſtination, than they ran to the ſide of the river, which was lined with an incredible multitude. As the reverend prelates paſſed, the populace fell upon their knees, and great numbers ran into the water, craving their bleſſing, imploring heaven to protect them, and exhorting them to ſuffer nobly for their religion. The biſhops increaſed the general favour by an humble and ſubmiſſive deportment; and conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. As ſoon as they entered the Tower, they haſtened to the chapel, in order to render thanks to God, who had thought them worthy to endure ſo great afflictions.

The event ſo much wiſhed by the catholics, happened on the tenth of June, when the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was named James, and created prince of Wales. The proteſtants pleaſed themſelves with the notion, that the child was altogether ſuppoſitious; and indeed both parties laboured under ſuch violent prejudices, as could not fail to influence their judgment. This affair has been the ſubject of much controverſy and diſpute, and many trifling circumſtances have been collected by the writers on both ſides, in order to ſupport their favourite opinion. From a candid and impartial examination of the arguments advanced by both parties, it ſeems extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to draw any certain concluſion; and this we judge the leſs neceſſary, as the queſtion is now allowed to be a matter of meer curioſity, nor indeed ought it to have been ever otherwiſe; for allowing the legitimacy of the child; we cannot but alſo allow, that a prince educated in the catholic faith could have no right to govern this proteſtant kingdom. *

The

* The author of this work having lately received the following account, relative to the pretender's birth, thinks it his duty to give it to the public; but he cannot vouch for its authenticity, having it only on anonymous information.

"When James the ſecond's queen was carrying on the farce of her big belly, the then lord Tyrconnel brought "over from Ireland, a young, married, freſh, healthy woman, who was far gone with child, and expected to "be delivered about the critical time which her majeſty was to look for. (This ſeems to be one of the ſtrings "her majeſty and the jeſuits had to their bow.) The woman's huſband was a bricklayer by trade, and his wife

"never

The biſhops having given bail for their appearance, the twenty ninth day of June was fixed for their trial. As the cauſe was of the moſt important nature, it was heard with the moſt eager attention. The diſpute was learnedly managed by the council on both ſides. At length, Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared in favour of the biſhops. The jury, whether it was that they could not come to an immediate agreement, or in order to render their deciſion more ſolemn, took ſeveral hours to deliberate, and kept, during ſo long a time, the whole people in the utmoſt anxiety. But when the long deſired verdict of "not "guilty," was at laſt returned, Weſtminſter-hall rang with loud acclamations, and infinite joy was ſoon diffuſed through the whole nation. The acclamations reached the camp at Hounſlow, while the king was at dinner in lord Feverſham's tent. He ſent out an officer to enquire into the cauſe of this exultation; and when the officer returned and told him, it was nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers at the acquittal of the biſhops. "Call "you that nothing! (ſaid the king) but ſo "much the worſe for them." As this circumſtance gave his majeſty ſome room to doubt the fidelity of his ſoldiers, he determined to try their affection by the following method.

He directed that one regiment ſhould be drawn up in his preſence; and the major, by his command, deſired all thoſe that would not contribute to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws to lay down their muſquets. He was equally ſurprized, and incenſed, to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a very few ſoldiers. After ſome pauſe, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them with a ſullen air "that "for the future, he would not do them the "honour to aſk their advice;" and ſoon after placed catholic officers and ſoldiers, in the room of the proteſtants, whom he diſcharged.

The kingdom was now reduced to ſo low a ſituation, that the principal people reflecting with pain on their animoſities, and looking on the prince of Orange as their natural ally and protector, agreed to lay aſide all contention, and heartily concur in oppoſing the arbitrary deſigns of their miſguided ſovereign.

With this determination many of the chief perſons, both in church and ſtate, made applications to the prince of Orange. Admiral Hubert, who was beloved by the ſeamen, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the prince of a general diſaffection in the navy. This aſſurance was confirmed by admiral Ruſſel, who paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and ſerved to keep up a conſtant correſpondence between the prince and the Engliſh proteſtants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, went over to the Hague, under pretext of going to the Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the Stadtholder. Zuyleſtein, who had been ſent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his ſon, brought back to the prince a formal invitation from moſt of the great men in England. The biſhop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Dorſet, Devonſhire, Nottingham, and Danby; the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland, many gentlemen of intereſt and a great number of ſubſtantial citizens joined in the application to the prince, engaging with their lives and fortunes to ſupport him in his endeavours to recover their civil and religious liberties.

Lord Mordaunt, reſiding at the Hague, contributed all in his power to effect the grand deſign. Lord Wharton, though old and infirm, viſited

"never was heard of more, being ſuppoſed, after her delivery, to have been carried to France, and thruſt into "a nunnery; the woman's mother was ſo diſguſted at the affair, that comparing it with all ſhe ſaw and heard in "her time, ſhe actually, at the revolution, changed her religion, and died in an advanced age, a ſincere proteſtant. "There are many people of faſhion and reputation in that country (Ireland) who can atteſt they have heard their "parents often declare they new the old woman, and have heard her very frequently tell the ſtory, with great "ſorrow of heart."

viſited the prince on this occaſion; and the earl of Shrewſbury, a very popular nobleman, who had renounced the Romiſh religion, in which he was educated, and reſigned his regiment, mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, which he offered, together with his perſonal ſervice, to the prince of Orange.

Induced by the weight of ſo many concurring motives, the prince began his enterprize at the period when the people were ſo much incenſed, by the impriſonment of the biſhops. His method of conducting the preparations was no leſs prudent than politic. Under various pretexts, he had previouſly fitted out a conſiderable fleet; ſome additional troops were levied; and to this expedition was appropriated a conſiderable ſum of money which had been collected for other uſes.

The deſign of ſuch preparations could not, however, be kept ſecret for any conſiderable time: the French ambaſſador acquainted his maſter therewith, who tranſmitted the information to James, and at the ſame time made him a moſt important offer; which the latter, vainly relying on the ſacred nature of his own authority, could not be perſuaded to accept. Mean while James ordered his ambaſſador in Holland to preſent a memorial to the ſtates, deſiring to know the deſtination of their extraordinary armament. He received for anſwer, that they only imitated the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and aſſembled a numerous army without explaining his intentions; and they in their turn deſired to know the nature of his alliance with the king of France.

On receiving this reply, James directed his fleet to be manned and prepared for ſea, ſet on foot new levies, and ſent for ſome regiments from Ireland; appointed the earl of Feverſham general of the land forces, and conferred the command of the navy on the earl of Dartmouth. Soon after, intelligence arrived from the ambaſſador, that the Hague was filled with Engliſh ſubjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition; and the king and his council were overwhelmed with conſternation. In this emergency, James aſſembled the biſhops of Wincheſter, Chicheſter, Rocheſter, Peterborough, Ely, Bath, and Wells, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance.

The biſhops, unwilling to deliver their ſentiments haſtily in a matter of ſo much importance, conſulted the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, with eight prelates whoſe advice James had demanded, waited on the king at Whitehall, on the third of October, with the reſult of their deliberations, in ten articles of advice. They counſelled his majeſty to put the government of the different counties into the hands of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land; to aboliſh the eccleſiaſtical court; to recall all the diſpenſations, by virtue of which, diſqualified perſons had been admitted into civil and eccleſiaſtical employment; to revoke all the licences, by which catholics were permitted to open public ſchools; to deſiſt from all pretenſions to a diſpenſing power; or refer it entirely to the deciſion of parliament; to forbid the four apoſtolic vicars to continue invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which belonged to the Engliſh church; to fill up the vacant biſhoprics with men of learning and piety; to reſtore the charters which had been taken from corporations; to aſſemble a free parliament; and conſent that the biſhops ſhould offer ſuch reaſons as might reconcile his majeſty to the church of England.

His majeſty aſſented to all theſe propoſals, and pretended to take their advice in good part; ſo that his long laboured ſchemes to eſtabliſh popery were fruſtrated in a few days. James now began to dread the violence of the populace; he ordered all the Romiſh chapels in London and Weſtminſter to be ſhut up; and the prieſts of that communion, foreſeeing the approaching ſtorm, began to diſappear.

In the interim, a manifeſto from the prince of Orange was diſperſed through the kingdom. All the grievances of the nation were therein repreſented, together with the motives by which he was actuated, and the purport of his expedition. At the ſame time, the ſtates general publiſhed the reaſons, which had

had induced them to lend their ſhips and men to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which that prince had received from the nobility, gentry, and clergy of England; and the apprehenſion that king James, after he ſhould have enſlaved his own kingdom, would join the French monarch to root out the proteſtant religion, and conquer the United Provinces.

The prince of Orange's affairs were conducted with ſuch admirable addreſs, that in three days, above four hundred tranſports were engaged; the forces quickly embarked and fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, ſtores, and horſes, were put on board; and on the twenty-firſt of October, the prince ſet ſail from Helvoetſluice, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. Admiral Hubert led the van, the rear was conducted by Evertzen, and the prince commanded in the center, with a flag diſplaying his own arms, circumſcribed "The "proteſtant religion, and the liberties of "England. Underneath, Je maintien drai, "i. e. I will maintain;" the device that diſtinguiſhed the houſe of Naſſau. The fleet had ſailed but a few leagues when the wind ſuddenly ſhifted to the weſt, and blew a hurricane which laſted two whole days, and ſcattered the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that a whole week elapſed before they could re-aſſemble at their rendezvous. They had ſuſtained very little damage; but, with a view to lull James in ſecurity, orders were given to fill the Dutch gazettes with exaggerated accounts of their loſs, and declarations that the expedition muſt be poſtponed till the ſpring.

A few days, however, ſerved to repair the damage they had ſuſtained, and the prince reembarked on the firſt day of November, and on the fifth arrived ſafe with his whole fleet in Torbay, where all the troops were diſembarked at the village of Broxholme. The Dutch army then advanced to Exeter, where the prince's declaration was inſtantly publiſhed. For ſeveral days not a ſingle perſon joined the prince, deterred from ſo doing by the remembrance of the numerous executions that ſucceeded Monmouth's rebellion.



The firſt perſon who joined the prince was major Burlington; and his example was ſoon imitated by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. In a few days the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, repaired to Exeter. The earl of Danby ſecured York, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared in favour of the prince, the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham followed the ſame courſe, and there appeared every day ſome inſtance of that ſpirit of diſaffection, which brought freſh proofs of the odious light in which James was held by his ſubjects.

His majeſty, finding that thoſe in whom he had confided began to deſert him, determined to command his army in perſon, and after recommending the city of London to the care of the lord mayor, he ſet out for Saliſbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth day of November; there he was complimented by his officers, who expreſſed their attachment to him in the warmeſt terms, and their indignation at the deſertion of lord Cornbury, who had revolted to the prince of Orange, with the greateſt part of four regiments. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, he was expoſed to the moſt uneaſy reflections; he ſaw all his ſchemes blaſted; his friends falling off; and his family in danger of immediate ruin. He was even abandoned by his own daughter, Anne, princeſs of Denmark, who eſcaped privately from Whitehall, and was accompanied by the biſhop of London to Nottingham, from whence ſhe repaired to Oxford, where ſhe was joined by her huſband. When the king heard of this event, he burſt into tears, crying "God help me, in the extremity of "my grief, my own children have forſaken "me."

The horror of his preſent ſituation was greatly increaſed by the news which poured in upon him from all quarters. The town of Newcaſtle admitted lord Lumley, and declared for the prince and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk eſpouſed the ſame cauſe. The prince's declaration was read in Oxford, by the duke of Ormond, and hear-

tily approved by that univerſity, who likewiſe complimented the prince with an offer of their plate. A new declaration was publiſhed in the prince's name, ſaid to be his third declaration, but without his knowledge, wherein every one was required to apprehend and puniſh all papiſts, who contrary to law, preſumed either to carry arms, or exert any civil authority. The grand jury of Middleſex preſented the earl of Saliſbury as a papiſt recuſant, and the hue and cry was raiſed againſt the king's confeſſor father Peters.

Diſtreſſed on all hands, and at a loſs how to proceed, his majeſty ſummoned thoſe few proteſtant lords ſpiritual and temporal, who happened to be at London, and implored their advice. They unanimouſly exhorted him immediately to aſſemble a parliament; to publiſh a full and abſolute pardon in favour of all thoſe, who had joined the prince of Orange; to diſpatch deputies to treat with him about an accommodation, and to place proteſtants in all thoſe public employments which were now held by catholics.

Agreeable to theſe advices, James appointed deputies, who met the prince at Hungerford, and delivered their maſter's propoſals in writing. Theſe were, that the ſettlement of the nation ſhould be left to the deciſion of a free parliament, which had been convoked; and that, in the mean time, the two armies ſhould be kept at an equal diſtance from London. The prince on the other hand propoſed, that all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed, and diſpoſſeſſed of the employments they enjoyed; that all proclamations againſt himſelf ſhould be re-called; and if any perſons had been impriſoned, on account of their attachment to him, they ſhould be inſtantly ſet at liberty; that for the greater ſecurity of the city, the government of the Tower ſhould be committed to the lord mayor; that if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould likewiſe reſide in the ſame place with an equal number of guards, or that he and the king ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London; that the two armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the city; that no new forces ſhould be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates; that in order to prevent an invaſion from abroad, the fortreſs of Portſmouth ſhould be intruſted to the charge of ſome perſon equally agreeable to the king and prince; and that his ſerene highneſs's army ſhould be ſupported out of the public revenue till the meeting of the parliament.

On a peruſal of theſe propoſals, James declared they were more moderate than he expected. He aſſembled the noblemen who were in London, in order to deliberate on the preſent ſituation of affairs, and addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, "My lord, "(ſaid he) you are an honeſt man, have great "influence, and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Alas!" replied the earl, "I am a feeble "old man, incapable of performing any con-"ſiderable ſervices; but I had a ſon, he ad-"ded with a ſigh, who, if now alive, could "ſerve your majeſty in a more effectual man-"ner." James was ſo ſtruk with this anſwer, that he remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs.

As there now appeared ſome proſpect of matters being brought to a happy iſſue, the nobility were ordered to re-aſſemble next day, to agree upon meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the kingdom. But the perſons about the king adviſing him, that by retreating into France, he might be certain of ſuch aſſiſtance as would certainly re-eſtabliſh him in the government, his reſolutions changed before the morning. They alſo terrified the queen, by inſinuating that the parliament would declare her delivery an impouſtre, and the prince of Wales illegitimate. Thus alarmed, ſhe reſolved to retire immediately into France with the prince of Wales, and extorted from the king a poſitive promiſe, that he would follow her without delay. On the tenth of December, the queen croſſed the river in an open boat, with her infant, expoſed to the wind and rain, and waited in Lambeth-fields, until a coach was provided for her accommodation. In this ſhe travelled to Graveſend, where ſhe embarked in a ſmall veſſel which conveyed her

her to Calais; from thence ſhe repaired to Verſailles, and was received by Lewis with great cordiality.

In the night of the twelfth of December, the king, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, leaving St. James's privately, haſtened to a ſhip, which waited for him at the mouth of the river. The king's diſappearance was productive of conſternation and confuſion, as all government ſeemed to be ſuſpended. The citizens of London, however, reſolved to adhere to the prince of Orange, and ſent a deputation to him, with an addreſs, craving his protection, and deſiring him to favour the city with a viſit.

During the king's abſence, the populace plundered, burned, and demoliſhed all the Romiſh chapels. Jefferies the chancellor, who had diſguiſed himſelf, in order to facilitate his eſcape, was ſeized by the mob, and treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he died in a little time afterwards. While every one imagined, that the king had actually fled to the continent, news arrived that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; that he had been very ill treated, till he was known; but the gentry had then interpoſed and ſecured him from inſult, though they would by no means conſent to his leaving the kingdom. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The prince ſent orders to the king, commanding him to approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage arrived too late. He had already returned to London, and was received with joy by the thoughtleſs populace, who in compaſſion to his ſufferings generouſly forgot his crimes.

During his reſidence at Whitehall, no diſtinctions were paid him by the nobility and gentry, nor did he ſeem to entertain any thought of reſuming the government. Nothing therefore remained for the ruling powers, but to conſult the moſt proper means of diſpoſing of his perſon; and after ſome deliberation, it was reſolved to puſh him into that meaſure, which of himſelf he ſeemed willing to embrace. The king having ſent lord Feverſham on a meſſage to the prince, deſiring a conference for ſettling the affairs of the nation; that nobleman was arreſted under pretext of his wanting a paſſport; the Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the king then reſided, and to turn out the Engliſh; and Hallifax, Shrewſbury, and Dalamere were ſent by the prince at midnight, to acquaint the king, that it would be proper for him to retire to Hamhouſe, near Richmond. He begged permiſſion, which he eaſily obtained, to withdraw to Rocheſter, whither he was attended the next day by a party of Dutch guards, and accompanied by the earls of Ayleſbury, Litchfield, Arran and Dumbarton.

He remained a few days at Rocheſter, and ſeemed to wiſh for an invitation to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but finding that the church, the nobility, the gentry, the whole nation concurred in forſaking him, and abaning him to his own councils, he yielded to his melancholy fate; and being preſſed by frequent letters from his queen, privately embarked in a frigate he had beſpoke, and arrived at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germains. Lewis gave him an hoſpitable reception; a conduct, which does ſome honour to his generoſity; though a very inadequate return for thoſe ſignal ſervices, which he himſelf had received from that family; who for a number of years, had been gradually ſacrificing their own intereſt and happineſs, to their attachment to the French nation.

Obſtinate in his temper, and bigotted to the catholic religion, James diſcovered in all his actions, a determined reſolution to impoſe that faith, by perſuaſion or by force, on the conſciences of his proteſtant ſubjects. Deſirous of erecting a deſpotic government, he proſecuted his deſign with ſuch vehemence, and by ſuch unjuſt and rigorous meaſures, as excited the fears, and at laſt the oppoſition of his free born ſubjects, and brought on himſelf diſgrace and depoſition.

The ſettlement of Carolina was effected in this reign; and that of Penſylvania was alſo compleated, by Penn, a leading perſon among the Quakers, who poſſeſs a great part of the colony to this day.

From

## From the Abdication of JAMES, to the Commencement of the Reign of WILLIAM and MARY.

*A. D.* 1688. IT is not at all improbable, but that James imagined his departure from the kingdom, would cauſe a ceſſation in the government, and lay the people under a neceſſity of recalling him; but in this expectation he was deceived; for the peers, as poſſeſſed of the hereditary juriſdiction of the kingdom, came to a reſolution of acting as guardians to the public; and immediately preſented an addreſs to the prince of Orange, requeſting him to take the adminiſtration of government into his hands, that he would manage the revenue, and regulate the affairs of Ireland, till the eſtates of the kingdom could be convened; and in a ſecond addreſs, they begged him to ſend orders to thoſe places which had a right of electing members, to chuſe within ten days, repreſentatives who might act as a parliament in ſettling the public affairs. But before the prince would comply with their deſire, he wiſely reſolved to be authorized by the commons, as well as the peers.

He publiſhed an order, ſummoning all thoſe who had ſerved as members of parliament in the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, to meet at St. James's, on the twenty-ſixth day of December, that he might conſult them on the preſent poſture of affairs. They accordingly aſſembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the houſe of commons, where, after ſome debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and preſented an addreſs to the prince, deſiring he would ſummon the convention to meet on the twenty-ſecond day of January, and take charge of the government in the mean time.

William was no ſooner inveſted with the ſupreme authority, than he commanded Barillon, the French ambaſſador, to leave the kingdom. He likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, authorizing all proteſtants, who had public employments to continue in the exerciſe of them till the meeting of the convention, diſmiſſed all the catholic officers from the army, and at the deſire of the queen dowager, releaſed the earl of Feverſham.

*A. D.* 1689. When the news of the king's retreat arrived at Edinburgh, the chancellor of the kingdom reſigned the great ſeal and retired from that capital. The populace grew outrageous, and inſulted not only the catholics, but the favourers of epiſcopacy. They demoliſhed chapels, and plundered houſes, ſo that the biſhops were obliged to have recourſe to flight, while many noblemen and others repaired to London, to obſerve the progreſs of the prince, and conform themſelves to the conduct of the Engliſh nation. Theſe the prince aſſembled at St. James's, to the number of thirty lords and fourſcore gentlemen, whoſe advice he demanded with regard to the affairs of Scotland. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, where they deliberated on the anſwer they ſhould make to the prince of Orange; at length, it was unanimouſly agreed, that the prince ſhould aſſume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the ſtates of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March; and they received a reply much to the ſame effect as that made to the Engliſh.

The important and difficult taſk of ſettling the affairs of Ireland came now on the carpet. The earl of Tyrconnel commanded an army compoſed of papiſts; and the prince wrote a letter to that nobleman, requiring him to ſubmit to the regulations that ſhould be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and enforce it in ſuch a manner, that the earl would be induced to ſubmit; but inſtead of performing his promiſe,

miſe, he encouraged him to ſet the prince at defiance.

Agreeable to the ſummons, the convention met on the twenty-ſecond of January, each houſe choſe a ſpeaker, and then the prince's letter to both was read to this effect: that he had complied with their deſires in re-eſtabliſhing the peace and public ſafety of the kingdom, and now it was their buſineſs to ſecure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He obſerved, that the ſituation of the proteſtants in Ireland, required their immediate notice; that a delay would be fatal to their foreign connections; he perſuaded himſelf, that beſides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to aſſiſt the Dutch as proteſtants and friends, who had expreſſed ſuch ardour for the preſervation of the Engliſh conſtitution. The two houſes immediately preſented an addreſs to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that, under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his adminiſtration, engaged to pay all poſſible reſpect to his letters, and requeſted him to continue in the management of affairs, till they had occaſion to addreſs him again.

Mr. Dolben, a member of the houſe of commons, undertook to prove, that the throne was vacated by the king's deſertion. After a long debate, they voted by a great majority, that king James II. had endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and that having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, he had abdicated the government; that the throne was thereby vacant, and that experience had ſhewn, a proteſtant kingdom could not ſubſiſt under the government of a popiſh ſovereign.

The vote of the commons did not meet with the immediate acquieſcence of the peers, who conſulted in what manner the government ſhould be ſettled, if the throne was actually vacant. They argued on the preciſe meaning of the word *abdicated*, and agreed that *deſerted* ſhould be uſed in its place. The next word they diſcuſſed was *vacant*, and this queſtion was propoſed, "Whether, ſuppoſing king James had violated the original contract between him and his people, and abandoned the government, the throne was thereby become vacant?" The tories maintained, that by the laws of England, the king could never die; of conſequence the throne could not be vacant; and it paſſed in the negative by a majority of eleven. Some of the whig party moved, that ſuppoſing king James virtually dead, they ſhould acknowledge the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen of England; but this propoſal was rejected by a ſmall majority. After much debate, the houſe of peers concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the government, and thereby the throne was become vacant."

The prince of Orange remained quietly at St. James's during theſe debates, taking no meaſures to influence any perſon in his favour; but at length, ſending for the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewſbury, and ſome other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept ſilence, that he might not interrupt their deliberations. He ſaid he knew ſome perſons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he could not undertake the office. Others he obſerved, were deſirous of raiſing the princeſs to the throne, and that he ſhould reign by courteſy. He declared a profound eſteem for the princeſs; but objected to holding a crown dependent on any woman upon earth, nor would he have any ſhare in the government, unleſs inveſted with it for life; nevertheleſs, if they diſapproved of his reſolution, he would give them no oppoſition, but return to Holland, without interfering further in their affairs; but would agree to prefer the right of the children of the princeſs Anne to the throne, to any he might have by a ſecond marriage, provided he was inveſted with the ſovereignty for life.

At length the houſes voted ſeparately, that the prince and princeſs ſhould reign jointly as king and queen of England; and the adminiſtration ſhould be in the hands of the prince alone.

alone. On the twelfth day of February the princeſs of Orange arrived in London, next day the lords and commons went in a body to the Banquetting houſe, where the prince and princeſs ſat in ſtate; and the declaration of Rights being read, the marquis of Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes in the name of peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer with polite acknowledgements, and William and Mary, king and queen of England were proclaimed that very day.

# BOOK XII.

## From the Revolution to the death of queen Anne; a period of twenty-five years.

## WILLIAM III. and MARY.

A. D. 1689. THE Engliſh conſtitution aſſumed an aſpect altogether new from this period. Allegiance and protection were now conſidered as reciprocal ties; the power of the crown was acknowledged to ariſe from its contract with the people; and the doctrine of hereditary, indefeaſable right, was conſequently exploded.

William III. having aſcended the throne in conſequence of an expreſs agreement with his people, began his reign by iſſuing a proclamation, continuing all proteſtants in the office which they enjoyed on the firſt day of December; then he choſe the members of his council, and appointed the officers of ſtate. Nottingham and Shrewſbury were conſtituted ſecretaries of ſtate; the privy ſeal was beſtowed on the marquis of Hallifax, and the earl of Danby was created preſident of the council. Theſe two noblemen enjoyed a good ſhare of the king's confidence; and Nottingham was conſidered as the head of the church party; but the chief favourite was Bentick, firſt comiſſioner on the liſt of privy counſellors as well as groom of the ſtole and privy purſe. D'Auverquerque was made maſter of the horſe; Zuyleſtein of the robes, and Scomberg of the ordinance: the treaſury, admiralty and chancery were put in commiſſion; twelve able judges were choſen; and Burnet, who had eſpouſed William's intereſt on all occaſions, and had a great hand in bringing about the revolution, was advanced to the ſee of Saliſbury, vacant by the death of doctor Ward.

Burnet, having incurred the diſpleaſure of the late king, had retired to the continent, and fixed his reſidence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himſelf to the intereſt of the prince of Orange, who conſulted him about the affairs of England.

The council came to a ſpeedy reſolution of changing the convention into a parliament, that the new ſettlement might be ſtrengthened by a legal ſanction, which was now ſuppoſed to be wanting, as the aſſembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of ſummons. It was hereupon determined that, rather than hazard a new election, the king ſhould change the convention into a parliament, by going to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and pronouncing a ſpeech from the throne to both houſes. This expedient was

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WILLIAM III.

MARY II

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was accordingly practiſed; he aſſured them, that he ſhould take the utmoſt care to retain their good opinion of his integrity; that Holland was in ſuch a ſituation as required their immediate aſſiſtance; that the poſture of affairs at home likewiſe demanded their ſerious attention; that a good ſettlement was neceſſary, not only for the eſtabliſhment of domeſtic peace, but the ſupport of the proteſtant intereſt abroad; that the affairs of Ireland were too critically ſituated to admit of the leaſt delay in their deliberations; he therefore begged they would be ſpeedy and effectual in concerting ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged indiſpenſably neceſſary for the welfare of the nation. The commons directed that his mejeſty's ſpeech ſhould be taken into immediate conſideration, and paſſed a vote of thanks for it.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury being rather diſaffected to William, the ceremony of the coronation was, at the king's requeſt, performed by the biſhop of London, on the eleventh of April; the coronation oath having been previouſly altered and explained.

On the day after the coronation, the commons in a body waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an addreſs of congratulation. William, in order to conciliate the eſteem of his new ſubjects, ſignified, in a ſolemn meſſage to the houſe of commons, his readineſs to acquieſce in any meaſure they ſhould think proper to take for a new regulation, or total ſuppreſſion of the hearth money; and this tax was afterwards aboliſhed. He received on this occaſion an addreſs of thanks from the commons couched in the warmeſt expreſſions of duty, gratitude and affection, and declaring that they would take ſuch meaſures in ſupport of his crown, as would convince the world, that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

The ſtates general having expended ſeven millions of guelders in the prince's expedition, the commons granted ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of this debt, incurred for the preſervation of their liberties and religion. They voted funds for raiſing and maintaining an army of twenty thouſand men, as well as for equipping a powerful fleet; but they provided for no more than half a year's ſubſiſtence of the troops, hoping that the reduction of Ireland might be compleated in that term; but the king imputed to their fears of his management, this mark of their frugality.

The parliament now turned their attention to the ſettlement of a fixed revenue for the ſupport of the government. Heretofore there had been no diſtinction of what was allotted for the king's uſe, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the public; ſo that the ſovereign was abſolute maſter of the whole ſupply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and miſapplied, it was now reſolved, that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and the reſt of the public money ſhould be employed under the inſpection of parliament. Accordingly ſince this period, the commons have granted certain ſums of money to be appropriated to particular ſervices, an account of the diſpoſal of which, has, at the next ſeſſion, been ſubmitted to the examination of both houſes.

William conſidered theſe cautious proceedings as marks of diffidence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the ſervices he had done the nation. The tories did not fail to foment his jealouſy againſt their adverſaries; which was confirmed by a freſh effort of the whigs, in relation to a militia. The tories had, through the communication of Nottingham, made proffers of ſervice to his majeſty; but complained at the ſame time, that as they were in danger of being proſecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could take no ſteps in favour of the crown, without an act of indemnity.

Theſe remonſtrances prevailed on his majeſty to ſend a meſſage to the houſe by Mr. Hampden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the moſt effectual means of putting an end to all controverſies, diſtinctions, and ſources of diſcord. He deſired it might be drawn up with all convenient expedition, and with ſuch exceptions only as ſhould appear neceſſary for the maintenance of public juſtice,

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the ſafety of him and his conſort, and the ſettlement and welfare of the nation. But the whigs proceeded ſo ſlow in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the ſeſſion.

A bill for aſcertaining the ſucceſſion of the crown, was now brought into the lower houſe, with a clauſe, diſabling papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown; to this the lords added "or ſuch as ſhould marry papiſts," abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from allegiance.

The king directed the biſhop of Saliſbury to propoſe, that the princeſs Sophia, dutcheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, ſhould be nominated in the act of ſucceſſion, as the next proteſtant heir, failing iſſue of the king, and Anne, princeſs of Denmark. Theſe amendments were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the friends of the late king James; and by the republican party, who hoped for the extirpation of monarchy from England, by the death of the three perſons already named in the bill of ſucceſſion. But the bill was ſoon after dropt, in conſequence of an event, which in a great meaſure diſpelled the fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor; this was the delivery of the princeſs Anne, who on the twenty-ſeventh of July brought forth a ſon, baptized by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Glouceſter. Theſe domeſtic diſputes did not divert the attention of William from the affairs of the continent. The grand ſcheme he had projected of a conſpiracy againſt France, began at this period to take effect; and he found no difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to undertake a war againſt their old enemies and rivals; for on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the commons unanimouſly reſolved, that they were ready to ſupport his majeſty in his moſt vigorous methods, if he choſe to undertake a war againſt France.

War was accordingly declared againſt France on the ſeventh of May. The king of England urged as a plea for this conduct, that Lewis had encroached on the fiſhery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee iſlands, and Hudſon's bay, made captures on the Engliſh at ſea, diſputed the right of the flag, perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on account of religion, and ſent an armament to Ireland, in ſupport of the rebels in that kingdom, and in violation of the law of nations.

Let us now proceed to the relation of ſuch meaſures as were taken in Scotland, towards the eſtabliſhment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The Scottiſh convention was appointed for the fourteenth of March, and both parties employed all their intereſt to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the preſbyterians, declared for William; the duke of Gordon maintained the caſtle of Edinburgh for his old maſter, but as he neglected to lay in a ſtore of proviſion, he depended entirely on the citizens for ſubſiſtence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham, viſcount Dundee, who exerted their utmoſt efforts to preſerve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver, in his attachment to their ſovereign, and to concert meaſures in ſuch a manner, that the proceedings of the enſuing ſeſſion might be productive of ſome benefit to their cauſe.

The biſhop of Edinburgh, chaplain to the convention, on the meeting of the lords and commons, prayed for the reſtoration of king James. The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were ſent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the ſtates, to quit the caſtle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the proteſtant officer next in command.

Though Gordon himſelf was of a cowardly diſpoſition, yet viſcount Dundee prevailed on him to demand ſuch terms, as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proved ineffectual; the ſtates ordered the heralds to ſummon him to ſurrender the caſtle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treaſon, and he on refuſal, was proclaimed a traitor. All perſons were forbid, under the ſame penalties, to aid, ſuccour, or correſpond with him; and the caſtle was blocked up by the troops of the city. On the next day, one Crane, a domeſtic of the abdicated queen, brought a letter from James; and at the ſame time, an expreſs arrived with another from king William, to the ſtates of Scotland. William obſerved, that he had called

called a meeting of their eſtates, at the deſire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland aſſembled in London; who requeſted that he would take on himſelf the adminiſtration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert meaſures for ſettling the peace of the kingdom upon a ſolid foundation; and to lay aſide animoſities and factions, which ſerved but to prevent their harmony and ſettlement. He promiſed them his beſt endeavours to promote an union between the two kingdoms, of which he profeſſed to have the higheſt opinion.

A reſpectful anſwer to his majeſty's kind letter, being ordered to be drawn up by a committee; a debate enſued about the letter from the late king James, which they reſolved to favour with a reading, after the members ſhould have ſubſcribed an act, declaring, that notwithſtanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for diſſolving the convention, or impeding their proceedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the ſtates, and would continue undiſſolved, until they ſhould have ſettled and ſecured the proteſtant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.

This precaution being taken, they proceeded to the reading of James's letter, who conjured them to ſupport his intereſt as faithful ſubjects, and tranſmit their names with honour to poſterity, by a loyalty ſuitable to their former profeſſions. He promiſed to afford them ſuch powerful aſſiſtance as would enable them to defend themſelves from any foreign attempt; and even to aſſert his right againſt thoſe enemies, who had loaded him with calumny and the vileſt aſperſions. He offered to pardon all thoſe, who ſhould return to their duty before the laſt day of the month, and threatened to puniſh vigorouſly ſuch as ſhould ſtand out in rebellion againſt him and his authority.

The number of James's friends were too few for this letter to procure any good effect in his favour. His meſſenger was ordered into cuſtody, and afterwards diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. After much debate, the convention diſpatched lord Roſs with an anſwer to king William's letter, profeſſing their gratitude to their deliverer; congratulating him upon his ſucceſs; thanking him for aſſuming the adminiſtration of their affairs; declaring they would take effectual and ſpeedy methods for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, as well as for eſtabliſhing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; aſſuring him they would ſtudiouſly avoid animoſities and contentions, and deſiring the continuance of his majeſty's care and protection. They then appointed a committee conſiſting of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgeſſes, to propoſe the plan of a new ſettlement; but ſome of the friends of the late king, oppoſed this reſolution for a conſiderable time.

At length, however, the committee paſſed the following vote unanimouſly. "The "eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland find "and declare, that king James II. being a "profeſt papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, "and act as a king without ever taking the "oath required by law; and had, by the "advice of evil and wicked counſellors, in"vaded the fundamental conſtitutions of this "kingdom; and altered it from a legal mo"narchy, to an arbitrary, deſpotic power; "and had governed the ſame to the ſubver"ſion of the proteſtant religion, and viola"tion of the laws and liberties of the nation, "inverting all the ends of government; "whereby he had forfeited the right of the "crown and the throne was become vacant." The lord preſident then declared the throne vacant, and propoſed that it might be filled with William and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act of ſettling the crown upon their majeſties, together with an inſtrument of government for ſecuring the ſubjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

The act for ſettling the crown on William and Mary, with the conditions of inheritance, and the inſtrument, was reported, conſidered, unanimouſly approved, and ſolemnly proclaimed at the market-croſs at Edinburgh, in the preſence of a great number of nobility and gentry, on the eleventh day of April; and at the ſame time, a proclamation was publiſhed,

liſhed, forbidding all perſons to acknowledge, obey, aſſiſt, or correſpond with the late king James; or by word, writing, or ſermon, to diſpute or diſown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to miſconſtrue the proceedings of the eſtates, or create jealouſies or miſapprehenſions with regard to the tranſactions of the government, on pain of incurring the moſt ſevere penalties. Then having ſettled the coronation oath, the earl of Argyle tendered it to the king and queen.

Lord Dundee, however, was ſtill zealous in the cauſe of James; he had been ſummoned by a trumpet to return to the convention, but refuſed to obey the citation, on pretence that the whigs had made an attempt upon his life, and that the deliberations of the ſtates were influenced by the vicinity of the Engliſh troops under the command of Mackay; he was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw and rebel; and parties in purſuit of him and Balcarras were immediately ſent out.

Balcarras falling into the hands of the purſuers, was committed to a common priſon; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that ſurrounded him, and eſcaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James. While this officer was employed in aſſembling the clans of his party, king William appointed the duke of Hamilton commiſſioner to the convention of parliament.

Among their grievances, the Scottiſh convention enumerated the lords of the articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the king's ſupremacy was raiſed ſo high, that he could preſcribe any mode of religion, and the ſuperiority of any office in the church above that of preſbyters. The king in his inſtructions to the lord commiſſioner, conſented to a regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the inſtitution to be abrogated; he conſented that the inclinations of the people ſhould determine the mode of church government.

James and his friends ſeemed now to have no hopes but in lord Dundee, who had aſſembled a body of Highlanders. He attacked the regular troops of Scotland, though reinforced with ſome Engliſh regiments, and obtained a complete victory; but loſt his life in the action, and his death put an end to the whole enterprize. The whole nation, a very few excepted, ſeemed now to concur in renouncing allegiance to their old ſovereign, and owning ſubmiſſion to the new government. James, however, did not abandon all hopes of being one day able to re-aſcend the throne of his anceſtors. The French king promiſed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his crown, and in the mean time, ſupported him and his houſhold in a proper manner at the caſtle of St. Germain.

James's behaviour, however, gave no proof of his good ſenſe or his ſpirit. He ſeemed to be little affected with the miſfortunes he had undergone; he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in hunting or conferring with the jeſuits, of whoſe ſociety he profeſſed himſelf a member. All his faculties appeared to be ſwallowed up in bigotry and ſuperſtition. The pope ſupplied him with indulgences, while the Romans ridiculed him in paſquinades. The archbiſhop of Rheims ſeeing him come from maſs, ſaid with a ſneer, "There goes a pious gentle-"man, who has ſacrificed three crowns for a "maſs."

The affairs of England and Scotland were ſo well eſtabliſhed; that James's only chance of ſucceſs muſt neceſſarily depend upon Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in the laſt kingdom, was attached firmly to his intereſt, but he thought proper to temporize with William, until he ſhould receive reinforcements from France, which he earneſtly ſollicited by letter. The French ſuccours were at length prepared, and the fleet ready to put to ſea, by the beginning of March.

It is ſaid that the French king having offered fifteen thouſand ſoldiers to aſſiſt James in this expedition, he replied, that he would ſucceed by the help of his own ſubjects or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himſelf with about five thouſand French forces, and a great number of experienced

perienced officers, who embarked in the fleet at Breſt, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and three fire ſhips, with a ſufficient number of tranſports. Lewis likewiſe ſupplied him with arrows for forty thouſand men more, upon his arrival in Ireland; furniſhed him with a large ſum of money, ſuperb equipage, ſtore of plate, and every thing neceſſary for the camp and houſhold. At parting he embraced him affectionately, ſaying, "The beſt thing I "can wiſh you, is, that I may never ſee you "again."

Embarking at Breſt on the ſeventh of May, he arrived at Kinſale on the twenty ſecond, where he was received with open arms, and the whole country ſeemed to be at his devotion; for although the proteſtants in the north had declared for the new government, their ſtrength and number were deemed inconſiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel, who had diſarmed all the other proteſtant ſubjects in one day, and aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe for James's uſe.

James, making a triumphant entry into Dublin at the latter end of May, was met at the caſtle gate, by a proceſſion of popiſh biſhops and prieſts in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, which he publicly adored. On the ſecond day after his arrival, he iſſued five proclamations; the firſt ſeemingly in favour of the proteſtants, who had abandoned the kingdom, requiring them to return immediately on promiſe of his protection, and likewiſe commanding all perſons to join him againſt the prince of Orange. In the ſecond he returned his grateful acknowledgements to his catholic ſubjects for their vigilance and attachment, and enjoined ſuch as were not actually in his ſervice to retain and lay up their arms until it ſhould be found neceſſary to employ them for his advantage. The third contained an invitation to the ſubjects to ſupply his army with proviſions. By the fourth he raiſed the value of coin; and by the fifth ſummoned a parliament to meet on the ſeventh day of May at Dublin. And lord Tyrconnel for his great ſervices was created a duke.

A report of a general maſſacre having prevailed, the proteſtants of Londonderry ſhut their gates, and reſolved to defend themſelves againſt the attack of the enemy. They tranſmitted their reſolution to the government of England, and implored immediate aſſiſtance. They were accordingly ſupplied with more arms and ammunition, but did not receive any conſiderable reinforcement, till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham, and Richards. By this time James had reduced Colerain, inveſted Killmore, and was almoſt in ſight of Londonderry. Lundy the governor was apprized of this circumſtance by George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of the proteſtants. Lundy ordered him to join colonel Grafton, and take poſt at the long cauſeway, which he maintained a whole night againſt the advanced guard of the enemy, until overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. Lundy calling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards aſſiſted; it was reſolved, that, as they imagined they could not hold the place, the regiments ſhould not be landed; but that the chief officers ſhould retire from the town, whereby they thought the inhabitants would ſecure better terms.

The council of war now diſpatched a meſſenger to James with propoſals of negotiation, and lieutenant general Hamilton agreed, that the army ſhould be kept at the diſtance of four miles from the town. James, in violation of this agreement, marched at the head of his troops, but met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſon, that he was obliged to retreat to St. John's town in ſome diſorder. The inhabitants, and ſoldiers of the garriſon of Londonderry, were ſo incenſed at the members of the council of war, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham, and Richards retired to their ſhips, and Lundy concealed himſelf in his bedchamber. In vain did Walker, and major Baker, exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed

fuſed to comply with their advice, and making his eſcape in diſguiſe, was afterwards taken in Scotland, and conveyed to London to anſwer for his behaviour.

Propoſing to be preſent at the meeting of the parliament at Dublin, James conferred the command of his army on the French general Roſene, a cruel and inhuman ruffian. Provoked at the obſtinate reſiſtance of the garriſon, he threatened to reduce the town to aſhes, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, unleſs they would immediately ſubmit at diſcretion. The governor treated his menaces with contempt, and publiſhed an order, forbidding any perſon on pain of death, to talk of a ſurrender. They had now conſumed the laſt remains of their proviſions, and ſupported life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, ſtarch, and ſalted hides; and even this loathſome food began to fail. Roſene finding them altogether inflexible, threatened that he would ſtarve all the proteſtants of the county, by driving them to periſh under the walls of Londonderry.

When this barbarous intention of Roſene was communicated to the biſhop of Meath, he entreated James to prevent its being carried into execution. That prince aſſured him, that he had already ordered Roſene to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, nevertheleſs he executed his threats with the utmoſt rigour. He detached ſeveral parties of dragoons, who after ſtripping all the proteſtants for thirty miles round, drove that unhappy people before them like cattle; without even ſparing decriped old men, nurſes with their infants at their breaſts, tender children, women juſt delivered, and ſome even in the pangs of labour. Above four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects, were driven under the walls of Londonderry, but an effect, directly contrary to what was intended, was the conſequence of this horrid inhumanity.

The people of Londonderry, inexpreſſibly enraged at this proceedure, reſolved rather to periſh, than ſubmit to ſuch a ſavage. They erected a gibbet in ſight of the enemy, and ſent a meſſage to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, unleſs the proteſtants were immediately diſmiſſed. This menace produced a negotiation, and the proteſtants were releaſed, after they had been confined three days without taſting food. Some hundreds died of famine, and fatigue; and thoſe who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and ſacked by the papiſts; ſo that the greater number periſhed with hunger, or were maſſacred by ſtraggling parties of the enemy; notwithſtanding the greater part of them had received protections from James.

Of ſeven thouſand men, of which the garriſon of Londonderry had conſiſted, there now remained only five thouſand, ſeven hundred, and theſe were reduced to ſuch extremity of want, that they began to think of feeding on each other. In this emergency, Kirke ordered two ſhips laden with proviſions to ſail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of theſe called Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom, with which they blocked up the channel, and all the three, after having ſuſtained a very hot fire from the enemy's cannon, arrived in ſafety at the town, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants.

This event ſo diſcouraged James's army, that they raiſed the the ſiege the very next night, and retired with precipitation, after having loſt about nine thouſand men in the attempt. Kirke no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the town, than Walker was perſuaded to embark with an addreſs of thanks from the inhabitants to their majeſties, for the ſeaſonable relief they had received. The people of Iniſkillin were no leſs remarkable than thoſe of Londonderry, for the noble ſtand which they made in defence of the proteſtant cauſe. They raiſed twelve companies, under the command of Guſtavus Hamilton, whom they choſe for their governor. On the day preceding the relief of Londonderry, they defeated ſix thouſand papiſts at Newton-Butler, and took Maccarty, their commander, uſually ſtiled lord Mountcaſhel, priſoner.

Agreeable

Agreeable to James's proclamation, the Iriſh parliament met at Dublin, where, in a formal ſpeech, he thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; extolled the generoſity of the French king, who had enabled him to viſit them in perſon; inſiſting upon executing his deſign of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, as the moſt effectual means of promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people; and promiſed to contribute to the public peace, by his concurrence to ſuch laws as they ſhould enact for that purpoſe.

An addreſs of thanks to the king being propoſed by Sir Richard Neagle, the ſpeaker, and being accordingly drawn up with the concurrence of both houſes, a bill was introduced to recognize the king's title, to expreſs their abhorrence of the uſurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as that of the defection of the Engliſh. Next day James publiſhed a declaration, complaining of the calumnies his enemies had ſpread to his prejudice, inſiſting on his own impartiality, in preſerving his proteſtant ſubjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and granting liberty of conſcience; promiſing that he would take no ſtep but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all perſons who ſhould deſert his enemies, and join him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be ſhed, upon thoſe who ſhould continue in rebellion. His conduct, however, did not correſpond with this declaration, and as both houſes were chiefly filled with catholics, they were ready to concur with him in the deſtruction of the proteſtants, by the purſuit of his arbitrary and tyrannical meaſures.

A bill having paſſed the Engliſh parliament, after the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion in 1641, intitled, "The act of ſettlement" ſecuring the proteſtants in the poſſeſſion of the eſtates which they had thus acquired, and their right to which was univerſally deemed good and valid. Notwithſtanding this ſecurity, a bill now paſſed in the Iriſh parliament, repealing the act of ſettlement, depriving the proteſtants of the lands they had obtained, and reſtoring them all to the original poſſeſſors. It was alſo ordained, that proteſtants poſſeſſing eſtates, were to reſtore them to thoſe papiſts, or the deſcendants of thoſe, who had poſſeſſed them before the rebellion.

To eſtabliſh popery on the ruins of proteſtantiſm, an act of attainder paſſed againſt every proteſtant, whether male or female, whether of a high or low degree, who were abſent from the kingdom, as well as againſt thoſe who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who correſponded with the rebels, (meaning all the proteſtants in Ireland) or were any ways aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting them, from the firſt day of Auguſt in the preceding year.

The tyrant, James, gave a ready aſſent to this bill of attainder, on its being preſented by the ſpeaker, who told him, "That ſome "were condemned upon ſuch evidence, as "ſatisfied the houſe, and all the reſt upon "common report." The number of proteſtants attainted by this act, amounted to almoſt three thouſand, including two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, twenty-eight viſcounts, ſeven biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergy, all of whom were declared traitors, and adjudged to ſuffer forfeiture and the pains of death.

The arbitrarineſs of Jame's diſpoſition, was not leſs conſpicuous in the executive than in the legiſlative part of his government. All vacancies in public ſchools were ſupplied with popiſh teachers. The penſion granted from the exchequer to the univerſity of Dublin was ſtopt; the vice-provoſt, fellows, and ſcholars were ejected; the furniture, plate, and library were ſeized; the college was converted into a garriſon; the chapel into a magazine; and the apartments into priſons. Moore, a popiſh prieſt, was nominated provoſt; Maccarty, of the ſame perſuaſion, was appointed librarian; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic ſeminary. Could any monarch think to regain the affections of his ſubjects by ſuch proceedings as theſe!

The ſeveral powers of Europe ſeemed now to have combined againſt France. King William had engaged in a new league with the ſtates general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was ſtipulated, that if the king of Great Britain ſhould be attacked, the Dutch ſhould aſſiſt him with ſix thouſand infantry, and twenty ſhips of war.

On the ratification of this treaty, lord Churchill, newly created earl of Marlborough, was ſent to Holland to command the Britiſh auxiliaries in that ſervice, to the number of eleven thouſand; the greateſt part of which had been in the army of king James, when the prince of Orange landed in England.

When the parliament aſſembled on the nineteenth of October, his majeſty ſet forth the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war, and deſired that they might be ſpeedy in their determinations on this ſubject; for theſe would in a great meaſure influence the deliberations of the princes and ſtates concerned in a war againſt France, at a general meeting appointed to be held next month at the Hague. He concluded with recommending the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his ſubjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimouſly concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. He then prorogued the parliament to the twenty-firſt of October, by the advice of both houſes, to prevent the effects of ſome diſputes ſtill ſubſiſting.

On the meeting of parliament, the king referred them to his former ſpeech; then the commons unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France, for which purpoſes they voted a ſubſidy of two millions.

They then began to enquire into the cauſes of the miſcarriages in Ireland; and deſired the king would appoint commiſſioners to enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Inſtances of miſmanagement now appeared ſo numerous and flagrant, that they reſolved upon a ſubſequent addreſs, to explain the ill conduct and ſucceſs of the army and navy; to deſire he would find out the authors of theſe miſcarriages, and for the future commit the guidance of affairs to unſuſpected perſons. Bitter invectives were thrown out againſt the miniſtry. Mr. Hampden expreſſed his ſurprize, that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted in thoſe very perſons whom king James had employed when his affairs were deſperate, to treat with the prince of Orange, and propoſed to addreſs the king, requeſting him to remove thoſe miniſters.

In anſwer to this propoſal, the partizans of the court inſiſted that James did not depute thoſe lords to the prince of Orange, becauſe they were attached to his own intereſt, but becauſe they were well known to diſapprove of his meaſures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highneſs.

Large ſupplies of money were offered by the tory party to the court, on condition that the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and another immediately convoked. The king was ſo harraſſed between two factions, that at length he reſolved to leave the government in the queen's hands and retire to Holland. He communicated this deſign to the marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewſbury and ſome other noblemen, who preſſed him to lay aſide this reſolution, and even mingled tears with their remonſtrances. He at length complied with their requeſt, and determined to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon. This deſign was far from being agreeable to the parliament, his friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak conſtitution; both houſes, therefore, began to prepare an addreſs againſt this expedition. To prevent this remonſtrance, the king went to the houſe of peers, and there formally ſignified his reſolution. After this ſpeech, they were prorogued to the ſecond day of April; and on the ſixth of February they were diſſolved by proclamation, and a new parliament was ſummoned to meet on the twentieth of March.

An extraordinary event engaged the public attention at this time. General Ludlow, who at the reſtoration had been excepted from the bill of indemnity, as one of thoſe who ſat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his ſervice in reducing Ireland,

Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Many people were ſurprized, that he ſhould venture on ſo bold a ſtep, while he was ſtill ſubject to an act of attainder, the reverſal of which in his favour he had no reaſon to expect; but no one was more alarmed than Sir Edward Seymour, who had received a grant of an eſtate in Wiltſhire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, and who now began to tremble for his poſſeſſion. He obſerved in the houſe, that the nation would be diſgraced, ſhould one of the regicides be ſuffered to live in the kingdom. An addreſs was immediately preſented, deſiring his majeſty to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly publiſhed; but Ludlow had in the interim eſcaped to Holland, from whence he went back to Vevay in Switzerland, where he died after an exile of thirty years, a conſiderable part of which he ſpent in compoſing a hiſtory of his own life, which was afterwards publiſhed.

*A. D.* 1690. When the new parliament met, his majeſty acquainted them that he continued his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland. He deſired they would ſettle the revenue, or eſtabliſh it at preſent as a fund of credit, upon which the neceſſary ſums for the public ſervice might be immediately advanced: he ſignified his intention of ſending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might demonſtrate his readineſs to extend his protection to all his ſubjects, and leave no colour of excuſe for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, as he knew how buſy ſome ill affected men were in their endeavours to alter the eſtabliſhed government. He recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe; he told them that he ſhould leave the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen, and deſired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them for the ſake of diſpatch, to avoid debates, and hoped that if any buſineſs now remained unperformed, they would ſpeedily meet and ſettle it.

After a ſhort ſpeech of thanks for the ſupplies, on the twenty third of May, the king adjourned the parliament to the twenty-ſeventh of July, and it afterwards underwent ſeveral other adjournments and prorogations. The better to ſecure the public tranquillity, the deputy lieutenants were authorized to raiſe the militia in caſe of a neceſſity.

His majeſty, accompanied by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and other perſons of diſtinction, departed for Ireland on the fourth of June, and on the fourteenth of the ſame month landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfaſt, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, major-general Kirke and other principal officers.

After a repoſe of two or three days at Belfaſt, he reparired to the duke's head quarters at Liſburne; and from thence to Hillſborough, where he publiſhed an order againſt preſſing horſes, and committing violence on the country people. When ſome of his general officers propoſed cautious meaſures, he declared he did not come to Ireland, to let the graſs grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp at Lough-brilland, where upon a review he found it amounted to thirty ſix thouſand men well accoutred. Then he marched to Dundalk, and the enemy having juſt left Ardee, he proceeded thither.

William had been ſix days in Ireland, before James knew of his arrival, ſo confident was the latter that the diſputes of the parliament would keep the king in England. His certain arrival was however no ſooner known, than James left Dublin under the guard of the militia, and with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand infantry which he had received from France, joined the reſt of his forces, which now almoſt equalled William's in number. He was very advantageouſly poſted, and contrary to the advice of his generals, determined to hazard a battle. They propoſed to ſtrengthen their garriſons, retire to the Shannon, and wait the iſſue of the operations. They reminded him, that Lewis had promiſed to fit out a powerful armament againſt the Engliſh fleet; and to ſend over a great number of

of frigates, to deſtroy the Engliſh tranſports, as ſoon as their convoy had returned to England.

Full of ſpirits and alacrity, James, nevertheleſs, determined to riſk an engagement. His front was defended by a deep river, a riſing ground, and a moraſs, ſo that the Engliſh could not attack him without manifeſt danger.

While William reconnoitered their ſituation from the oppoſite ſide of the river, he was expoſed to the fire of ſome field pieces, which the enemy had purpoſely planted againſt his perſon. They killed a man and two horſes cloſe by his ſide; and the ſecond bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right ſhoulder, ſo as to carry off part of his cloaths and ſkin, and cauſe a conſiderable contuſion. The enemy, obſerving ſome confuſion among his attendants, concluded he was killed, and ſhouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp reſounded with acclamations, and ſeveral ſquadrons of their horſe were drawn down towards the river, as if they intended to paſs it immediately, and attack the Engliſh army. The report ſoon reached Dublin; from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were encouraged to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations. With a view to make the ſoldiers eaſy, and that no reports to their own diſadvantage might ſpread among the troops, William rode along the line to ſhew himſelf to the army after this narrow eſcape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his reſolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at firſt oppoſed this deſign; but finding the king determined, he propoſed, that a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot ſhould that night paſs the Boyne at Slanebridge, and take poſt between the enemy and Duleck, in order to cut off their retreat. This council being rejected, it was reſolved, that early in the morning, lieutenant general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and young Schomberg with the horſe, ſhould paſs at Slanebridge, while the main body of foot ſhould force their paſſage at Oldbridge, and the leſs, at certain fords, between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. Every thing being properly diſpoſed for the attack in the morning, the king retired to his tent after riding quite through the army by torch light.

General Douglas and young Schomberg advancing towards Slanebridge paſſed the river with very little oppoſition at ſix in the morning. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, with a moraſs in their front: ſo that Douglas was forced to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the foot advanced to the charge through the moraſs, while young Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry to attack the enemy in flank. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting the aſſault, wheeled about, and retreated with precipitation towards Duleck; notwithſtanding which, Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did conſiderable execution. Meanwhile, king William's main body, compoſed of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and ſome battalions of the Engliſh, paſſed the river, which was waiſt high, under a general diſcharge of artillery. They were faintly oppoſed by a body of muſqueteers, who were poſted behind ſome hedges; but theſe they ſoon repulſed, and ſeveral battalions landed: though before they could form, they were vigorouſly attacked by a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe; and a ſtrong body of their cavalry and foot, conducted by general Hamilton, advanced from behind an eminence to charge thoſe who were landed, as well as to prevent the reſt from reaching the ſhore, The infantry were routed on the firſt attack, but the cavalry advanced with ſuch impetuoſity, that a few of the Engliſh were compelled to paſs the river, and a conſiderable number of them were repulſed.

Seeing the Engliſh retire in ſome confuſion, Schomberg croſſed the river in perſon, and heading the French regiments, pointed to the enemy, ſaying, "Gentlemen, theſe are your "perſecutors." Hardly had he pronounced theſe words, when he ſuſtained a violent onſet from a party of king James's guards which had

had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were miſtaken for friends and allowed to ride up to the duke of Schomberg, who received two ſevere wounds in the head; but the French perceiving their error, raſhly poured in their fire among the enemy, while they were engaged with the duke; and inſtead of ſaving, ſhot him dead on the ſpot.

This accident, while it threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt confuſion, gave freſh ſpirits to the enemy, who returned to the charge with redoubled ardour. They were juſt ready to fall upon the center, when king William, having paſſed with the left wing, compoſed of the Daniſh, Dutch, and Inniſkillin horſe, advanced to attack them on the right. They were ſo confounded at this ſudden appearance, that they inſtantly ſtopped ſhort, and then wheeling about, retreated to the village of Dunmore. There they made ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, that they repulſed the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon. They even obliged the Inniſkilliners to recoil, and that whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons alighted, and lined the hedges on each ſide the lane, through which the purſuers advanced. There they plied them ſo warmly, that they ſoon obliged them to deſiſt from the chace. By this expedient, the cavalry which had been broken, had time to form, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them.

General Hamilton, who was made priſoner in this action, being brought to the king, his majeſty aſked him if he thought the Iriſh would make any farther reſiſtance? he replied, "upon my honour, I believe they "will." William ſurveying him with an eye of diſdain, repeated, "Your honour! your "honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promiſe of perſuading Tyrconnel to ſubmit to the new government. The French and Swiſs guards retreating in good order, took James with them, but the Iriſh fled in the moſt precipitate manner.

About fifteen hundred of the Iriſh and their partizans fell in this action, and the Engliſh loſt about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchaſed, conſidering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, after having rivalled the beſt generals of the age in military proweſs. This battle likewiſe proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the proteſtant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back to the Engliſh camp by four ſoldiers, and though almoſt expiring, he with a chearful countenance encouraged thoſe who were advancing to their duty, exclaiming "To glory my lads, to glory."

Walker, the clergyman, who had ſo gallantly defended Londonderry againſt James's whole army, attended king William as a volunteer, during this action; when being ſhot in the belly, he expired in a few minutes. William, during the action, diſplayed every quality of a conſummate general. He choſe the field, regulated the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy at the head of his troops, and behaved through the whole action, with ſuch courage and conduct, as excited the admiration even of the Iriſh, who openly declared, "that if the Engliſh would change "kings with them, they would try the for-"tune of the day once more."

On James's arrival in Dublin, he ſummoned the magiſtrates and council of the city, and in a ſhort ſpeech, reſigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Iriſh; ſignified his intention of quitting the kingdom immediately; forbad them on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and aſſured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never ceaſe, during his life, to labour for their deliverance. Next day he poſted to Waterford, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis; having previouſly ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, in order to prevent a purſuit. He then embarked in a veſſel that had been prepared for his reception, was ſafely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former

mer reſidence at St. Germain's. He had no ſooner quitted Dublin, than it was abandoned by all the conſiderable papiſts. The proteſtants took poſſeſſion of the arms belonging to to the militia, under the conduct of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the adminiſtration; a petition was diſpatched to king William, requeſting he would honour the city with his preſence; together with an account of their proceedings ſince James's departure.

The queen-regent was, during the king's abſence, involved in numberleſs perplexities. She was filled with the utmoſt anxiety on account of her father's, as well as her huſband's life; ſhe was menaced with an invaſion by the French from abroad, and with an inſurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheleſs, ſhe diſſembled her fears, and exerted herſelf with uncommon ſpirit.

In conſequence of intelligence that a French fleet was ready to ſail from Breſt, lord Torrington hoiſted his flag in the Downs, and ſailed round to St. Helens, in order to collect a fleet ſufficient to defeat their deſigns. The enemy being diſcovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth of June, the Engliſh admiral, reinforced with a Dutch ſquadron, put to ſea, with a view to oppoſe them, ſhould they attempt to ſail up the channel. After the hoſtile fleets had continued five days in ſight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, about eight in the morning. The Dutch ſquadron, which led the van, began the attack about nine; in about half an hour, the blue diviſion of the Engliſh encountered the rear of the French; but the red, which compoſed the center, under the command of Torrington in perſon, not coming up till ten o'clock; notwithſtanding all the bravery of the Dutch, they received great damage, and ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, having been almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy.

On obſerving their condition, the admiral got between them and the enemy, and in that ſituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch ſhips were ſo much ſhattered, that he judged it imprudent to renew the fight; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eaſtward. The next day the diſabled ſhips were deſtroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were purſued as far as Rye, and an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns being ſtranded, was ſet on fire, and deſerted by the captain's command. A Dutch ſhip of ſixty guns met with the ſame accident; and the French endeavoured to deſtroy her, but the captain defended her ſo bravely, that they were obliged to deſiſt from the attempt, and he afterwards found means to carry her ſafe to Holland. In this action, the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two ſea captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate, in point of numbers, having loſt Brackel and Dick, two rear admirals, and a conſiderable number of inferior officers and ſeamen, and ſix of their ſhips were deſtroyed.

The meaſures which her majeſty took at this criſis, were equal proofs of her reſolution and diſcretion. She iſſued orders for putting the nation in a poſture of defence; ſhe took meaſures for appeaſing the reſentment of the ſtates general, who exclaimed againſt the earl of Torrington, for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and impriſoned in the Tower. Soon after, he was brought into the houſe of commons, and made a ſpeech in his own defence. His caſe produced long debates in the upper houſe, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal; at length, he was tried by a court martial appointed by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, an act having paſſed, declaring the power of a lord high admiral, veſted in thoſe commiſſioners. The preſident of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted in the engagement as vice admiral of the blue. The earl was acquitted, and although his majeſty deprived him of his poſt, the Dutch charged his judges with partiality in not having convicted him.

King William, on the firſt of Auguſt, being then at Chapel Izod, renewed the declaration

tion of pardon, which he had publiſhed after the battle of the Boyne, confirming that, and extending it to perſons of ſuperior rank and ſtation, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, ſubmit to the government, and live in ſuch cities or towns as the king ſhould appoint till the rebellion was at an end.

The people of Ireland being for the moſt part ruled by the advice of their prieſts, paid little regard to this offer, and the news of the victory which the French had lately obtained over the Engliſh and Dutch, elevated their ſpirits, and effaced all thoughts of ſubmiſſion. The king had returned to Dublin with a view of embarking for England; but being informed, that the deſigns of his domeſtic enemies were diſcovered and defeated, that the fleet was refitted, and the French retired to Breſt, he altered his intention, poſtponing his voyage till he had finiſhed the Iriſh war.

Five thouſand Engliſh troops, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, arrived in Ireland the latter end of this month to inveſt Cork and Kinſale. Having landed his men, though with ſome oppoſition, in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thouſand men, under the duke of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl, as being both lieutenant generals, a diſpute aroſe about the command; but the matter was compromiſed by the interpoſition of La Mellionere.

The trenches being opened, the batteries played with ſuch fury, that a breach was ſoon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hoſtages were exchanged, but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hoſtilities were renewed with redoubled vigour. The duke of Grafton, a youth of great expectations, who ſerved as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks.

The garriſon of Corke, having ſurrendered, on Marlborough's preparing for a general aſſault, he took poſſeſſion, and then detached brigadier Villiers with a party of horſe and dragoons, to ſummon the town and forts of Kinſale, and next advanced with the reſt of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by ſtorm, but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, ſuſtained a ſiege of ten days, and then capitulated on honourable terms. By the reduction of theſe maritime places, all communication between France and the enemy upon this ſide of the iſland was cut off; and the Iriſh were confined to Ulſter, where they could not ſubſiſt without great difficulty. The earl of Marlborough, having accompliſhed this important enterprize in thirty days, returned with his priſoners to England, having greatly raiſed his reputation by theſe expeditious conqueſts.

The commander of the French forces in Ireland, count de Lauzun, lay all this while inactive near Galway; and ſent ſo deplorable an account of his ſituation, to the court of France, that tranſports were ſent over to bring home the general and his forces. In theſe he embarked with his troops, and left the command of the Iriſh forces to the duke of Berwick; though it was afterwards tranſferred to Mr. St. Ruth.

On the arrival of Lauzun at Verſailles, he was diſgraced for having abandoned the cauſe before it was deſperate; and Tyrconnel, who attended him in his voyage, applied to the French court, for a ſupply of officers, arms, cloaths, and ammunition for the Iriſh army, which he ſaid, if thus ſupported, would continue firm to the intereſt of king James. Mean while they formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies of free-booters, and plundered the country under the denomination of Rapparees, while the troops of king William, enjoyed their eaſe in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; the conſequences of which to the poor people of Ireland may be eaſier conceived than expreſſed.

Twelve hundred men being killed on the ſpot, or mortally wounded at the ſiege of Limeric, king William thought proper to give up all farther attempts on that place. The heavy baggage and cannon being ſent away, the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. The king having conſtituted the lord Sidney, and Thomas Coningſby, lords

lords juſtices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon, with prince George of Denmark, and the next day arrived in King's road near Briſtol, from whence he repaired to Windſor.

Proclamation having been made for the meeting of parliament on the ſecond day of October, the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, importing, that he had exerted his utmoſt efforts for the reduction of Ireland; that he approved of the behaviour of the troops; that the ſupplies were inadequate to the neceſſary expence; that much loſs would accrue to the nation from a neglect of the proſecution of the war; that unanimity and expedition would greatly contribute to the ſucceſs of their proceedings; and that none but enemies to their king and country would wiſh to divert their thoughts from theſe important ſubjects.

The report of a conſpiracy among the Jacobites; the late attempt of the French on the coaſt of England; the perſonal bravery which William had diſplayed in Ireland; and the puſillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the reſentment of the nation againſt the adherents of the late king, and in raiſing a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her prudence and reſolution in the government during the late dangers. A ſupply of four millions for the ſupport of the army and navy was alſo voted by the commons.

*A. D.* 1691. In his majeſty's ſpeech on the cloſe of the ſeſſions on the fifth of January, he thanked them for the repeated inſtances they had exhibited of their affection to his perſon and government; recommended unanimity, and aſſured them of his particular favour and affection. Then the lord chief juſtice Atkins declared it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that the houſes ſhould adjourn themſelves to the thirty firſt day of March.

The public affairs being adjuſted, his majeſty ſet out for Margate on the ſixth of January, but being detained by a foul wind and hard froſt, he returned to Kenſington. On the ſixteenth, however, he embarked at Graveſend with a numerous retinue, and ſet ſail for Holland, under a convoy of twelve ſhips of war commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fiſherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yatch and went in an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond and ſeveral other noblemen. Inſtead of landing immediately, they loſt ſight of the fleet, and night coming on, were expoſed for eighteen hours to the inclemency of the weather, and the dangers of the enemy and the ſea, which ran ſo high, that the king and all his attendants were drenched with ſea water. The ſailors expreſſing their apprehenſions of danger; "What! "ſaid he, are you afraid to die in my com-"pany?" At day break he landed on the iſland of Goree, where he took ſome refreſhment, then he returned to the boat, and arrived in the afternoon in the neighbourhood of Maeſland-ſluys. A deputation of the ſtates met him at Hounſlardyke, and about ſix in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he received the compliments of the ſtates general, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, the other colleges, and all the foreign miniſters. He afterwards, at the requeſt of the magiſtrates, made his public entry with ſurprizing magnificence, and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. His majeſty having acquainted them with his ſucceſs, and aſſured them of his inviolable friendſhip, aſſiſted at their public aſſemblies, and parties of pleaſure.

The princes in confederacy againſt the French having agreed on a ſolemn congreſs; his majeſty repreſented the dangers to which they were expoſed from the power and ambition of France, and the neceſſity of acting with vigour and diſpatch. He declared he would ſpare neither his credit, forces, nor perſon, in concurring with their meaſures, and that in the ſpring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith reſolved to employ two hundred and twenty two thouſand men againſt France in the enſuing campaign. Unanimity of ſentiment

ment prevailed throughout the whole body, and their plan of operations was ſoon ſettled.

When theſe matters were adjuſted, and the king was preparing to embark for England, he received intelligence that Mons was inveſted by the French king, accompanied by the dauphin, together with the dukes of Orleans and Chartres. He forthwith ordered the troops to be aſſembled, determined to march to the relief of the place, but upon his arrival at Bruſſels, he found that the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other neceſſaries for the expedition; and before theſe could be procured, the garriſon of Mons was obliged to ſurrender. This diſappointment occaſioned his immediate return to the Hague, whence embarking for England, he, on the thirteenth of April arrived ſafe at Whitehall.

His majeſty now turned his attention to the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckle commanded, which being regulated, he returned to Holland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in perſon. Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thouſand men, having paſſed the Scheld, took poſſeſſion of Halle, and gave it up to plunder in ſight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preſervation.

The duke of Luxemburgh was ſo cautious that, although the confederate army was ſuperior to his, the king could reap no advantage from it. In vain he attempted by divers ſtratagems, to bring them to an engagement; the French mareſchal avoided it with ſuch dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. While the king lay encamped at Court-ſur-heure, a ſoldier, corrupted by the enemy, ſet fire to the fuſees of ſeveral bombs, by the exploſion of which, the whole magazine might have been blown up, had not the miſchief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery, who, even while the fuſees were burning, drew out the waggons from the line, and tumbled them down the ſide of a hill, ſo that the communication was intercepted. The ſoldier confeſſed that the duke of Luxemburgh had engaged him in this horrid attempt, for which he was condemned and executed.

His majeſty, unable to provoke the enemy to battle, transferred the command of the army to prince Waldec, and returned to the Hague, where he ſoon after embarked, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October, by which time the Iriſh war was brought to a final period. The catholics indeed had received from France a large ſupply of proviſions, cloaths, and ammunition, under the conduct of Monſieur St. Ruth, a brave and experienced commander.

Mackay, a Scottiſh general general, being joined with Ginckle in the command of the forces in Ireland, they jointly attacked St. Ruth, and routed him in a pitched battle, in which and the purſuit, above four thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and ſix hundred taken, together with all their baggage, proviſions, ammunition, and artillery. In a word, the victory was deciſive, and not above eight hundred of king William's party were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquiſhed took ſhelter in Limeric, where they reſolved to make a final ſtand, in hopes of receiving ſuch aſſiſtance from France, as would enable them to continue the war, or obtain good terms from England. The earl of Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having ſurvived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as averſion of the Iriſh, whom he adviſed to ſubmit to the new government, as he foreſaw that inevitable ruin would be the conſequence of a continued reſiſtance.

His majeſty, determined to pay all poſſible regard to his continental connections, ordered general Ginckle at all events to finiſh the Iriſh war; whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, for the due execution of the following articles. The catholics were reſtored to the enjoyment of all the liberty in the exerciſe of their religion, which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects, upon taking the oath of allegiance, without being compelled to that of ſupremacy, and paſſports were provided for thoſe who choſe to retire to France.

To extinguiſh as much as poſſible all party feuds and animoſities, it was agreed, that no

perſon ſhould be ſued on either ſide, for any ties paſt, or made accountable for the rents, lands, or houſes, he had received or enjoyed ſince the beginning of the war. It was alſo ſtipulated, that all the garriſons ſhould march out of their reſpective towns and fortreſſes with the honours of war; that all priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides; that the general ſhould provide two veſſels to carry over two different perſons to France with intimation of this treaty; and that none of thoſe who were willing to quit the kingdom, ſhould be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. Theſe are the heads of the treaty of Limeric, on which depends the civil and religious liberties of the Iriſh Roman catholics.

That no diſputes might ariſe from any communication between the armies, they agreed to intrench themſelves till the Iriſh were embarked, and Limeric was ſurrendered to Ginckle. When the articles were ratified, about two thouſand Iriſh foot, and three hundred horſe, began their march for Corke, where they propoſed to take ſhipping for France; but three regiments refuſing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and diſperſed to their former habitations. Thoſe who remained in Limeric, embarked on the ſeventh day of November, in French tranſports, and ſailed immediately to France, under convoy of a French ſquadron, which had arrived in the bay of Dingle, immediately after the capitulation was ſigned. The government of William was ſo odious to the catholics, that not leſs than twelve thouſand left their native land rather than ſubmit to it.

James ſent them a letter of welcome on their arrival in France, thanked them for their loyalty; told them they ſhould ſtill ſerve under his commiſſion and command, and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new cloathed, and put in quarters of refreſhment.

Ginckle on his return to England, was created earl of Athlone, and received the ſolemn thanks of the houſe of commons for his important ſervices. The parliament meeting on the twenty ſecond day of October, the king in his ſpeech repreſented the neceſſity of ſending a ſtrong fleet to ſea, as early as poſſible, and of maintaining a ſtanding army, as well to annoy the common enemy abroad, as to ſecure the kingdom from inſult or invaſion. Both houſes congratulated his majeſty upon his ſafe return, and the ſucceſs of his arms in Ireland, and thanked the queen for her prudent adminiſtration in an addreſs preſented at the ſame time.

A ſpirit of diſcontent operated but too ſtrongly in the nation, notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions of loyalty. The malecontents were afraid to open their battery, during the Iriſh war, becauſe it could then have had no effect; but now that was brought to a period, they began to exert themſelves with great activity. They inſinuated to the people, that there was no neceſſity for maintaining a ſtanding army; that inſtead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greateſt part of the burthen, without the leaſt ſhare of profit. They animadverted on the king's partiality to the Dutch; his proud reſerve; his imperious diſpoſition; and they particularly inſiſted that the earl of Marlborough's gallant behaviour in Ireland was ill requited by a diſmiſſion from his employments

Three millions, four hundred, and eleven thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy five pounds were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year; but the eſtabliſhment of funds for raiſing theſe ſupplies, was retarded by ſeveral incidental affairs which engaged the attention of the houſe. One was a conteſt between the Eaſt-India company, and ſome private merchants. The matter was referred to the examination of a committee, which, having peruſed the complaints and anſwers on both ſides, were ſo little pleaſed with the company's defence, that they addreſſed the king to diſſolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. The king told them he could give no anſwer in a matter of ſo great conſequence, till he had more maturely conſidered the ſubject.

*A. D.* 1692. A number of acts relating to civil

civil policy being paſſed, and the funds ſettled, his majeſty on the twenty fourth day of February cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn to his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had ſupplied the public neceſſities; acquainting them at the ſame time with his intention of repairing ſpeedily to the continent. Then the houſes were adjourned to the twelfth day of April, and afterwards prorogued to the twenty ninth of May.

A formidable fleet being equipped, and the national affairs adjuſted, the king embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was affectionately received by the ſtates general. While he was here employed in promoting the meaſures of the grand confederacy, the French king reſolved to invade England in his abſence, and ſeemed firmly attached to the intereſt of James, whoſe emiſſaries in Britain, began to make preparations for his return.

At this time ſeveral ladies of quality, and perſons who had been members of James's privy council, were addreſſed by him in a letter, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witneſſes at the labour. He obſerved the injury his family and honour had ſuſtained from the aſperſions of his enemies, concerning the birth of his ſon; and as providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting thoſe, who affirmed that the queen was ſterile; he aſſured them in the name of his brother the French king, as well as upon his royal word, that they ſhould have free leave to viſit his court, and return after the labour. As no perſon accepted this invitation, he afterwards employed his emiſſaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing, that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his [illegible], and that although he was furniſhed [illegible] a number of troops, ſufficient to unloose the hands of his ſubjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their ſhare in the glory of reſtoring their lawful king, and their ancient government. He promiſed not only pardon, but rewards, to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty; he declared that all ſoldiers who ſhould quit the ſervice of the uſurper, and inliſt under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops upon laying down their arms ſhould be paid and tranſported to their reſpective countries. He concluded with profeſſions of reſignation to the divine will, and charged all the blood which might be ſpilt on this occaſion, and all the miſeries conſequent upon civil war, to the account of thoſe who ſhould appear in arms againſt him.

During the diſtribution of theſe papers, and while the public formed various conjectures thereon, colonel Parker with ſome other officers, enliſted men privately for the ſervice of James, in the counties of York, Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham; and at the ſame time Fountaine and Holman, were employed in raiſing two regiments of horſe at London, that they might join their maſter immediately after his landing. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, conſiſting of a body of French troops, together with ſome Engliſh and Scottiſh refugees, and the regiments which had been tranſported from Ireland, by virtue of the treaty of Limeric.

Some of James's agents betrayed his cauſe to the Engliſh miniſtry, and admiral Carter informed the queen, that he had been tampered with, and was inſtructed to amuſe the Jacobites with an accommodation. King William no ſooner arrived in Holland, than he expedited the naval preparations of the Dutch; ſo that their fleet was ready for ſea ſooner than was expected; and when he received the firſt intimation of the projected deſcent, he detached general Talmaſh, with three of the Engliſh regiments from Holland; which encamped near Portſmouth, together with other troops which had been left in England.

A proclamation was now iſſued by her majeſty, enjoining all papiſts to depart from London and Weſtminſter; the members of both houſes of parliament were required to meet

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on the twenty-fourth day of May, that ſhe might be aſſiſted with their advice, at this critical juncture. The trainbands of London and Weſtminſter were armed by the queen's direction, and ſhe reviewed them in perſon; admiral Ruſſel was ordered to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition; and a ſquadron of eighteen ſail were ordered to watch the motions of the enemy on the French coaſt, under the command of admiral Carter.

Admiral Ruſſel ſailing to St. Helens on the eleventh of May, was joined by the ſquadrons under Delaval and Carter, and being reinforced by the Dutch ſquadrons commanded by Allemonde, Callenbergh, and Vanderges, ſet ſail for the coaſt of France on the eighteenth of May, with a fleet of ninety nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire ſhips. Next day, about three in the morning, he diſcovered the enemy, under the command of the count de Tourville, and threw out the ſignal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order; the Dutch in the van, the blue diviſion in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed ſixty-three ſhips of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but he had received poſitive orders to fight, on a ſuppoſition that the Dutch and Engliſh ſquadrons had not joined.

The French admiral, therefore, reſolving to pay a literal obedience to his orders, bore down along-ſide Ruſſel's own ſhip, which he engaged at a very ſmall diſtance. He fought with great fury ſeven hours, when his rigging being greatly damaged, his ſhip, the Riſing Sun, of an hundred and four guns, was towed out of the line in great diſorder.

About three o'clock, the fleet being ſeparated by a thick fog, were compelled to lay by till it abated, when the admiral made the ſignal for chaſing the enemy, who were diſcovered ſtanding to the northward. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with them about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which, admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding his caſe deſperate, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ſhip could ſwim, and expired with great compoſure. At length, the French bore away for Conqueſt-road, having loſt four ſhips in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were deſcried crowding away to the weſtward, and the combined fleets chaſed with all the ſail they could carry, until the admiral's fore-top maſt came by the board. Though retarded by this accident, they continued to chaſe, and he anchored near Cape La Hogue.

Part of the French fleet were obſerved, at ſeven in the morning of the twenty-ſecond day of the month, near the Race of Alderney; ſome at anchor, and ſome driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood. Ruſſel, and the ſhips neareſt them, immediately ſlipt cable and gave chace. The Riſing Sun, having loſt her maſts, ran aſhore near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another firſt rate, and the Conquerante, of eighty guns. Eighteen other ſhips of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who, in ſight of the Iriſh camp, and in the midſt of a terrible fire from the enemy, deſtroyed both them and a conſiderable number of ammunition tranſports.

The king of France was extremely concerned at this defeat, which reduced James to the loweſt ebb of deſpair, as it thwarted the whole deſign of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and deſpondence. Some hiſtorians alledge, that Ruſſel did not improve his victory to the beſt advantage; but it rather appears, that he acted throughout the whole with invincible courage and reſolution.

Sir John Aſhby and Callemberg having received the admiral's orders to ſteer for Havre de Grace, with a view to deſtroy the remainder of the French fleet, Ruſſel ſailed back to St. Helens, that the damaged ſhips might be refitted and the fleet furniſhed with freſh ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition. The bodies of admiral Carter and captain Haſtings were interred with great pomp; medals were ſtruck in honour of the action, and thirty thouſand pounds diſtributed among the ſailors,

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as proofs of the queen's approbation of their conduct.

In the latter end of July, ſeven thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Leinſter, embarked on board ſeveral tranſports, to be landed at St. Malo's, Breſt, or Rochford; and the nation conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, conſiſting of land and ſea officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate on the ſcheme of the miniſtry; it was unanimouſly agreed, that as the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, it was altogether impracticable. Nevertheleſs, the admiral, having detached Sir John Aſhby with a ſquadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their paſſage from St. Malo's to Breſt, ſet ſail for La Hogue with the reſt of the fleet and tranſports; but returned to St. Helen's in a few days, being prevented from proceeding by contrary winds.

The fears of the French king with regard to the Engliſh armament being at an end, he withdrew his troops from the coaſt of Normandy; and James returned in deſpair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his abſence delivered of a daughter, who was born in preſence of the archbiſhop of Paris, the keeper of the ſeals, and other perſons of diſtinction.

The French king, on a review of his army, at the latter end of May, finding it amounted to about one hundred and twenty thouſand men, undertook the ſiege of Namur, which he inveſted on both ſides the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the ſtrongeſt forts in Flanders, ſtrengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in perſon. The place was well ſupplied; and the governor knew that William would make ſtrong efforts for its relief; ſo that the beſieged were animated by many concurring circumſtances. Nevertheleſs, the aſſailants carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon retired to the citadel, and the town capitulated in ſeven days from the opening of the trenches.

The troops of Brandenburgh and Liege having joined king William, he encamped within cannon ſhot of Luxembourgh's army, which lay on the other ſide of the river. But this general had taken ſuch precautions, that he could not interrupt the ſiege, nor attack the French lines without great diſadvantage. The aſſailants, animated by the preſence of their monarch, repeated their attacks with ſuch impetuoſity, that the fort of Coehorn was ſurrendered after a very obſtinate defence, in which he himſelf had been dangerouſly wounded. The citadel being thus left expoſed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withſtand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by aſſault, and on the twentieth of May, the governor capitulated, to the unſpeakable chagrin of king William, who was an eye witneſs to the loſs of this important fortreſs, unable to give any aſſiſtance, though at the head of a powerful army.

A ſtrong garriſon being placed in Namur, by the duke of Luxembourgh, he ſent Boufflers with a body of troops to La Ruſſire, and with the reſt of his army encamped at Soignies. William having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take poſt between Steenkirk and Enghien, paſſed the river Senne in order to anticipate his purpoſe; but in ſpite of his diligence, Luxembourgh gained his point; and William encamped at Lambeque, within ſix miles of the French army. Here he diſpoſed his army to attack the enemy, in conſequence of a reſolution taken in a council of war.

The ſpace being too narrow for the army to march without dividing, they began to move in two columns, on the twenty-fourth of July. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right wing of the enemy, at the head of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch infantry, and he was ſupported by a conſiderable body of Britiſh horſe and foot commanded by lieutenant general Mackay. Though the ground was interſected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles; the prince marched with ſuch diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were driven from their poſts,

and their whole camp was diſordered. Luxembourgh, however, rallying his broken battalions, led his forces on to the battle, which he found a matter of ſome difficulty to effect, after ſuffering himſelf to be ſo ſurprized.

One of the enemies batteries was now taken by the prince of Wirtemberg who had penetrated into their lines; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers; he ſent an aid-de-camp twice to demand ſuccours from count Solmes, who commanded the center of the allies; he derided his diſtreſs, ſaying "Let us ſee what ſport the Engliſh "bull dogs will make." At length, when the king ſent an expreſs order, commanding him to ſuſtain the left wing, he made a motion with his horſe, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the Britiſh troops with a few Dutch and Danes ſuſtained the heat of the battle. They fought with great reſolution, and the event continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of Dragoons. This reinforcement turned the fortune of the day againſt the allies, though as the enemy did not take any great advantage of their ſuperiority, they retreated without diſorder.

The earl of Angus, general Mackay, and about three thouſand officers and ſoldiers of the allied army were left dead on the ſpot; a like number was wounded or taken, with many colours and ſtandards, and ſeveral pieces of canon. The French reaped no ſolid advantage from their victory, which coſt them about three thouſand men, including the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, Tilladet, and Fermacon, with many officers of diſtinction. King William retired ſeemingly unmoleſted to his own camp, and notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, his genius and courage rendered him a formidable enemy to the French.

The operations for the enſuing campaign being concerted with the ſtates general, and winter quarters for the army being pitched upon; his majeſty embarked for England on the fifteenth of October, and on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and paſſed through the city of London to Kenſington amidſt the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory addreſs from the lord mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thankſgiving was appointed for the victory gained at ſea; the Luteſtring company was eſtabliſhed, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November.

In his majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament, he thanked them for their laſt ſupplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained by ſea; condoled them on the bad ſucceſs of the campaign at land; magnified the power of the French; repreſented the neceſſity of maintaining a great armament to oppoſe it; and demanded ſubſidies equal to the occaſion. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon France; declared that the happineſs of his people was his ſole aim, for which he would again willingly expoſe his life.

The earl of Marlborough and other noblemen having been apprehended and committed to priſon, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-bench, the peers, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to aſſert their privileges, which they conſidered as violated thereby. Theſe circumſtances being fully diſcuſſed, the houſe ordered Lucas, conſtable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the King's bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court ſollicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to priſon. The judges were ordered to attend, and Aaron Smith was examined touching the evidence againſt the committed lords. This committee reported their general reſolution, which produced a vehement diſpute. The opinion of the judges was unſatisfactory to both parties; the debate was referred to a committee of the whole houſe, in which it was reſolved and declared, as the ſenſe of that aſſembly, that in purſuance of the habeas corpus act, it was the duty of the judges, on goal delivery, to diſcharge the priſoner on bail, if committed for high treaſon, unleſs it be made to appear upon oath, that there are two witneſſes againſt the ſaid priſoner, who cannot be produced, until the ſeſſions, or goal delivery. The next

debate

debate turned upon the manner in which the impriſoned lords ſhould be ſet at liberty. The conteſt growing warm, an expedient was practiſed which was dictated by the fears of the courtiers, and which produced the deſired effect.

The king diſcharged the noblemen from priſon, during the receſs of the houſe, which was purpoſely adjourned to the ſeventeenth of the month, when they were made acquainted with what had been done. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, that the houſe being informed of his majeſty's having given orders for diſcharging the lords under bail in the King's-bench, the debate about that matter ceaſed. The reſentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration.

A bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon was voted by the commons. They then preſented addreſſes to the king and queen, acknowledging the favour of God in reſtoring him to his people, congratulating him upon his deliverance from the wiles of his open and ſecret enemies, and aſſuring him that they would ſupport his government with their beſt advice and aſſiſtance.

When theſe complimentary addreſſes were delivered, inſtead of taking the affair of the ſupplies into conſideration, the houſe inſiſted upon peruſing the treaties, public accompts and eſtimates, that they might be in a condition to adviſe as well as aſſiſt his majeſty. Some members exclaimed loudly againſt partiality to foreign generals, and particularly inſiſted on the miſconduct of count Solmes, and his late behaviour in the battle of Steenkirk. After ſome warm altercation, they reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould be petitioned, to beſtow the chief command of the Engliſh forces upon an Engliſhman, and to fill ſuch vacancies as ſhould happen among the general officers, with ſuch only as were natives of his dominions. They then voted two millions, to pay the ſubſidies to the electors of Hanover and Saxony, to defray the expences of the continental war, and for the ſubſiſtence of the land forces.

*A. D.* 1693. During this ſeſſion lord Mohun was tried by his peers for the murder of Montford the commedian, and acquitted by a great majority. The king diſſolved the ſeſſion on the fourteenth of March.

The command of the fleet was given to Killegrew, Delaval and Shovel, and admiral Ruſſel was made treaſurer of the houſhold.

His majeſty having examined the fortifications, and viſited the fleet at Portſmouth, given inſtructions for annoying the enemy by ſea and land, and left the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the laſt day of March near Graveſend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. Lewis had by this time taken the field, attended by madame de Maintenon, and ſeveral miniſters of pleaſure.

When Lewis had ſpent ſome time in the pleaſures rather than the toils of the camp, he left his forces under the command of the duke of Luxembourgh, and returned with his court to Verſailles. This general being informed of the great inferiority of the allied army, reſolved to attack them in their camp, or at leaſt to fall upon their rear, ſhould they retreat at his approach. With this view he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to inveſt that place, and encamped at Heiliſheim, about ſeven leagues from the allied army.

He paſſed the river Jaar without oppoſition (marching his army in four columns) on the twenty-eighth of July. King William at firſt imagined that this motion was a feint to cover the deſign upon Liege, but hearing that the whole French army was advancing againſt him, he reſolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers adviſed him to repaſs the Geet, but he choſe to riſque a battle, rather than expoſe the rear of his army in repaſſing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geet, covered with hedges, hollow ways, and the ſmall brook of Beck; his left reached to Neer-Landen; and in the night his majeſty gave directions for throwing up a ſlight intrenchment which joined the two villages.

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The regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Monroe, Lauder, and Laven, under the command of brigadier Ramſay, were ordered to the right of the whole army, on the farther ſide of the village of Lare; ſix battalions of Brandenburgh were poſted on the left of this village; and general Dumont with the Hanoverian infanty, occupied the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp between the right wing of the horſe, and their main body. Neer-Landen on the left was ſecured by ſix battalions of Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the intrenchment. The dragoons upon the left, guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck, and from thence the left wing of horſe reached to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by the ſame rivulet.

When his majeſty had viſited every part of the army, and iſſued his orders for their proceeding, he repoſed himſelf about two hours in his coach, and early in the morning ſent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At ſun-riſing the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle, within reach of the cannon of the allies, which began to play with good ſucceſs. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury, and twice made themſelves maſter of theſe poſts, from whence they were as often repulſed. At length, the allies maintained their ground; and brigadier Churchill took his nephew, the duke of Berwick, priſoner.

The left wing of the confederates ſituated at Neer-Landen, was attacked by the French, many of whom were ſlain, and the reſt compelled to retreat into the open plain. The prince of Conti, executed his commiſſion with great bravery; he charged the allies with ſuch fury, that at laſt he obliged them to retreat, and leave him in the poſſeſſion of the avenues of Neer-Winden. The duke of Luxembourgh perceiving the advantage, poured an incredible number of freſh troops, and in a moment the camp of the allies was filled with the enemy; the news of which reaching his majeſty, he flew from the right wing, where he had hitherto been engaged, and by his courage and conduct, contributed ſomewhat to retard the fate of the day. The infantry was rallied, and ſtood firm until all their ammunition was expended; but the fortune of the day was changed by the marquis d'Harcourt joining the enemy with two and twenty freſh ſquadrons under his command.

The troops under the command of the earl of Bavaria, paſſing the Bridge, after a moſt gallant reſiſtance, favoured the retreat of thoſe who had not paſſed. The king ſeeing the battle loſt, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of the Beck; then he commanded the regiments of Wynd, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Heſpen, which he accompliſhed with great difficulty.

So great was the confuſion in the camp of the allied army, that many of the fugitives threw themſelves into the river, where they miſerably periſhed. This had well nigh been the fate of the brave earl of Athlone; the duke of Ormond was wounded in ſeveral places, and taken priſoner; and the count of Solmes was mortally wounded. His majeſty, preſent wherever the danger was greateſt, and ſtill advancing to the charge in perſon, acquired the higheſt character for courage and military conduct.

The remaining part of the campaign produced nothing remarkable, except the reduction of Charleroy, which, after ſuſtaining a regular ſiege of ſix and twenty days ſurrendered on honourable terms.

The ill ſucceſs of the allies by land, was not greater than that of the Engliſh at ſea. The king had ordered the admirals to fit out the fleet with the utmoſt expedition, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had been harraſſed by the French corſairs. But the enemy's ſhips were ſailed from their harbours, before the Engliſh put out to ſea, ſo tedious were their preparations.

It having been intended to make a deſcent upon Breſt, they aſſembled at St. Helen's about the middle of May; but this deſign being laid aſide, it was expected, that on the aſſembling

aſſembling of the Dutch and Engliſh fleets, ſomething of importance would be attempted; but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any ſcheme of conſequence. At laſt it was reſolved, that the combined fleets ſhould accompany the trade fifty leagues to the weſtward of Uſhant; and that Sir George Rooke with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips, ſhould conduct them to their deſtined ports. But the imprudence of this reſolution ſoon appeared; for Rooke had no ſooner entered the Straits, than he diſcovered the enemy's fleet, amounting to eighty ſail, under the command of the counts de Trouville and D'Etrees. He inſtantly ſummoned a council of war, who gave it as their opinion, that the merchantmen ſhould endeavour to ſave themſelves in the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucan, and Cadiz, while the admiral ſhould ſtand off under an eaſy ſail, for the protection of the reſt. About ſix in the evening, the enemy came up with two Dutch men of war, commanded by the captains Schryver and Vander-Pole, who bravely maintained a fight of five hours; but were at length compelled to yield to ſuperior force. The enemy deſtroyed fifty merchant-men, took nine and twenty, and burned an Engliſh ſhip of war, and a rich pinnace.

Admiral Rooke, by the help of a freſh gale, continued his courſe till the nineteenth of June, when he ſent home the Lark ſhip of war, with the news of his misfortunes; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken on board wood and water, he ſailed for Ireland, and on the third day of Auguſt arrived at Corke with ſhips of war and trading veſſels, to the number of fifty ſail.

Inſtead of chaſing admiral Rooke towards the Madeiras, the French admirals made an attempt upon Cadiz, but not ſucceeding they bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. They afterwards ſailed along the coaſt of Spain, burned ſome Engliſh and Dutch veſſels at Malaga and Alicant, and at laſt returned in triumph to Toulon. The diſcontents ariſing from this misfortune were greatly increaſed by the failure of an expedition to the Weſt Indies, which was committed to the care of Sir Francis Wheeler. He made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the iſlands of Martinico and St. Domingo. He then ſailed to Boſton in New England, in order to form a plan for attacking Quebec; but the ſeaſon was too far advanced, for undertaking an enterprize of that nature. He afterwards ſailed for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without heſitation, but the deſign was rejected by a majority of voices in a council of war. All his deſigns being thus fruſtrated, and the greater part of his men dying during the voyage, he arrived at Portſmouth in a very ſhattered condition.

To the diviſion among the miniſtry, who were employed in leſſening each other's reputation, rather than in plans for the public good, theſe misfortunes are chiefly to be attributed. The people in general exclaimed againſt the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter; who had acquired great credit with the queen, whoſe concurrence in theſe unweildy meaſures was therefore ſtrongly ſuſpected

In France, affairs were in a much worſe ſituation than in England. The kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occaſioned partly by unfavourable ſeaſons, and partly by the war, which had not left hands ſufficient to cultivate the ground.

The French king, witneſſing the miſeries, and hearing the complaints of his ſubjects, determined to ſacrifice his ambition to his humanity. With this view, he attempted to conclude a ſeparate peace with ſome of the allies, and even intreated the northern powers to employ their good offices for a general accommodation. A memorial was actually preſented by the Daniſh miniſter to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchaſe a peace with ſome conſiderable conceſſions. But William, in the hope of putting it out of the power of France again to endanger the liberties of Europe, rejected the terms, and determined to continue the war.

His majeſty arrived at Kenſington on the thirtieth of October, having firſt prevailed on the ſtates general to increaſe both their naval and land forces for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Finding the people diſſatisfied with the preſent adminiſtration, he inſtantly reſolved to change his miniſters. The command of the fleet was beſtowed upon admiral Ruſſel. The earl of Nottingham was diſmiſſed, and the earl of Shrewſbury appointed ſecretary of ſtate. The few Tories who favoured William's government, were continued in office; but the lieutenancy of the Tower of London, and all other commiſſions of a like nature, were given to the Whigs.

His majeſty demanded forty thouſand men for the navy, and upwards of one hundred thouſand for the land ſervice, during the enſuing year. Before the houſe of commons took into conſideration theſe enormous demands, they granted four hundred thouſand pounds by way of advance, to appeaſe the clamours of the ſeamen, who were become mutinous and deſperate for want of pay; upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then they voted the number of men required for the navy; but could not comply with the demand for the army, conſiſtent with their regard for their country. They called for all the treaties ſubſiſting between the king and his allies; they examined the different proportions of the troops furniſhed by the reſpective powers; they conſulted the intended augmentations, and fixed the eſtabliſhment of the year at fourſcore and three thouſand one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of theſe, they allotted the ſum of two millions, five hundred and thirty thouſand, five hundred and ninety pounds; they granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thouſand to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll bills; ſo that the ſupplies for the year amounted to about five millions and a half; raiſed by a land tax of four ſhillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a new duty upon ſalt, a lottery, ſtamped duties upon vellum, parchment and paper, and a tax upon hackney and ſtage coaches.

*A. D.* 1694. The loſs of Sir Francis Wheeler, with the number of ſhips under his convoy, in the bay of Gibraltar, was among the national misfortunes of this year. His inſtructions were to take under his convoy the merchant ſhips bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruize thirty days in a certain latitude for the protection of the Spaniſh fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his ſquadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to ſail with the reſt to the Mediterranean; to join the Spaniſh fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he ſhould be joined with the fleet from Turkey and the Straits, which he was to take under his convoy and proceed homewards.

He left St. Helen's the latter end of October, and arrived at Cadiz in January, where leaving rear admiral Hopſon, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempeſt under a lee ſhore which he could not poſſibly weather, and where the ground was ſo foul, that no anchor would hold. A great number of ſhips were driven on ſhore, and many periſhed; the admiral's ſhip foundered at ſea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculouſly ſaved. The remains of the fleet were ſo much ſhattered, that they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted; and they were ſoon in a condition to meet the enemy at ſea again, though the loſs ſuſtained was very conſiderable.

On the ſixth of May his majeſty embarked at Margate, and on the ſeventh in the evening arrived in Holland, where he conſulted with the ſtates general. On the third day of June he repaired to Bertherme-abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army, and there he was met by the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. In a few days a numerous army was ſummoned, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an active campaign. On the third day of June, the dauphin took the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourgh had taken poſt between Mons and Maubeuge, and paſſing the Sambre encamped at Fleurus; but on the eighteenth he removed

removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim; while the confederates lay at Roſbeck.

His majeſty's intention of paſſing the Schelde, was prevented by ſuch a rapid and unexpected march of the enemy under command of the dauphin, that Lewis wrote with his own hand, a letter of thanks to his army, and ordered it to be read to every particular ſquadron and battalion. The only action of importance which happened, was the reduction of Huy, which after a ſiege of ten days ſurrendered to the allies. The king, finding it impoſſible to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered Dixmuyde, Deynſe, Ninove, and Tittlemont, to be ſecured for winter quarters to part of the army: the dauphin returned to Verſailles; William quitted the camp on the laſt of September, and about the middle of October both armies went into winter quarters.

A bill paſſed both houſes of parliament this ſummer, empowering the king and queen to incorporate a number of merchants, (who had previouſly ſubſcribed twelve hundred thouſand pounds, as a beginning fund) by the name of the governors and company of the bank of England, under a proviſo, that, at any time after the firſt of Auguſt 1705, upon a years notice, and the repayment of the capital, the ſaid corporation ſhould ceaſe and determine.

His majeſty having ſettled matters with the confederated powers, embarked for England, and on the ninth of November landed at Margate. On the twelfth, he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the poſture of affairs was greatly improved both by ſea and land, ſince they laſt parted. He demanded ſuch ſupplies, as would enable him to proſecute the war with vigour, He deſired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which expired at Chriſtmas; reminded them of the debt for the tranſport ſhips employed in the reduction of Ireland, and exhorted them to prepare a bill for the encouragement of ſeamen. The preſent ſeſſion of parliament was diſtinguiſhed by the unanimity and vigour of their proceedings.

The commons, having examined the eſtimates, and accounts, voted four millions, ſeven hundred ſixty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve pounds, for the ſervice of the army and navy. New duties were laid on different commodities, and the land tax, tonnage and poundage continued, to raiſe the above ſum.

On the twenty ſecond of November, a fit of the dead palſy, with which he was ſeized in the chapel at Whitehall, deprived the nation of the excellent Doctor John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe writings will exhibit his character while the Engliſh language is underſtood. He was ſucceeded by Dr Teniſon biſhop of Lincoln, and the ſee of Lincoln was filled by Dr. Gardner, on the recommendation of Teniſon.

About a month after the death of Tillotſon the queen was ſeized with the ſmall pox, and the ſymptoms appearing dangerous, ſhe prepared herſelf for death with great compoſure. She ſpent her time in exerciſes of devotion, ſhe received the ſacrament, with all the biſhops who were in attendance, and expired on the twenty eighth of December, in the thirty third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign.

In her majeſty were united great dignity and ſweetneſs of appearance. Her face was of the oval ſhape, her eyes lively, her features ſoft and agreeable. Her apprehenſion was clear, her memory retentive, and her judgment ſtrong. She was a zealous proteſtant, ſcrupulouſly exact in all the duties of devotion, ſincere, generous and charitable. Her character lies under the imputation of two defects; her aſcending the throne of her father without any ſeeming compunction, and treating her ſiſter as a ſtranger. With reſpect to the firſt, candour naturally leads us to palliate, by ſuggeſting, that her connection with her father, however cloſe, was far inferior to her conjugal obligations; with reſpect to the latter as we are unacquainted with the motives of their behaviour, we know not whether the queen or the princeſs was to blame.

Her majeſty's death was matter of ſincere grief to the king, who for ſeveral days after the melancholy event, could neither

ther ſee company, nor attend to the buſineſs of the ſtate. Her obſequies were performed with great magnificence; the body was attended from Whitehall to Weſtminſter Abbey, by all the judges, ſerjeants at law, the lord mayor, and aldermen of the city of London, and both houſes of parliament. And her ſtatue, together with that of the king was erected in the Royal Exchange in conſequence of a reſolution of the court of common council.

When the queen was ill, the princeſs Anne ſent a lady of her bedchamber, to beg the favour to be admitted to her preſence; but the requeſt was refuſed, on pretence, that the phyſicians had directed, that her majeſty ſhould be kept as quiet as poſſible. However, before her death, ſhe ſent a forgiving meſſage to her ſiſter, and after her deceaſe, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princeſs, who viſited him at Kenſington, where ſhe was received with uncommon civility. He aſſigned her St. James's palace for her reſidence, and as an additional mark of his reſpect, preſented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But the king never permitted his miniſters to inform her of any public tranſactions, and theſe outward marks of civility ſerved only to conceal their mutual diſguſt.

*A. D.* 1695. His majeſty having in his ſpeech to the houſe of peers on the third of May, informed them of his intentions of going abroad, the lord keeper prorogued the parliament till the eighteenth of June, and the king nominated the following perſons to compoſe a regency.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, Somerſet, lord keeper of the great ſeal, the earl of Pembroke, lord privy ſeal, the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of the houſhold, the duke of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, the earl of Dorſet, lord Chamberlain, and the lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; but neither the princeſs of Denmark nor her huſband had any ſhare in the adminiſtration; a circumſtance which diſcovered the king's ſentiments, and at which many perſons were much offended.

Embarking at Graveſend on the twelfth of May, his majeſty arrived at the Hague in a few days, from whence he ſoon after repaired to the army in Flanders. The allies were now ſuperior to the French, who were obliged during this whole campaign, to act on the defenſive, and were further diſpirited by the loſs of the gallant duke of Luxembourgh, who in the month of January died at Verſailles, in the ſixty ſeventh year of his age, and was ſucceeded in command by the mareſchal Villeroy, under whom Boufflers commanded a ſeparate army.

From a fear of the ſuperiority of the allied army, the enemy thought proper to ſecure their late conqueſts by a new line drawn between the Lys and the Schelde, and made diſpoſition for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur, ſome of which they apprehended would be attacked by the allies. Meanwhile the confederates formed two great armies in the Netherlands, the firſt compoſed of ſeventy battalions of foot, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, was encamped at Aerſeele, Canehem, and Wanterghen, between Theildt and Deynſe, and commanded by the king in perſon, aſſiſted by the old prince of Vaudemont; the other, compoſed of ſixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty ſquadrons of horſe, was encamped at Zellich, and Ham, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, who was aſſiſted by many experienced officers, at the head of whom were the duke of Holſtein-Ploen, and the earl of Athlone.

When his majeſty had by his motions drawn the enemy towards Flanders, he ordered the baron de Heyden, and the earl of Athlone, who commanded forty ſquadrons, from the camp of the elector of Bavaria, to inveſt Namur, which was accordingly performed on the third of July. This place was ſtrong by art and nature before it fell into the hands of the enemy, ſince which it had received ſuch additional fortifications, that it was now ſuppoſed to be altogether impregnable; the enterprize was therefore deemed an inconteſtible proof of William's temerity. The trenches were opened on the eleventh of July, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible

credible fury. The governor reſiſted with the utmoſt gallantry, and the beſiegers purſued their point with determined reſolution.

Major general Ramſay, and lord Cutts, on the eighteenth of the month, with five battalions, Scotch and Dutch, aſſaulted the enemy's advanced works on the counterſcarp. They were ſuſtained by ſix Engliſh battalions; while major Saliſch, with eight foreign regiments, and nine thouſand pioneers, advanced on the left. The conteſt was deſperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted reſolution; but they were at laſt repulſed, and purſued to the very gates of the town. The king was ſo charmed with the gallantry of the Britiſh troops, that laying his hand on the elector of Bavaria's ſhoulder, he exclaimed with great tranſport, "See my brave Engliſh."

The Engliſh and Scots under the command of Ramſay and Hamilton, attacked the counterſcarp on the twenty-ſeventh, and were obſtinately reſiſted by the beſieged; but being ſuſtained by the Dutch, they made a lodgement on the foremoſt covered way, before the gate of St. Nicholas, as alſo upon that part of the counterguard. The valour of the enemy on this occaſion could only be exceeded by that of the aſſailants. Their officers in particular, behaved with amazing reſolution. Mr. Godfrey, deputy governor of the bank of England, who came to the camp to confer with his majeſty about remitting money for the payment of the army, was killed in the trenches, together with ſeveral other perſons.

On the thirtieth of Auguſt, the beſieged were ſummoned to ſurrender by count Horn, who in a parley with the count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, gave him to underſtand, that the mareſchal de Villeroy had retired towards the Mehagne, ſo that the garriſon could not expect to be relieved. The enemy neglecting to give an immediate anſwer, the parley was broke off; and the elector reſolved to proceed without delay to a general aſſault, which had been concerted by the king before his departure. The confederates procured and maintained a lodgement near a mile long, by this attempt, though it did not ſucceed to their wiſhes.

Two thouſand men were either killed or wounded in this action, wherein the elector of Bavaria ſignalized his courage; riding from place to place through the hotteſt of the enemy's fire; giving orders with great compoſure; diſtributing gold among the private men, and animating the officers by praiſes and promiſes of preferment.

The French being indulged with a ceſſation of arms to bury their dead, the count de Guiſcard, on the firſt of September, appeared on the beach, and deſired to ſpeak with the elector of Bavaria. His highneſs immediately mounted the beach, and the governor offered to ſurrender the fort of Coehorn; but the elector replied, that if he intended to capitulate, he might treat for the whole. This reply being imparted to Boufflers, he agreed to the propoſals; the ceſſation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was ſigned. Villeroy, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no ſooner apprized of the ſurrender of Namur, than he paſſed the Sambre near Charleroy with great precipitation, and retreated towards Mons, having in his way reinforced the garriſon of Dinant.

The French garriſon, reduced to five thouſand five hundred and eighty-three men, from fifteen thouſand, marched out of the caſtle on the fifth of September, when Boufflers was arreſted in the name of his Britannic majeſty, by way of repriſal for the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which had been detained by the French king in violation of the cartel eſtabliſhed between the two nations. His confinement, however, was of ſhort duration; being ſet at liberty on the return of a meſſenger from Verſailles, promiſing the reſtoration of the garriſons.

The taking of Namur having eſtabliſhed the military character of William, he left the command to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, his uſual receſs both for pleaſure and buſineſs. About the latter end of September, both armies began to ſeparate; the French forces retired within their lines; the greateſt part of the allies were diſtributed in the neighbouring garriſons, the reſt marched to Nieuport under the prince of

Wirtemberg, for the ſecurity of that place. Thus ended the campaign.

The ſuperiority of the Engliſh fleet was ſuch, that, during this whole ſummer, the enemy durſt not venture abroad from their harbours. Nevertheleſs, they equipped a great number of corſairs, which greatly infeſted the trade of the nation. The marquis of Caermarthen, being ſtationed with a ſquadron off the iſlands of Scilly, miſtook a fleet of merchant ſhips for the Breſt fleet, and retired with precipitation into Milford-Haven. By this means, the cruizers were ſuffered to prey upon the merchant-men; nor did they fail to improve ſuch a favourable opportunity. They took five Eaſt India ſhips valued at a million ſterling, and ſeveral veſſels from Barbadoes.

His majeſty and the allies having ſettled their plan of proceedings for the next year, he embarked for England on the ninth of October, and next day arrived at Margate, from whence he repaired to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidſt the acclamations of the people. He inſtantly ſummoned a council at Kenſington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament.

In conſequence of this reſolution, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the parliament, and a new one ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſecond day of November. While the whole nation was thus occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his confidents, endeavoured to conciliate the eſteem of his people by a more familiar and affable deportment, than was agreeable to his diſpoſition. He honoured the diverſions of Newmarket with his preſence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the univerſity of Cambridge. Then he viſited at their reſpective ſeats, the earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, the duke of Newcaſtle, the lord Brooke, and the duke of Shrewſbury; and afterwards made a ſolemn entry into Oxford, having been met at ſome diſtance from the city by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the univerſity, the vice chancellor, the doctors, and the magiſtrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin ſpeech, and received from the chancellor, on his knees, the uſual preſents of a large Engliſh Bible and book of Common Prayer, with the cuts of the univerſity, and a pair of gold fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but the duke of Ormond having communicated to his majeſty an anonymous letter, importing, that there was a deſign to poiſon him, he departed immediately for Windſor. The univerſity, however, inſtead of reſenting this abrupt behaviour, choſe for one of their repreſentatives in parliament, Sir William Trumbal, ſecretary of ſtate.

In the election for members of parliament, the whig intereſt was prevalent, and Foley was again choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The king in his firſt ſpeech, extolled the valour of the Engliſh forces; expreſſed his concern at being obliged to demand ſuch large ſupplies from his people; obſerved that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil liſt was in a precarious ſituation; recommended to their compaſſionate regard, the miſerable ſtate of the French proteſtants; took notice of the bad ſtate of the coin; deſired they would form a bill for the encouragement of ſeamen, and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the choice of repreſentatives, and recommended unanimity and diſpatch, as their enemies the French were making great preparations to take the field early in the ſpring.

Addreſſes were preſented to the king by the parliament, engaging to furniſh him with the neceſſary ſupplies to carry on the war; while the people exclaimed againſt the intolerable burthen and loſſes to which they were ſubjected, by a ſcheme of politics, which was attended with a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure. The members of the lower houſe, who had adopted oppoſing maxims, either from principle or reſentment, reſolved, that the crown ſhould purchaſe the ſupplies with ſome conceſſions in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the ſo long conteſted bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon,

treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon, and conſidering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obſtructing ſuch a popular meaſure. The bill enacted, that perſons indicted for high treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon; ſhould be furniſhed with a copy of the dictment five days before the trial, and indulged with two counſellors to plead in their behalf; that no perſons ſhould be indicted but upon the oaths of two witneſſes, ſwearing to overt-acts; that in two or more treaſons of divers kinds, alledged in the ſame bill of indictment, one witneſs to one, and another witneſs to another ſhould not be deemed two witneſſes; that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for any ſuch crime, unleſs the indictment was found within three years after the offence was committed, except in caſe of a deſign or attempt to aſſaſſinate or poiſon the king, which ſhould not be ſubject to this limitation; that perſons indicted for treaſon or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with copies of the pannel of jurors two days at leaſt before their trial, and have proceſs to compel their witneſſes to appear; that no evidence ſhould be admitted of any overt-acts, not expreſsly laid in the indictment; and that this act ſhould not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majeſty's coin, his great ſeal, privy ſeal, ſign manual, or ſignet.

When this material buſineſs was tranſacted, the commons proceeded to examine the accounts and eſtimates, and voted above five millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They next began to examine the ſtate of the coin, which by the fraudulent arts of clippers, was now ſhamefully debaſed, and after a long debate, reſolved to proceed to a new coinage. In leſs than one year the current coin of England from the worſt, became the beſt coin in Europe, ſo great was the expedition uſed in the recoinage.

*A. D.* 1696. The diſcovery of a plot againſt the perſon and government of the king, engaged at this time the attention of the public. The Jacobites, imagining that his intereſt was conſiderably weakened by the death of his conſort, reſolved to attempt the reſtoration of the late king; and with that view they at once concerted the ſcheme of a foreign invaſion, and the deſign of aſſaſſinating his majeſty. The earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, ſon to the marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, captain Charnock, and captain Porter, were the contrivers of the project. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick had come privately into England, in order to haſten the preparations of the conſpirators. He aſſured them that king James was ready to make a deſcent with a conſiderable number of French forces, diſtributed commiſſions, and gave directions for procuring men, arms, and horſes, to join him at his arrival. On his return to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition; James had come to Calais with a view to embark; troops were brought to the ſea ſide; and monſieur Gabaret was advancing with a number of ſhips, which were to join a conſiderable number of tranſports which were already at Dunkirk under the command of Du Bart.

The leſs violent of the Jacobites engaged to excite an inſurrection againſt the king; and the more deſperate engaged in a ſcheme of aſſaſſination. Sir George Barclay a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, cautious and circumſpect, but a furious bigot to the church of Rome, was landed in Romney-marſh, in order to effect this horrid deſign. He imparted the ſecret to Harriſon, alias Johnſton, a prieſt, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and alſo pretended to have a particular commiſſion for this ſervice. After various conſultations, they reſolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he uſually hunted on Saturdays, and the ſcene of the tragedy was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the conſpiracy was diſcovered by three of the inferior actors, captain Fiſher, Pendergraſs an Iriſh officer, and La Rue, a Frenchman. The two former gave their information to the earl of Portland; the laſt to brigadier Leviſon. The king was at firſt extremely backward in believing the plot; but finding it confirmed by ſo many witneſſes,

witneſſes, he admitted Pendergraſs into his preſence, and perſuaded him to give a liſt of the aſſaſſins. A proclamation was iſſued for their immediate apprehenſion. Barclay abſconded and could never be found, and the Jacobites firmly denied James's ever given him the commiſſion he pretended to have received.

Poſſeſſed of an imagination that the enterprize could not fail of ſucceſs, James embarked his artillery and ſtores, and even a good number of his troops; but he was ſoon convinced that he had been too ſanguine in his expectations. Admiral Ruſſel was now diſpatched to the French coaſt with a fleet of above fifty ſail of the line; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired into their harbours with the utmoſt precipitation; while James, overwhelmed with deſpair, returned to St. Germain. Moſt of the conſpirators being ſecured, the king, after their examination, in a ſpeech to both houſes, communicated the nature of the conſpiracy againſt his life; as well as the deſign of a foreign invaſion; profeſſed his reliance on their good will and affection, and hoped they would take ſuch ſteps for their common ſafety, as ſhould appear to them moſt expedient. That very evening the two houſes waited upon him at Kenſington, with an affectionate addreſs, in which they expreſſed their deteſtation of the execrable deſign, which had been formed againſt his ſacred perſon, of which they beſought him to take extraordinary care. They aſſured him, they would defend his life and maintain his government againſt the late king James, and all other enemies, and declared, that in caſe his majeſty ſhould come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adverſaries, and their adherents. The king aſſured them he would do every thing on his part to deſerve their loyalty and affection, and ſeemed greatly pleaſed with their addreſſes.

The methods of raiſing the ſupplies was the next buſineſs of the parliament. A new bank was eſtabliſhed, commonly called the Land-bank, becauſe founded upon land-ſecurities. This ſcheme, ſuppoſed to have been projected by the famous doctor Chamberlain, was chiefly managed by Foley and Harley, and was generally believed to be a tory plan, intended to ruin the bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned againſt the bill, and were heard by their counſel; but their repreſentation had no effect, and the bill, having paſſed both houſes, at laſt received the royal aſſent. On the twenty-ſeventh of April, the king cloſed the ſeſſion, with a ſhort but gracious ſpeech, and the parliament was prorogued to the ſixteenth day of June. During this ſeſſion of parliament, Pendergraſs, Porter and others gave evidence againſt ſeveral of the conſpirators, who were accordingly executed.

The baſe deſign of the French on the life of William, animated the generals of the allied army to ſeek for revenge. Lewis had been ſo confident of the ſucceſs of the expedition, that he had even regulated his military operations in Flanders upon that ſuppoſition, and had eſtabliſhed a vaſt magazine at Givet, with a view of ſtriking ſome ſtroke of importance early in the campaign, while the allies ſhould be weakened by the abſence of the Britiſh troops. Upon this magazine the confederates determined to wreak their vengeance, and with this view, the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant general Coehorn, ſet out from Namur with forty ſquadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and ſix mortars. Athlone with part of his body inveſted Dinant, while Coehorn with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to bombard the town, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly deſtroyed, with the great magazine it contained. When this piece of ſervice was effected, the two generals returned to Namur.

After committing the kingdom to the care of the former regency, his majeſty embarked at Margate on the ſeventh of May, and arrived that ſame evening at Orange-Polder, from whence he repaired immediately to the Hague. The French had taken the field early in the ſpring, but no enterprize of importance was attempted in the courſe of this campaign. Lewis was obliged to act on the defenſive, while the active plans of William were

were defeated by want of money. All the funds of this year proved defective, the land bank failed, having affected the credit of the former bank, without producing any one good effect.

The wealth of France being exhauſted, and its ſubjects impatient of the war, Lewis began to turn his attention towards effecting an immediate peace. With this view, he ſent an ambaſſador to the ſtates general; but the Dutch refuſed to enter into any conferences on the ſubject, until they had obtained the conſent of king William and the allies. Lewis, in order to expedite this negotiation, purſued offenſive meaſures in Catalonia, where his general, the duke de Vendome, attacked and worſted the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalric, but he was obliged to retreat, after very ſtrenuous efforts againſt their intrenchments, and the action was not deciſive.

The duke of Savoy having concluded a ſeparate peace with the French king, it was ſignified to William by the envoy, during his encampment at Gemblours. William, though much chagrined at the information, diſſembled his anger, and liſtened to the miniſter without the leaſt apparent emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty imported, that within a limited time, the allies ſhould evacuate the duke's dominions, otherwiſe they ſhould be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. They offered a neutrality to the confederates, but this being rejected, the contracting powers reſolved to attack the Milaneſe. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generaliſſimo of the French king, entered that dutchy and inveſted Valencia, ſo that in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. A meſſenger from the king of Spain, who conſented to accept of a neutrality for Italy, arrived when the garriſon of Valencia was reduced to the utmoſt extremity.

The coaſt of France was harraſſed and alarmed during this ſummer by lord Berkeley, who, in the month of June, ſet ſail for Uſhant. He pillaged and burned the villages on the iſlands of Guoy, Horeal, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty veſſels; bombarded St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhee, and treated the town of Olonne in the ſame manner.

So much was an invaſion from France expected by the Engliſh miniſtry, that they kept ſix thouſand men continually in arms, for the defence of the maritime places. Soon after, rear admiral Bembow was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and ſailing towards the Baltic, fell in with the Dutch fleet, under convoy of ſix frigates. Theſe he took, together with half the trading veſſels; but falling in with the outward bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ſhips of the line, he was obliged to part with all his prizes but fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk, having burnt four of the frigates and turned two adrift.

Weary of a campaign in which nothing was to be done, William embarked for England on the fourth of October, and on the ſixth arrived at Margate, from whence he repaired immediately to Kenſington, The parliament meeting on the twentieth of the ſame month, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that propoſals had been made for a negotiation; but that the beſt way of treating with France, would be ſword in hand; that he hoped they would be expeditious in raiſing ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year; that the civil liſt could not be ſupported without their aſſiſtance; that he flattered himſelf they would contrive ſome means for the recovery of the national credit; and that the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom could be no way ſo well ſecured as by their unanimity and diſpatch.

It was now determined by the commons, that they would ſupport his majeſty's government, and effectually aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war. They likewiſe preſented a ſpirited addreſs, in which they declared, that notwithſtanding the blood and treaſure which had been already expended, they would not be diverted from their reſolution of obtaining by a war, a ſafe and honourable peace; and that, therefore, they would continue to ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies both at home and abroad. They then deliberated upon the eſtimates, and granted above

ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They paſſed a bill for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin, and another explaining an act of the preceding ſeſſion, for laying duties on low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. In order to raiſe the ſupplies of the year, they reſolved to tax all perſons according to the true value of their real and perſonal eſtates, their ſtock upon land and in trade, or their income by offices, penſions, and profeſſions. A duty of one penny per week for one year was levied upon all perſons not receiving alms. Not one perſon able to bear any part of the expence was excuſed, on this occaſion, from contributing to the exigencies of the ſtate.

The parliament now determined to ſupport the credit of the bank of England which had been of the utmoſt ſervice to the government. It was therefore agreed to ingraft upon the capital, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds by new ſubſcriptions, at the rate of eight per cent intereſt, to be paid by tallies and bank notes. In a few days a million was ſubſcribed and paid in that manner, and from this time the credit of the bank recovered ſo rapidly, that in a few weeks, their bills, bearing intereſt, were eſteemed better than caſh, and their notes which bore no intereſt were equal to it.

It was chiefly owing to the good management of Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, that the public credit was thus reſtored. The bills for the ſupplies being paſſed, the attention of the parliament was next engaged by the caſe of Sir John Fenwick, one of the conſpirators who had been apprehended at New Romney, while he was making his eſcape to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who attended him, but this man being ſeized, the letter was found to contain ſuch circumſtances, as plainly proved him guilty. The affair was now ſubmitted to parliament, and the commons having deliberated on the whole matter, brought in a bill of attainder againſt him, which received the royal aſſent after it had been violently oppoſed in paſſing through the houſes.

Fenwick, on learning that the bill was paſſed, exerted his utmoſt efforts to procure a reprieve from his majeſty, but all his applications proving ineffectual, he began to prepare himſelf for his approaching fate. He was indulged with the axe, in conſideration of his rank and alliance with the houſe of Howard, and ſuffered on Tower-hill, with ſeeming compoſure and reſignation. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his reſtoration, but mentioned with abhorrence the deſign upon the life of king William, which he juſtly termed a moſt villainous project.

On cloſing the ſeſſion of parliament on the ſixteenth of April, his majeſty thanked them for the liberal ſupplies they had granted him, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the meaſures they had taken for the retrieval of the public credit. About this time the earl of Dorſet reſigned the office of lord chamberlain, which he had enjoyed ever ſince the revolution. He was ſevere and poignant in his writings, but humane, and generous in his private conduct. The earl of Sunderland ſucceeded him in office, and was not leſs favoured by William than he had formerly been by James.

*A. D.* 1697. Public affairs being pretty well adjuſted and a regency appointed, the king embarked on the twenty-ſixth day of April for Holland, in order to be preſent at the negotiation for a general peace. The plenipotentiaries met in congreſs on the tenth day of February, and the conference was opened by the French miniſter Callieres, who in his maſter's name agreed to the following preliminaries; that the treaties of Weſtphalia, and Nimeguen, ſhould be the baſis of the preſent negotiation; that Straſburgh ſhould be reſtored to the emperor, and Luxembourgh to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all the places taken by the French in Catalonia, ſince the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant ſhould be ceded to the biſhop of Liege; and all re-unions ſince the treaty of Nimeguen be made void; that Lorraine ſhould be reſtored according to the conditions of that treaty; and, that Lewis

ſhould

ſhould acknowledge William's right to the throne of Great Britain, immediately on the concluſion of the peace.

The death of Charles XI. of Sweden interrupted the treaty: he was ſucceeded by the famous Charles XII. then a minor; but the queen and five ſenators, whom the late king had by his will appointed adminiſtrators of the government, reſolved to purſue the mediation, and ſent a commiſſion to Lillienroot their plenipotentiary for that purpoſe. Accordingly, on the twenty ſecond of May, the Imperial plenipotentiaries delivered their maſter's demand to the mediator, and the repreſentatives of the ſeveral German princes ſignified the expectations of their reſpective maſters.

Leſt the houſe of Auſtria ſhould inſiſt on on the treaty of the Pyrenees, the French king reſolved to make his laſt efforts in Flanders, and Catalonia, and reduce the Spaniards to his own terms. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Aeth, which ſurrendered in a few days. In Catalonia the duke of Vendome inveſted Barcelona, which after having been gallantly defended for the ſpace of nine weeks, fell into the hands of the French; whereupon the Spaniards became as eager for, as they had been averſe to all thoughts of peace.

So perplexed was the buſineſs, ariſing from the numerous and complicated demands of the ſeveral powers, that the negotiation was protracted to the twentieth day of September, when the articles were ſubſcribed by the Engliſh, Dutch, Spaniſh, and French ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Imperial, and other German miniſters, who ſtill refuſed to accept of the terms which France had offered. The treaty between England and France imported, that Lewis ſhould not diſturb or diſquiet the king of Great Britain in the poſſeſſion of his crown or government, nor aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon; that king William ſhould pay a yearly penſion to queen Mary D'Eſte of fifty thouſand pounds, which, during her reſidence in England had been ſettled as her jointure; that a free commerce ſhould be reſtored between the two kingdoms; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to meet at London, to determine the pretenſions of each crown to Hudſon's bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the war; and to fix the limits of places to be reſtored, as well as the proportion of exchanges to be made; that in caſe of a freſh war, ſix months ſhould be allowed to the ſubjects of each crown for removing their effects; that the ſeparate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, ſhould be fully executed; and that in three weeks after the day of ſigning the agreement, the ratifications ſhould be exchanged.

His majeſty was received in London with every demonſtration of joy on his return from concluding theſe preliminaries of peace.

The parliament meeting in December, the king informed them, that the war was brought to the end which he propoſed, an honourable peace. He alſo gave them to underſtand, that there was a conſiderable debt on account of the fleet and army, and that the revenues of the crown had been anticipated; he expreſſed his hope, that they would provide for him, during his life in ſuch a manner, as would conduce to his honour and their glory; he recommended the maintenance of a conſiderable fleet, and ſtanding army, as eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of England; and finally aſſured them, that he ſhould be proud to tranſmit unviolated to the lateſt poſterity, that religion, and thoſe laws and liberties which he had been the happy means of reſcuing when in the utmoſt danger.

The maintenance of a ſtanding army was a circumſtance by no means agreeable to the commons, who could not at all reliſh its being recommended from the throne; in conſidering the ſpeech, therefore, this point was debated with great vehemence, but at length, the king finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, ſubmitted with his uſual prudence to this, as he had formerly done to other diſappointments; and affected to acquieſe in a very conſiderable reduction of the army.

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To make his majeſty a kind of amends for this diſappointment, the commons voted a ſupply of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhould be diſbanded; and alſo granted the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, to be continued during his life. Of this ſum, one hundred thouſand pounds were intended to enable his majeſty to pay the jointure of queen Mary D'Eſte, and to maintain a court for the duke of Glouceſter, now in the ninth year of his age; but it is affirmed by ſome hiſtorians, that the jointure was never paid, and that the king would not allow more than fifteen thouſand pounds a year to the duke, to whom biſhop Burnet was appointed preceptor.

*A. D.* 1698. The commons now took into their conſideration ſome affairs relating to Ireland. Colonel Michelborne, who had been joint governor of Londonderry with doctor Walker, during the ſiege of that place, petitioned the houſe in behalf of himſelf, his officers and ſoldiers, to whom a conſiderable ſum was due for ſubſiſtence; and humbly intreated the members to procure them ſuch relief, as to them in their great wiſdom, ſhould ſeem proper. The commons, convinced of the truth of this repreſentation, recommended their caſe to his majeſty, with encomiums on their gallant behaviour. But no preſent relief was given them, though the king engaged to take the matter into his conſideration.

An attempt having been made to prove that Ireland was independent of the parliament of England, in a pamphlet publiſhed by William Molyneux, a gentleman of Dublin; a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. Upon the report of the committee, it was reſolved, that the book was of dangerous conſequence, as it tended to leſſen the dependence of Ireland upon England, to the imperial crown of which it was unalterably annexed. They therefore preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give effectual orders for preventing any ſuch encroachments for the future, as well as the pernicious conſequences of what was paſt, by puniſhing, and diſcountenancing thoſe, who had been guilty of ſuch pernicious attempts. His majeſty promiſed his compliance.

A ſociety for the reformation of manners was now begun, under his majeſty's countenance and encouragement. Conſiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worſhip, and adminiſter the ſacrament every Sunday.

The king prorogued the parliament on the third day of July, thanking them in a ſhort ſpeech for the many teſtimonies of their favour he had received; and in two days after the prorogation, it was diſſolved.

The health of Charles II. of Spain being ſo greatly impaired, that his death was daily expected, king William determined to ſettle the ſucceſſion to his throne. Charles had been lately reduced to extremity, and his ſituation was no ſooner known in France, than Lewis detached a ſquadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the plate fleet, in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die before its arrival. His catholic majeſty recovered from his diſorder, contrary to the expectation of his people; but continued in a precarious ſtate of health.

Under pretence of retiring for a while from public buſineſs, William embarked for Holland in the latter end of July; but his real intention was to treat with the French king, remote from the obſervation of thoſe, who might have penetrated into the nature of his negotiation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence; and as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been appointed governor to the duke of Glouceſter. His majeſty at his departure left ſealed orders with the miniſtry, directing, that ſixteen thouſand men ſhould be retained in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the ſtanding army was limited to ten thouſand. He alledged, that the apprehenſion of freſh trouble, which might ariſe at the death of his catholic majeſty induced him to tranſgreſs this limitation,

tion, and hoped that the new parliament would be more favourable. This proceedure gave room for his enemies to be very free with his character in his abſence.

When William had given audience to ſeveral ambaſſadors at the Hague, and attended at the aſſembly of the ſtates general, he retired to his palace at Loo, where he was viſited by count Tallard, the French miniſter, who had inſtructions to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The earl of Portland, by his majeſty's orders, had communicated to ſecretary Vernon, the principal conditions that Lewis propoſed; he himſelf wrote a letter to lord chancellor Somers, deſiring his advice with regard to the propoſitions, and full power under the great ſeal, with blanks to be filled up occaſionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Montague, who conſulted with the chancellor and ſecretary upon the ſubject, and the chancellor wrote a letter to the king, containing the iſſue of their joint deliberation; but the firſt partition was ſigned by the earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, before the letter came to the hands of his majeſty.

The ſubſtance of the agreement between the contracting powers was as follows: that in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spaniſh monarchy, and ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, all places on the ſide of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biſcay, on the other ſide of the province of Guipuſcoa; with all the ſhips, veſſels, and ſtores, ſhould devolve upon the dauphin, in conſideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which with all its other dependencies, ſhould deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianſhip of his father; that the dutchy of Milan ſhould be ſettled on the emperor's ſecond ſon the archduke Charles; that this treaty ſhould be communicated to the emperor, and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England, and the ſtates general; that in caſe the elector of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the elector and his other heir ſhould ſucceed him in theſe dominions; and ſhould the archduke reject the dutchy of Milan, they agreed it ſhould be ſequeſtered, and governed by the prince of Vaudemont. Lewis, who had made a practice of ſacrificing honour and conſcience to his pride and ambition, foreſaw that he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his deſigns upon Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy againſt him. He therefore determined to amuſe him with a treaty, in which he ſhould ſeem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. The plan ſucceeded; the king of England lent a willing ear to his propoſals, which, in violation of all laws human and divine, tended, without conſent of the natives, to divide a kingdom from itſelf.

Contrary winds and foul weather having detained his majeſty beyond his intended time of ſtaying, he did not arrive in England till the third of December, when he found that a new parliament had been choſen and prorogued on account of his abſence. Though the majority of members were attached to the new eſtabliſhment, many of them had imbibed ſuch jealouſy of the court, during the former unpopular reign, that they ſeemed not to have been much devoted to the perſon of their ſovereign; yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttleton for their ſpeaker, ſeemed to preſage a peaceable ſeſſion.

His majeſty in his ſpeech to the two houſes on the tenth of December, obſerved, that the ſafety, honour, and happineſs of the kingdoms, would in a great meaſure depend on the ſtrength which they ſhould reſolve to maintain by ſea and land. The members of the preſent parliament were ſo provoked at the king's preſuming to tranſgreſs an act, to which he had given the royal aſſent, that they inſtantly reſolved, that no forces ſhould be kept in pay but natives of theſe kingdoms, and that all above ſeven thouſand in England, and twelve thouſand in Ireland, ſhould be immediately diſbanded.

His majeſty being by this vote deprived

both of his favourite Dutch guards, and his regiments of French refugees, who had ſerved him with uncommon fidelity; he was ſo ſenſibly affected with it, that he threatened to abandon the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech, which he intended to have delivered on the occaſion; but was diverted from his purpoſe by his miniſtry and confidents; and reſolved to paſs the bill, by which he had been ſo much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal aſſent, he went to the houſe of peers, where, having ſent for the commons, he told them, that though he might juſtly complain of the harſh treatment in being deprived of his guards which had attended him in all his fortunes; yet as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation, than any diſtruſt or jealouſy between him and his parliament, he was come to paſs the bill according to their deſire. At the ſame time, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, he declared it as his opinion, that the nation was left too much expoſed, and that it was incumbent upon them to provide ſuch a ſtrength as might be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. They were ſo molified by this inſtance of condeſcenſion, that they preſented an addreſs, in which they thanked him for this freſh mark of his royal goodneſs, and ſolemnly aſſured him, that they would defend his perſon and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. His majeſty hoped by the tenor of this addreſs, that his Dutch guards might have been ſpared to him; but the Dutchmen were carried home, and the king obliged to ſubmit to the letter of the law.

The great point of diſbanding the army being effected, the commons voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and a proportionable fleet for the ſecurity of the kingdom; and granted one million four hundred and eighty four thouſand pounds for the ſervices of the year, to be raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings in the pounds upon lands, perſonal eſtates, penſioners and officers.

The earl of Oxford, who was treaſurer of the navy, and one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, was the object of the reſentment of this parliament. The commons drew up an addreſs, complaining of ſome important articles of miſmanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl reſigned his employments to avoid a farther proſecution of the matter.

*A. D.* 1699. His majeſty in his ſpeech on cloſing the ſeſſion on the fourth of May, appeared diſſatisfied with the commons for their having neglected to conſider ſome points, which he had recommended to their attention, and the parliament was prorogued to the firſt of June. In a little time after the prorogation, the king appointed a regency, and on the ſecond of June embarked for Holland.

Notwithſtanding the difficulties and diſcouragements which the Scottiſh company had underwent, they reſolved, if poſſible, to carry their ſcheme into execution; and accordingly, in the beginning of this year, they effected a ſettlement on the Iſthmus of Darien, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, and began to erect a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh.

William, having learnt that the greater part of their proviſions were conſumed before they ſailed from Scotland, determined to put an effectual ſtop to their proceedings; and therefore diſpatched orders to the governors of all the Engliſh colonies, forbidding them, under the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with the Scottiſh planters, or aſſiſt them in any ſhape with arms, ammunition or proviſion. The firſt adventurers being thus deprived of all means of aſſiſtance, were obliged to relinquiſh the coaſt. A ſecond recruit of men and proviſions were ſent thither from Scotland; but one of their veſſels laden with proviſions being burned by accident, they were likewiſe forced to depart. Another reinforcement at length arrived, and being better provided than either of the former, they might have maintained their ground; but factions among themſelves prevented their providing for their ſafety, and at length, they were glad to give up their proſpects, and capitulate with the Spaniards, who had advanced againſt them.

This put a period to thoſe hopes of gain by

by which the Scots had been animated, and in the proſpect of which they had advanced a greater ſum of money than they had ever advanced on any other occaſion. They were now not only diſappointed in their expectation of wealth and affluence; but a great number of their families were abſolutely ruined by the miſcarriage of the deſign, which they imputed ſolely to the conduct of king William; and it is rather extraordinary that an open rebellion was not the conſequence of the furious reſentment with which the whole kingdom was inſpired.

During theſe proceedings, William was amuſing himſelf at his palace of Loo, where he was viſited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long intimately correſponded. During his reſidence in this place, the earl of Portland, and the grand penſionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French ambaſſador, count Tallard, upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, but no alteration was at this time made in the late treaty of partition. His majeſty, having ſettled with the ſtates general the number and ſtrength of the Dutch fleet, embarked for England, on the ſixteenth of October, and next day arrived at Margate, from whence he immediately repaired to Kenſington. The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king in his ſpeech to both houſes, adviſed a further proviſion for the ſafety of the kingdom, by ſea and land, and the repair of ſhips and fortifications; exhorted the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, diſcharge the national debt, and provide the neceſſary ſupplies. He aſſured them of his reſolution to encourage virtue and puniſh vice, and that he would decline no difficulties nor dangers where the happineſs of his people might be concerned. He then concluded with theſe words. "Since, therefore, our aims are only "for the general good, let us act with con- "fidence in one another, which will not fail, "with the bleſſing of God, to make me a "happy king, and you a great and flouriſh- "ing people."

A remonſtrance, inſtead of an addreſs, was now preſented by the commons, informing his majeſty that a jealouſy and diſguſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection, and that they deſired he would ſhew marks of high diſpleaſure towards all perſons, who had preſumed to miſrepreſent their proceedings, and hoped he would treat as his worſt enemies all who ſhould attempt to entertain him with ſuch calumnies for the future.

The colonies in North America having been greatly troubled by pirates during the war; one Kidd, maſter of a ſloop, undertook to ſuppreſs them, provided the government would furniſh him with a ſhip of thirty guns well manned. The board of admiralty declaring that ſuch a number of ſeamen could not be ſpared from the public ſervice; Kidd was furniſhed by the private ſubſcription of the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earls of Romney, Oxford and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harriſon, and colonel Levingſton of New York. Kidd being thus equipped, ſet ſail from Plymouth, but inſtead of cruizing on the coaſt of America, and apprehending the pirates, he engaged in the ſame ſcandalous practices; and afterwards arriving on the coaſt of New York, was ſeized together with his men by lord Bellamont. His lordſhip tranſmitted an account of the matter to the ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring he would ſend for the priſoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for puniſhing piracy with death, and the people in general favoured the practice. The Rocheſter man of war was accordingly diſpatched for that purpoſe, but was driven back to Plymouth by ſtreſs of weather, in a very ſhattered condition; and the malecontents took occaſion, from this incident, to inſinuate, that the miniſtry intended to ſcreen the pirates from juſtice, and wiſhed to connive at the infamous practices of piracy.

The king having diſpoſed of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, agreeable to his own will, the commons began to take that matter into conſideration. The commiſſioners appointed to examine this affair, were Anneſley, Hamilton, Trenchard, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewſter, and Sir Richard Leving. The firſt four were actu-

ated

ated by all the virulence of faction, and the other three were ſecretly guided by miniſterial influence. They began their enquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with ſuch ſeverity as ſeemed to flow rather from reſentment to the court, than from a love of juſtice and abhorrence of corruption. They particularly injured his majeſty in the opinion of his ſubjects, by expoſing his partiality for Mrs. Villiers, now counteſs of Orkney, by the manner in which they examined the grant of an eſtate which the king had given her.

A bill of reſumption being framed and paſſed by the commons, they directed an account of the whole tranſaction to be printed and publiſhed for their vindication, and reſolved, that the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants by any member now of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counſellor, in this or any former reign, to his own uſe and benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanor. As the members of the lower houſe were apprehenſive, that this bill would be ſtrongly oppoſed by thoſe of the upper, they tacked it to the money bill; ſo that the one could not be rejected, without defeating the other. The lords propoſed ſome alterations, the commons refuſed to give their conſent, and ordered a liſt of the privy-council to be laid before them.

Directions being given that all ſtrangers ſhould leave their houſe, and the doors be ſhut, that no member might go forth, they took into conſideration the report of the Iriſh forfeitures, with a liſt of the privy counſellors, and a motion was made, to addreſs his majeſty, to remove lord chancellor Somers from his preſence and councils for ever. This was, however, carried in the negative by a great majority. The king conſidered this bill as an invaſion of his prerogative, an inſult on his perſon, and an injury to his friends and ſervants, and at firſt determined to hazard the conſequences of refuſing the royal aſſent; but was diverted from his purpoſe, by the remonſtrances of thoſe, in whom he chiefly confided; nevertheleſs, he could not diſſemble his reſentment; his temper grew viſibly worſe, and from this circumſtance, his enemies employed the moſt inveterate malice to blacken his character.

Though the commons had not ſucceeded in their attempt againſt the chancellor, they determined to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the eſtates of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but before the addreſſes could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers, and prorogued the parliament to the twenty-third day of May, having ſigned the bills that were ready for his aſſent.

*A. D.* 1700. The commons having made proper enquiry into the conduct of Kidd, during the courſe of this ſeſſion, prepared a bill more effectually to ſuppreſs piracy, which paſſed into a law; and underſtanding afterwards, that Kidd was brought over to England, preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring that he might not be tried, diſcharged, or pardoned, till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and his majeſty complied with their requeſt. A bill was alſo brought in, that no perſon born after the twenty-fifth day of March next enſuing, being a papiſt, ſhould be capable of inheriting any title of honour or eſtate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that no papiſt ſhould be capable of purchaſing any lands or tenements, either in his own, or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for him. This bill was vehemently oppoſed in the houſe of lords; notwithſtanding which, it was finally carried by a great majority, and at laſt received the royal ſanction; but little attention was afterwards paid to it, as it wanted ſeveral clauſes neceſſary to enforce the execution of it.

Count Tallard, and the earls of Portland and Jerſey, employed themſelves during the laſt ſeſſion, in the negotiation for a ſecond partition treaty. The contracting parties agreed, that in caſe his catholic majeſty ſhould die without iſſue, the dauphin ſhould poſſeſs for himſelf and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples, and Sicily, the iſlands of St. Stephano,

phano, Porto, Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the dutchies of Lorraine, and Barre; in exchange for which the duke of Lorraine ſhould receive the dutchy of Milan; but that the country of Biche ſhould remain in ſovereignty to the prince of Vaudemont; that the archduke Charles ſhould inherit the kingdom of Spain, and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in caſe of his dying without iſſue, it ſhould devolve to ſome other child of the emperor, excepting him who was to ſucceed as emperor or king of the Romans; that this monarchy ſhould never deſcend to a king of France, or dauphin; for the emperor's conſideration whether he would accede to the treaty, three months ſhould be allowed.

Having appointed a regency to act in his abſence, the king ſet ſail for Holland in the beginning of July; and on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, the young duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of ſeventeen, whom the princeſs Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the Engliſh nation, not only on account of his promiſing talents and affable diſpoſition, but alſo as fatal diſputes might happen in conſequence of the ſucceſſion being left doubtful.

His death, however, was matter of triumph to the Jacobites, who conſidered it as an event which had removed the chief bar to the intereſt of the prince of Wales, but the proteſtants turned their eyes upon the princeſs Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. The preſent ſtate of affairs, however, in England, afforded but an uncomfortable proſpect. The ſucceſſion was now aſcertained, the jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprizing, and elate, and began to exert their influence throughout the kingdom. It was hinted that the princeſs Anne had ſent a private meſſage to her father, and England was again threatened with bloodſhed and deſolation.

The partition treaty, as ſoon as underſtood, was condemned by the ſenſible part of the kingdom. They firſt of all complained, that ſuch an important affair ſhould not have been concluded without the advice of parliament. They obſerved that the ſcheme was unjuſt, and the execution of it hazardous; that in concerting the terms, the maritime powers ſeemed to have acted as partizans of France. All theſe exceptions were diffuſed by the malecontents, ſo that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of diſcontent, while the prince of Wales's ſucceeding to the crown, became more and more the ſerious object of the tory faction.

In this perplexing ſituation the king found affairs on his return to England, and ſoon after he received advice, that the king of Spain was actually dead. Charles had by his laſt will declared the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, ſole heir to the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordered that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles, and his heirs; in failure of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity. It ſtill remains a doubt, whether this will was actually ſigned by the king of Spain, or was only a forgery; but this much is certain, that a new ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation was the conſequence of the public notification of the teſtament at the French court.

By the intrigues and policy of Lewis the whole matter appears to have been concerted; and he was now determined to conclude the cheat with the ſame dexterity with which it was begun. After the will was accepted, Lewis cloſeted the duke of Anjou, to whom he ſaid in the preſence of the marquis de Rios; "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a "king. The grandees demand you, the "people wiſh for you, and I give my con-"ſent. Remember only you are a prince of "France. I recommend to you to love your "people, to gain their affection by the lenity "of your government, and render yourſelf "worthy of the throne you are about to aſ-"cend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheleſs, the duke of Orleans and his ſon proteſted againſt the will becauſe

the arch duke was placed next in ſucceſſion to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as deſcendants of Anne of Auſtria. The emperor loudly exclaimed againſt the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partion, and threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The Spaniards gave themſelves up to the protection of Lewis, ſenſible that they were incapable of defending their own dominions.

The king of England in the mean time, affected to be totally indifferent about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, with a view to conceal his reſentment, until he ſhould have ſounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and ſeen how far he could rely on his new miniſtry. His chief favourite was the earl of Rocheſter, who had undertaken for the tories, and was declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, lord Tankerville keeper of the privy ſeal, and Sir Charles Hedges ſecretary of ſtate; but the management was entruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto oppoſed the meaſures of the court with equal virulence and ability. Theſe new miniſters, conſcious that they had intereſt ſufficient to procure a majority in the preſent parliament, prevailed on the king to diſſolve it by proclamation; which was accordingly done, and the ſixth of February was appointed for the meeting of a new parliament.

*A. D.* 1701. When the parliament met agreeable to the ſummons in the writs on the ſixth of February, it was prorogued to the tenth day of the ſame month, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker by a great majority. The king in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the great loſs which the nation had ſuſtained in the death of the duke of Glouceſter, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome farther proviſion for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and that the death of the late king of Spain had produced ſuch an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as required their moſt ſerious deliberation. He then, as uſual, demanded ſupplies for the enſuing year; reminded them of the deficiencies, and public debt; recommended to their regard the ſtrength of the nation, naval, and military; exhorted them to unanimity in their proceedings, and to employ the poor by giving all poſſible encouragement to commerce.

The intereſt of their country, and the liberties of Europe, ſeem leſs to have engaged the attention of this parliament than the diſputes of factions. A great body of the commons had actually reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would acknowledge the king of Spain; and ſuch was the diſpoſition of the houſe, that it would in all probability have been carried by a conſiderable majority, had it not been for a bold and lucky expreſſion of one Mr. Monkton; who in the heat of his declamation againſt this meaſure, ſaid, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. The members, alarmed at the inſinuation, dropped the meaſure, although there was no affinity between the two ſubjects.

In anſwer to the king's ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion, which they now took into conſideration, they aſſured his majeſty, that they would defend his perſon and government, and take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, and the preſervation of the proteſtant religion. The king thanked them for this mark of their affection, and at the ſame time requeſted their advice reſpecting the ſeveral articles contained in a memorial which he had received from the general.

By this memorial his majeſty was informed, that the ſtates had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; that France had agreed to a negotiation, in which they might ſtipulate the neceſſary conditions for ſecuring the peace of Europe, and that they were firmly reſolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majeſty and the other allies; the commons alſo deſired permiſſion to inſpect the treaties between England and Holland.

When theſe papers were peruſed, they agreed upon and preſented an addreſs, deſiring the king to enter into ſuch negotiations with the ſtates general and other potentates, as might moſt effectually conduce to the mutual

tual ſafety of Great Britain and the United provinces, as well as to the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and aſſuring him of their ſupport and aſſiſtance in performance of the treaty ſubſiſting between England and the ſtates general. The king declared his approbation of the addreſs; and the commons afterwards voted, that proviſion ſhould be made from time to time for making good the principal and intereſt due upon all parliamentary funds; and afterwards paſſed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called the exchequer bills. This act having paſſed the houſe of lords on the ſixth day of March, received the royal aſſent on the thirteenth.

The affections of the people in general being entirely alienated from the late king James, and his majeſty having, in his ſpeech, moſt earneſtly urged the propriety of eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; the commons thought they could no longer, either with decency or ſafety avoid taking the matter into immediate conſideration. The manner, however, in which it was conducted, diſcovered but little ſincerity, and plainly proved, that with regard to the commons, it was rather the effect of neceſſity than choice. The affair was delayed from day to day for a conſiderable time; and at laſt, Mr. Harley propoſed, that previous to the nomination of any perſon to ſucceed to the crown, certain preliminary conditions ſhould be ſettled, in order to ſecure the privileges of the people. This propoſal produced ſeveral deliberations on the ſubject, which ended in the following reſolutions: that whoever ſhould hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhould join in communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; that in caſe the crown, and imperial dignity of this realm, ſhall hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native of the kingdom of England, this nation ſhall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of the parliament; that no perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, be permitted to go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament.

Theſe preliminary articles being agreed on, it was reſolved, that the princeſs Sophia, dutcheſs dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the proteſtant line, after his majeſty and the princeſs, and the heirs of their bodies reſpectively; and that the further limitation of the crown be to the ſaid princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants. The earl of Macclesfield was appointed to acquaint the princeſs, that the act of ſettlement had paſſed in her favour.

A regard to the intereſt of the late king being univerſally imputed to the tories, they exerted themſelves zealouſly on this occaſion, in order to wipe off the aſperſion, and inſinuate themſelves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the ſequel they ſhould be able to reſtrain the nation from engaging too deeply in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of diſaffection to the preſent government.

Mr. Stanhope, the ambaſſador at the Hague, was, at this time, commiſſioned to treat with the miniſters of France and Spain, agreeable to the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament; and in conſequence of the orders he received, he inſiſted on the following conditions; that for the ſecurity of England, the cities of Oſtend, and Nieuport, ſhould be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majeſty; that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, ſhould ever be yielded, or transferred to the crown of France on any pretence whatever; that the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhould retain all the privileges rights and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majeſty; as alſo, all ſuch immunities, rights, and franchiſes, as the ſubjects of France or any other power, either poſſeſs for the preſent, or may enjoy for the future; that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain ſhould be renewed; and that a treaty formed

on theſe demands ſhould be guarantied by ſuch powers, as one or other of the contractors ſhould ſollicit or perſuade to undertake that office. Demands alſo of the like nature, reſpecting the moſt conſiderable places in the Netherlands were made by the ſtates general; but ſo extravagant were theſe demands in the opinion of count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, that he ſaid, they could not have been higher, if his maſter had loſt four ſucceſſive battles. He declared, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty would withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands, as ſoon as the king of Spain ſhould have forces of his own ſufficient to guard the country; but with reſpect to the other articles, he could give no other anſwer, than, that he would immediately tranſmit them to Verſailles. Lewis affected to reſent the propoſals, as highly arrogant, as well as a ſure mark of the hoſtile intention of the allies. He refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick; and it is affirmed, that he employed perſons in England to draw over the members of parliament to his intereſt, in order to prevent oppoſition from that quarter.

Inſtead of reſenting, as they ought to have done, the treachery of the French king, the Engliſh parliament began to wreak their vengeance on all thoſe who had any hand in concluding the treaty of partition. The debates in the lower houſe on this ſubject, were carried on with ſuch extreme violence, that ſeveral members tranſgreſſed the bounds of common decency and decorum. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made of the Spaniſh territories, to a robbery on the highway, and Mr. Howe did not ſcruple to ſay it was a felonious treaty; an expreſſion which the king reſented to ſuch a degree, that he is reported to have ſaid, that nothing but the conſideration of the difference of their rank, ſhould have prevented him from demanding perſonal ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to his honour. However, after long debates and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, they agreed to an addreſs, in which they diſapproved of the partition treaty, as a ſcheme inconſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the intereſt of Great Britain. They humbly beſought his majeſty, that for the future, he would, in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural born ſubjects of known probity and fortune, and that he would conſtitute a council of ſuch perſons, to whom he might impart all affairs, which ſhould any way concern him and his dominions. They aſſerted, that they were, from their knowledge of the country, better qualified to adviſe his majeſty, than foreigners could poſſibly be, reſpecting the true intereſts of his kingdom; that they had exhibited ſuch repeated inſtances of their duty and affection, as muſt convince his majeſty of their zeal for his ſervice; that he was well acquainted with perſons fit to be employed in all his ſecret and arduous affairs; and laſtly, as the French king appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they adviſed his majeſty in future negotiations with that prince, to proceed with ſuch caution, as might imply a real ſecurity. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new miniſters, but he plainly perceived that their principal view was to make him dependent on their parliamentary intereſt, and counteract his moſt favourite meaſures.

The tory party prevailing in the houſe of commons, having in vain traduced, and even impeached the principal of the whig miniſters, endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two houſes, by claiming a variety of unuſual privileges; which, though ſometimes granted in extraordinary emergencies, could never be admitted in common caſes. They affected to cavil at an expreſſion of lord Haverſham, who ſaid, that they were guilty of partiality, in accuſing ſome lords and ſcreening others, who were equally chargeable with the ſame miſdemeanor. But no proſecution being carried on, he and other impeached lords were diſcharged.

The partiality and injuſtice of the proceedings of the commons againſt the impeached lords was but too obvious. Their charge was to the laſt degree frivolous, and their conduct on this occaſion was ſo flagrant, as to attract the notice of the common people,

and

and inſpire the generality of the nation with diſguſt.

As the people in general began to clamour for a war with France; the commons, who dreaded the reſentment of the populace, preſented an addreſs, in which they promiſed to ſupport his majeſty in the alliance he ſhould contract with the emperor, and other ſtates, in order to curb the exorbitant power of France. They likewiſe proceeded upon the ſupply, and voted funds for raiſing about two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to defray the expence of the enſuing war. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved, that ten thouſand troops ſhould be tranſported from Ireland to Holland. The funds were to be ſupplied by a land tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the exciſe, ſo as to bring down the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſand pounds; as the duke of Glouceſter was dead, and James's queen refuſed her allowance. They paſſed a bill, that, during the prorogation, privilege of parliament ſhould be no defence againſt legal proſecutions, and their laſt conteſt with the lords, was concerning a bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts.

The parties named for this buſineſs being chiefly violent tories, were wholly diſapproved bythe peers; when, therefore, the bill was ſent up to the lords, they made ſome amendments which the commons rejected. The former animoſity was beginning to revive between the two houſes, when the king interrupted their diſputes, by putting an end to the ſeſſion, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public ſervice, and exhorted them to a diſcharge of their duties, in their ſeveral counties. He was no doubt extremely pleaſed with ſuch an iſſue of a ſeſſion, that had begun with a very unfavourable aſpect. His health now daily declined; but not to diſcourage the allies from engaging in the confederacy, he carefully concealed his indiſpoſition. He conferred the command of the ten thouſand troops deſtined for Holland, upon the earl of Marlborough, whom he likewiſe appointed his plenipotentiary to the ſtates general; a man endued with the various requiſites to ſhine in the cabinet or the field, and whoſe whole future conduct proved the propriety of his majeſty's choice.

A regency being appointed, the king ſet ſail for Holland, in the beginning of July, and on his arrival at the Hague, aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the ſtates general, whom he addreſſed in a very affectionate ſpeech, and was anſwered with great cordiality. Soon after which he made a progreſs round the frontiers, to viſit the towns and garriſons, and gave the neceſſary orders for the protection of the ſeveral places.

In the interim, d'Avaux, the French miniſter, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the ſtates from his maſter; who complained that they had interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected; but at the ſame time aſſured them, that it wholly depended on themſelves whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republic. This letter was accompanied by an inſolent memorial, to which the ſtates general returned a very ſpirited anſwer. As they were now convinced of the hoſtile intentions of France, they hired auxiliaries, increaſed their army, repaired their fortifications, and took every neceſſary precaution for their defence.

The conduct of their new maſter did not meet with the approbation of the Spaniards; though all Europe was intereſted in humbling the power of the Bourbon family, the emperor was more immediately affected by the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the French court, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms, and with that view raiſed an army, the command of which he beſtowed on prince Eugene. That general entered Italy by Vancenza, paſſed the Adige near Corpi, where he obtained a victory over a party of the French.

The duke of Savoy, aſſiſted by the generals Catinat and Vaudemont, commanded the enemy, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement. Towards the end of the campaign, the prince took poſſeſſion of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itſelf,

the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and kept the field the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the moſt undaunted courage, indefatigable vigilance, and conſummate prudence. In January he had nearly ſurpriſed Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct: they forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered. Villeroy the governor being wakened by the noiſe, ran out into the ſtreet, where he was taken, and the town muſt have inevitably been reduced, had prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, he had ordered to advance from Parmeſan, to ſecure the bridge; which poſt being previouſly poſſeſſed by an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice, the prince was compelled to retire, taking Villeroy with him.

The confederate fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke though they came to no action, kept all their neighbours in awe, during the courſe of this ſummer.

In the interim, his Britannic majeſty was employed in perfecting the alliances, between the emperor, England, and Holland; and a treaty was accordingly concluded at the Hague on the ſeventh of September. Several animadverſions were made upon this treaty, particularly in a tract, ſuppoſed to be written by the lord Somers, who endeavoured to prove, that the liberties of Europe could be no way ſecured, but by expelling the duke of Anjou from the throne of Spain, and eſtabliſhing that crown in the houſe of Auſtria.

The late king James, after a tedious indiſpoſition, expired at St. Germain's on the ſixteenth day of September. James had evinced a mind better qualified to bear adverſity than proſperity. Since the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for recovering his throne, he had laid aſide all thoughts of worldly affairs, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of a future ſtate; though he could not prevent the buſy genius of his queen from forming new plans of reſtoration; he was always beſt pleaſed when wholly detached from ſuch chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diverſion, but religion his conſtant care. Nothing could be more harmleſs than his retired life, in the courſe of which he ſubjected himſelf to uncommon ſeverities. He paid an annual viſit to the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper ſeemed to have vaniſhed with his greatneſs. He became affable, kind, and eaſy to all his dependents; and his religion appears in ſome meaſure to have improved the virtues of his heart, though it certainly impaired the faculties of his mind. In his laſt illneſs, he took no notice of the legitimacy of his ſon, an omiſſion that gave riſe to various conjectures. He died with great ſigns of devotion, declaring that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, and all his enemies. He was privately interred, agreeable to his deſire in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines at Paris.

At the motion of the dauphin and madam de Maintenon, the pretended prince of Wales was immediately proclaimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated as ſuch at the court of Verſailles. His title was likewiſe recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwic, to complain of this manifeſt violation. At the ſame time, even without an audience of leave, he directed the earl of Mancheſter to leave Paris.

A manifeſto was now diſperſed through all the courts of Europe, in which the French king affirmed, that he had infringed no article of the treaty, in acknowledging the prince of Wales as king of England.

In the mean time, the lords juſtices, the city of London, and the ſeveral counties and corporations of England, drew up addreſſes to William, expreſſive of the higheſt reſentment at the French king's preſumption, and aſſuring his majeſty, that they would at all times exert their utmoſt abilities for the preſervation of his perſon, and the defence of his government, in oppoſition to all invaders of

of his crown and dignity. Theſe addreſſes were tranſmitted to the king, who was ſtill in Holland; and who, having now finiſhed his treaties of alliance, reſolved to return to his own kingdom, but was detained by a ſevere malady, which though he at laſt overcame, impaired his conſtitution to ſuch a degree, that he plainly perceived his end was approaching. Having enjoined the earl of Portland not to mention the circumſtance till after his death, he told him he had no expectation of living through another ſummer.

His majeſty, on his arrival in England, on the fourth of November, found the kingdom torn to pieces by the violence of factions. As the commons in the laſt ſeſſion had diſcovered their principles in a plain and alarming manner, the parliament was diſſolved, and a new one appointed to meet, on the thirteenth of December.

Sir Thomas Littleton was recommended by the court, at the meeting of parliament, as ſpeaker to the houſe; but Mr. Harley, who was conſidered as the chief leader of the former faction, was again choſen. His majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech that does honour to his memory, and ſtands recorded with decorations, in the Engliſh, Dutch, and French languages. In this memorable ſpeech, he expreſſed his hope, that they were come together, determined to avoid diſputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cauſe. He ſaid he ſhould think it a particular bleſſing to England, if they were as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy animoſities, which divided and weakened them, as he was diſpoſed to make all his ſubjects ſafe and eaſy; even thoſe who had committed the higheſt offences againſt his perſon. At the ſame time he conjured them to diſappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always ſhewn, and always would ſhew, how deſirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he deſired they would lay aſide all parties and diviſions; ſo that no diſtinction might be known amongſt them. He concluded with affirming, that by their preſent behaviour, it would be ſeen whether they were really in earneſt to have England hold the balance of power, and be at the head of the proteſtant intereſt.

His majeſty's ſpeech met with the applauſe ſo juſtly due to its merit. The houſes of parliament preſented ſeparate addreſſes, in which they expreſſed their reſentment of the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended prince of Wales for king of England. They aſſured his majeſty they were ſenſible of the indignity offered to his ſacred perſon, and were determined to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, againſt the attempts of the pretended prince of Wales and all other perſons whatſoever; and with earneſt prayers for his long and proſperous reign they concluded their addreſs.

An unanimous reſolution was taken in the houſe of commons, on the ninth day of January, permitting a bill to be brought in for ſecuring his majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line; and for extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors. They then reſolved on a further addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to inſert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace ſhould be made with France, until his majeſty and the nation had received ſatisfaction for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. An unanimous and ardent zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment now diſtinguiſhed both houſes. The commons introduced a bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, which, being ſent up to the other houſe, paſſed with an additional clauſe of attainder againſt the queen who acted as regent. Strong oppoſition, however, was made to this clauſe; it being alledged, that no evidence could be brought to make good the charge; but the fact was ſo notorious, that it was deemed equal to the moſt legal proof. The bill for attainting the queen was neglected in the houſe of commons, after the lords had paſſed it.

A moſt valuable and public ſpirited ſcheme for

for an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, which was propoſed at this time, failed, through the unhappy diviſions which reigned in the north. The earl of Nottingham had made a propoſal for this purpoſe, who, when the bill of abjuration paſſed in the houſe of peers, declared, that though he differed from the majority, in many particulars, relating to the bill, he was yet a friend to the deſign; and in order to ſecure a proteſtant ſucceſſion, thought an union of the whole iſland abſolutely neceſſary. He therefore moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king to diſſolve the parliament of Scotland, and to ſummon a new parliament, which might treat about the union of the two kingdoms. But the ferment raiſed in Scotland by the diſappointment of the Darien enterprize, was ſtill ſo great, that it was deemed hazardous to riſque the calling of a new parliament, at ſuch a critical juncture. A more favourable criſis was therefore hoped for, and the plan laid by for the preſent.

A plan for reducing the exorbitant power of France, had been projected by William; but he did not live to ſee it put in execution. His conſtitution was by this time almoſt exhauſted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exerciſe.

As his majeſty was riding from Kenſington to Hampton-Court, on the twenty-firſt of February, his horſe fell under him, and he was thrown with ſuch violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants carried him to Hampton-Court, where the bone was ſet by Ronjat, his ſerjeant ſurgeon. In the evening he returned to Kenſington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been diſ-joined by the jolting of the carriage, were re-placed under the inſpection of Bidloo his phyſician. He ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovery, till the firſt day of March, when an inflammation appeared on his knee, accompanied with great pain and weakneſs.

On the ſecond day of March, the royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, to ſuch bills as had paſſed both houſes, namely, the act of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales; and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration, ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath.

His majeſty was ſo far recovered of his lameneſs by the ſeventh day of the month, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery at Kenſington; but ſitting down on a couch and falling aſleep, he was ſeized with a ſhivering, which terminated into a fever and diarrhæa. He was attended by Sir Richard Blackmore and ſeveral other eminent phyſicians; but their preſcriptions proved ineffectual. On the ninth he granted another commiſſion for paſſing a bill for the malt-tax, and an act of abjuration; but being through weakneſs incapable of writing his own name, he applied a ſtamp prepared for that purpoſe, in preſence of the lord keeper and the clerks of parliament. The earl of Albemarle, arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private, on the poſture of affairs; but he received his information with unuſual coldneſs, and ſaid "*Je tire vers ma fin*, I draw "towards my end." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderneſs, ſaying, "I know that you and the other "learned phyſicians, have done all that your "art can do for my relief; but finding all "means ineffectual, I ſubmit." He was attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Saliſbury, who on Sunday morning adminiſtered the Sacrament. He thanked lord Overkirk for his long and faithful ſervices, he delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his cloſet and eſcrutore, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the earl of Portland, who not arriving till after he was ſpeechleſs, he could only expreſs the warmth of his friendſhip, by graſping his hand, and preſſing it with extraordinary ardor to his heart.

His majeſty departed this life on the tenth of March, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were then in waiting, no ſooner perceived that the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to take off from his left arm a black ribbon, which tied next to his ſkin a gold ring, with

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ſome hair of the late queen Mary, expreſſing the tender regard he had for her memory. The body lay in ſtate at Kenſington for ſome days, and on the twelfth of April, it was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, among his royal progenitors.

His majeſty having committed a will to the care of M. Schuylemburg, it was opened at the Hague in the beginning of May; by which it appeared that he had declared his couſin the prince Friſon of Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Frieſland, his ſole and univerſal heir, and appointed the ſtates general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he bequeathed to the earl of Albemarle, two hundred thouſand guilders, together with the lordſhip of Breevert.

His majeſty was of a middle ſtature, he had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, ſolemn aſpect. William was a man of few words, his converſation was dry, and his manner rather forbidding, except in battle, when his deportment was free, full of ſpirit, life, and animation. From an immature birth, he derived a languid conſtitution; but by the aids of temperance and exerciſe, underwent much fatigue both in the field and in the cabinet. He poſſeſſed a retentive memory and ſolid judgment; in conſequence of which, his plans, though ſeldom remarkably ſucceſsful, were never ineffectual. In fortitude and equanimity he rivalled the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity, and by natural ſagacity, ſupplied the defects in his education, which had been much neglected. He was a zealous aſſertor of the reformed religion, and recommended a conformity to its ſacred laws, by his own exemplary conduct and behaviour. His attachment to his countrymen the Dutch, an attachment, for which, as a man, he cannot be thought blameable, tended mutually to excite in him and his Engliſh ſubjects, jealouſies of each other, which were ſometimes prejudicial to public affairs.

He was certainly a prince of great ambition, and conſtantly aſpired to the honour of acting as umpire in all conteſts of Europe; but he was a ſteady friend to the the natural rights and liberties of mankind, and exerted the moſt heroic efforts in the deliverance of our forefathers, from the dreadful bondage of civil and religious ſlavery.

He bravely oppoſed, and nobly checked the growing power of the French monarchy, which ſeemed ready to involve the ſons of freedom in one general thraldom. In one word, he was a great monarch and a good man.

# ANNE.

*A. D.* 1702. ANNE princeſs of Denmark, ſucceeded William as ſovereign of England. She was in the thirty-eighth year of her age when ſhe aſcended the throne. All parties ſeemed pleaſed with her elevation; even the Jacobites began to conceive hopes, that, as ſhe would probably leave no heirs of her body, ſhe might alter the ſucceſſion in favour of the pretender. She had been taught to conſider the tories as her friends, who had always profeſſed the moſt perfect attachment to her; but ſhe was chiefly influenced by the counteſs of Marlborough, a haughty and intriguing woman. Her firſt act of ſovereignty was to convene the privy council, to whom ſhe declared her concern for the loſs the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of his late majeſty; her regard for the religion and liberties of her country; her deſire to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed; and finally, her reſolu-

tion to curb the inſolence, and purſue the the true intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates.

The uſual oaths having been taken by the members of the privy council, the queen iſſued a proclamation, continuing all perſons in the poſts they held at the death of the late king. As by an act paſſed in the late reign, the parliament continued ſitting even after the king's death; both houſes unanimouſly voted an addreſs of condoleance and congratulation, and in the afternoon the queen was proclaimed. The lords and commons then aſſured her majeſty, that they firmly reſolved to enable her to maintain her alliances, and the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and that they would ſupport the public credit in the moſt effectual manner.

On the eleventh of March, her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, where ſhe delivered her firſt ſpeech to the parliament; in which ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done to reduce the exorbitant power of France; and at the ſame time, deſired they would conſider of proper methods for forming an union between England and Scotland. She declared it would be her conſtant endeavour to make the beſt return for their duty and affection; and, as ſhe knew her own heart to be entirely Engliſh, ſhe could very ſincerely aſſure them, that there was not any thing they could expect or deſire from her, which ſhe ſhould not always be ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of England, and that they ſhould always find her a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word. Theſe aſſurances were highly pleaſing to the parliament, and her majeſty received the thanks of both houſes. The biſhop and clergy of London, the diſſenters in that metropolis and its neighbourhood, and the ſeveral counties, cities, and corporations of England, preſented addreſſes on this occaſion.

The news of the late king's death filled the Hollanders with the utmoſt conſternation. The ſtates immediately aſſembled, and for ſome time gazed at each other in ſilent fear and aſtoniſhment. Conſcious of their irreparable loſs, and dreading the calamities that threatened their country, univerſal deſpondence prevailed amongſt them for ſome time; but at length recovering from their unmanly ſtupefaction, they began to reſume their native ſpirit, and form more noble reſolutions; and a letter which the earl of Marlborough wrote to penſionary Fagel, containing aſſurances of the queen's friendſhip, tended greatly to keep up their ſpirits.

Theſe agreeable aſſurances were in a few days repeated in a letter which the queen herſelf wrote to the ſtates; but what chiefly revived the ſpirits of the Dutch, was the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom her majeſty had appointed generaliſſimo, as well as ambaſſador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to the ſtates general. He aſſured them that the queen his miſtreſs, would faithfully adhere to the alliances, which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that was neceſſary for preſerving the common liberties of Europe. The ſtates in anſwer to this memorial, expreſſed their great affliction fot the death of the late king; their congratulation on her majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, their hearty thanks for the aſſurances of her friendſhip; their reſolution to concur with her in her vigorous proſecution of the common intereſt; and their entire ſatisfaction with his excellency's perſon, not only on account of the queen's choice, but likewiſe for his perſonal merit. Every part of Marlborough's negotiation was attended with ſucceſs, and he embarked for England on the third of April, having firſt laid down the plan of operations for the following campaign.

The commons, in the mean time, reſolved to ſettle on her majeſty for life, the ſame revenue as had been allowed the late king William. On the thirtieth of March, the queen went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills; at the ſame time, ſhe thanked the commons for continuing the ſame revenue to her as to the late king, and told them ſhe would aſſign a hundred thouſand pounds thereof for the public ſervice of the preſent year, and adviſed them to diſpatch the public buſineſs as faſt as poſſible.

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The following promotions and alterations were made, on the fourteenth of April, the duke of Devonſhire was conſtituted lord ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Jerſey lord chamberlain; the earl of Bedford treaſurer; Sir Edward Seymour comptroller; and Peregrine Bertie vice-chamberlain; and in two days after, the queen in council declared his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark generaliſſimo of all her majeſty's forces by ſea and land. The duke of Ormond was made commander in chief of her majeſty's forces on board the fleet; and the lord Somers, and ſeveral others, diſmiſſed from the council board. The earl of Normandy, the earl of Abingdon, Sir Levinſton Gower, Sir Edward Seymour, and John How Eſq; were ſworn of the privy council: and the privy ſeal was delivered to the earl of Normandy; and Sir Levinſton Gower was made keeper of the ſeal of the dutchy of Lancaſter.

On the twenty fifth of May, her majeſty gave her aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, and then prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day of July. Soon after, the queen, in conſequence of the power given her by acts of parliament of both kingdoms, appointed commiſſioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland.

The firſt time of the commiſſioners meeting at the Cockpit, was on the twenty-ſecond of October, and after both commiſſions had been read, the lord keeper Wright made a ſhort ſpeech on the ſubject of their meeting; and was anſwered by the duke of Queenſbury. Accordingly they agreed, that the two kingdoms ſhould be inſeparably united into one monarchy, under her majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame limitations, according to the act of ſettlement: but when the Scottiſh commiſſioners propoſed, that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, ſhould be preſerved and maintained, inſurmountable difficulties aroſe, and no farther progreſs was made in the affair.

The campaign in Germany was by this time begun, and proved very favourable to the allies. Keyſerſwaert had been reduced after a deſperate reſiſtance, by the prince of Naſſau Saarbrugh mareſchal du camp to the emperor. General Coehorn, at the head of a ſtrong detachment had entered Flanders, demoliſhed the French lines, between the forts of Donat and Iſabella, and laid the chatellaine of Bruges under contribution.

The earl of Marlborough arriving in Holland, with all the forces under his command, during this ſituation of affairs, aſſembled the confederate troops at Nimeguen in the beginning of July, and on the ſixteenth marched with the army, paſſed the Maeſe, and encamped within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who were entrenched between Goch and Gennep.

The confederated army paſſed the Maeſe on the twenty ſixth of July, whereupon the French army decamped alſo, and paſſed that river. The allies afterwards advanced to Gravenbroeck, and forced the garriſon to ſurrender priſoners at diſcretion; from hence they marched to Petit Brugel; the French ſtill retiring before them, till at length they entirely abandoned the Spaniſh Guelderland, to the great ſatisfaction of the ſtates general, who but a little before, when their army retired under the walls of Nimeguen, were in the utmoſt conſternation. By the ſucceſs of this campaign, the earl of Marlborough eſtabliſh his reputation with the ſtates general, and acquired the greateſt degree of military fame.

In the month of November, on the breaking up of the army, the earl of Marlborough repaired to Maeſtricht, where he embarked that evening on the Maeſe for the Hague, accompanied by general Opdam, and Mynheer Guildermalſon, one of the deputies of the ſtates, together with twenty five ſoldiers, under the command of a lieutenant to ſerve as convoy. Next morning the generals arrived at Ruremond, where they were joined by monſieur Coehorn; and having ſaluted the prince of Holſtein, continued their voyage together, having ordered a party of fifty horſe beſides ſixty men that were in Coehorn's boat, for the better ſecurity againſt any of the enemy's parties. But the boats being ſeparated

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in the night, a French partizan, with thirty five men from Gueldres, who was lurking among the ruſhes on the banks of the river, obſerved the boat, ſeized the rope by which it was drawn, diſcharged their ſmall arms, and then ruſhing into it, ſecured the ſoldiers, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They afterwards rifled the baggage, carried off the guard as priſoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The governor of Venlo no ſooner heard of the affair, than he marched out with his whole garriſon to inveſt Gueldres. An account of this tranſaction having reached the Hague, greatly alarmed the inhabitants; but their fears were ſoon diſpelled by the earls arrival, whom they now conſidered as their friend and deliverer.

The public expectations were not altogether anſwered by the ſucceſs of the combined ſquadrons. The late king, a little before his death, had formed a deſign to reduce Cadiz, and this ſcheme queen Anne determined to put in execution. The fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of the line, commanded by Sir George Rooke; and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land forces, deſtined for this expedition.

The fleet departed from St. Helen's in the latter end of June, and anchored about two leagues from Cadiz on the twelfth of Auguſt. On the fifteenth the duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under covert of a ſmart fire from ſome frigates, and repulſed a body of Spaniſh cavalry; then he ſummoned the governor of St. Catharine to ſurrender; and received for anſwer, that the garriſon was prepared for his reception. A declaration was publiſhed in the Spaniſh language, importing, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from the yoke of France, and aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing themſelves under the houſe of Auſtria. No regard being paid to this declaration, they raiſed a battery againſt Montagorda fort; but were ſoon obliged to re-embark their troops, on the failure of the attempt.

While they were on their way for England, admiral Rooke receiving advice that the Weſt India galleons had put into Vigo under the convoy of a French ſquadron, reſolved to ſail thither, and attack them in that poſture. The paſſage into the harbour was defended by batteries, forts, and breaſtworks on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom conſiſting of iron chains, topmaſts, and cabels, moored at each end to a ſeventy gun ſhip, and fortified within by five ſhips of the ſame ſtrength, laying athwart the channel with their broadſides to the offing. As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined ſhips were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags to ſmaller ſhips. In order to favour the attack, the duke of Ormond landed with twenty five hundred men, at the diſtance of two leagues from Vigo, and attacked a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the mouth of the harbour, of which he made himſelf maſter.

As ſoon as the britiſh enſign was diſplayed at the top of this fort the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice admiral Hopſon in the Torbay crowding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was ſhivered by the firſt ſhock; and the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries. But the grenadiers who had been landed, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the batteries.

The French, finding themſelves unequal to their antagoniſts, reſolved, after a deſperate engagement, to ſet fire to their galleons and ſhips of war, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran aſhore, eight ſhips, and as many advice-boats; but ten ſhips and eleven galleons were taken. Though they had ſecured the beſt part of their effects, before the combined fleets arrived, yet the value of fourteen million of pieces of eight, in plate, and rich commodities, were deſtroyed in ſix galleons that periſhed; but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors, ſo that this adventure proved a dreadful ſtroke to the enemy, and a noble acquiſition to the allies. Sir George Rooke being joined ſoon after by Sir Cloudſley Shovel, who had been ſent out with a ſquadron to intercept the gal-

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leons, returned home in triumph, leaving Sir Cloudſley to deſtroy the fortifications, and bring the prizes to England.

The ſucceſs of the Engliſh in America was by no means equal to what they met with in Europe. About this time an account was received of admiral Bembow's misfortune in an engagement with Du Caſſe in the Weſt Indies, the latter end of Auguſt. The admiral having with him ſix ſhips of the line, on the nineteenth of Auguſt fell in with Du Caſſe's ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſail, but only four were ſhips of force; but was baſely deſerted by moſt of his captains. The admiral in this encounter, had one of his legs ſhattered by a chain ſhot; notwithſtanding which accident, he remained on the quarter deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement till night. The next morning, he called a council of war, and expoſtulated with his captains on their behaviour. They alledged divers frivolous pretences in vindication of their cowardly behaviour, and adviſed him to deſiſt. This gallant commander, therefore, perceiving that he was betrayed, returned with the greateſt reluctance, to Jamaica, where theſe officers, who deſerted him, were tried for cowardice and breach of orders. Hudſon of the Pendennis, died before his trial. Kirby of the Defiance, and Wade of the Greenwich, were convicted and ſentenced to be ſhot; and executed according to their ſentence on their arrival at Plymouth, by virtue of a dead warrant, which had lain there for ſome time. The brave admiral was ſo deeply affected with this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, and fell a ſacrifice to the grief of his heart, as much as to his bodily wounds.

Thus England loſt one of her braveſt commanders, by the cowardice or treachery of thoſe, who ought to have ſeconded him in his gallant endeavours. In a letter which he wrote to his wife after the engagement, he told her, "that the loſs of his leg did not "trouble him half ſo much, as the villainous "treachery of his captains, who had hin-"dered him from totally deſtroying the "French ſquadron."

Mr. Harley being choſen ſpeaker at the meeting of the parliament, they were then prorogued to the twentieth of October. Reaſſembling at that time, the queen in her ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that it was with the greateſt ſatisfaction ſhe met this parliament, which ſhe had ſummoned to aſſiſt her in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which ſhe was engaged; that ſhe aſſured herſelf of ſuch evidences of their affection to her, and of their zeal for the common cauſe, as would not only expedite their own preparations, but afford ſuch examples and encouragement to her allies, as could not but produce a good effect. She deſired of the commons the neceſſary ſupplies for the proſecution of the war; enforcing her demand with a declaration, that ſhe was under a neceſſity of ſupplying the deficiency of the laſt parliament, from her own revenue. She expreſſed her concern for the diſappointment at Cadiz; deſired they would conſider of ſome better method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve the manufacture, which ſhe was determined to encourage; and remarked, that as ſhe was reſolved to maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and to protect them in the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, ſo ſhe relied upon their care of her; ſhe obſerved, that her intereſt and theirs was the ſame, and declared, that her endeavours for her people's happineſs ſhould be ſtrenuouſly exerted.

All that the miniſtry demanded by way of ſupplies, was granted by the commons; they voted forty thouſand ſeamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies. For the maintenance of theſe laſt, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; beſides three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for guards and garriſons; ſeventy thouſand, nine hundred and ſeventy-three pounds for ordnance, and fifty one thouſand, eight hundred and forty three pounds to be paid to the allies by way of ſubſidy.

Her majeſty admitted Sir George Rooke of her privy council; and he received the thanks of the houſe of commons, for the ſignal ſervices performed by him, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, both by ſea and land.

The queen then recommended to their conſideration a farther proviſion for the prince of Denmark; whereupon it was unanimouſly reſolved, that in caſe his royal highneſs outlived her majeſty, he ſhould receive the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds.

When the earl of Marlborough came to England in November, he received the thanks of the commons for his great and ſignal ſervices. The queen alſo, in teſtimony of her approbation of his conduct, created him a duke, and gratified him with a penſion of five thouſand pounds upon the revenue of the Poſt-Office, during his natural life; and expreſſed her deſire, that they would find ſome method to ſettle it on the heirs male of his body. The commons ſeeming rather averſe to this deſire, the duke procured a meſſage to be ſent to the houſe, by which he ſignified, that he declined the favour her majeſty intended him.

*A. D.* 1703. Her majeſty acquainted the commons in the beginning of January, that the ſtates general had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to defeat the great and early preparations of the enemy. In conſequence of this intimation, the commons reſolved, that ten thouſand men ſhould be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but on this expreſs condition, that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain on the part of the ſtates general. The reaſon that induced the parliament to inſiſt ſo ſtrenuouſly on this ſtoppage, was a diſcovery lately made, whereby it appeared, that the French king at this time remitted money to the elector of Bavaria in Germany, and his forces in Italy, by means of the merchants of England, Holland, and Geneva. The Dutch, conſcious that their intereſt was inſeparable from that of the allies, reſolved to yield a ready compliance, and accordingly, a prohibition of commerce with France and Spain was immediately publiſhed.

About this time, party matters began to run high in England; and as the pretence of religion, has generally been employed as a maſk to veil a political project, the tories reſolved to lay hold of this circumſtance, as the beſt means of accompliſhing their favourite purpoſe of extirpating the oppoſite party. With this view, three members were ordered by the houſe of commons to bring in a bill for preventing occaſional conformity. It enacted, that all thoſe, who had taken the ſacrament, and teſt, for offices of truſt, or magiſtracies of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of diſſenters, ſhould be diſabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day, in which they continued to act in their employment after having been at any ſuch meetings, and the penalties were to be doubled if they offended a ſecond time.

The debates on this bill were very warm in the lower houſe; but it met with great oppoſition in the upper, from a juſt ſuſpicion of the pernicious purpoſes which it was calculated to ſubſerve. Moſt of the peers were of opinion, that beſides the original deſign of ſecuring entirely the election of parliaments, the tories intended it as a preparatory ſtep towards the repeal of the toleration. The majority of the biſhops, and amongſt theſe, in particular, Burnet of Sarum, argued againſt it, with that candour, and at the ſame time evident force which chriſtian charity and ſound learning united never fail to inſpire. The tories, however, had the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the court intereſt. Even prince George of Denmark, though himſelf an occaſional conformiſt, voted for it, as did the duke of Marlborough, and lord Godolphin, and at length it was carried by a ſmall majority, though with ſuch alterations and amendments as the commons refuſed to admit. After long debates and a free conference between the two houſes, the lords adhered to their amendments, the commons perſiſted in rejecting them, the bill miſcarried, and both parties aimed to juſtify their conduct by a publication of their ſeveral proceedings.

As numbers of people had not taken the oath, abjuring the late prince of Wales, a bill was brought into the lower houſe, to allow

low them one year longer to determine if they would take it. The lords added three clauſes, importing, that thoſe perſons who ſhould take the oath within the limited time, might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled; that any perſon endeavouring to defeat the ſucceſſion to the crown, as now limited by law, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon; and that the oath of abjuration ſhould be impoſed upon the ſubjects of Ireland. The tories in the lower houſe, though confounded at the ſecond clauſe, were afraid to oppoſe it, and therefore directed their whole ſtrength againſt the firſt, in hopes of raiſing a diſpute between the two houſes. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion being put, whether they ſhould agree to the amendments of the lords, it was carried in the affirmative by one voice; and thus was a new ſecurity provided for a proteſtant ſucceſſor; a circumſtance, by which all true lovers of their country were filled with the ſincereſt joy.

The combined ſquadrons of England and Holland, ſailed from St. Helen's for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, in the beginning of July, but being detained in the channel for ſome time by contrary winds, could not arrive before Liſbon till the twenty-fourth. After a few days ſtay, they ſteered for the Streights, and being arrived on the coaſt of Valencia, the ſeamen, to the number of two thouſand, five hundred, landed at Altea, and formed a camp; where the admiral publiſhed a declaration, intimating, that he came, not to injure the Spaniards, but to protect them from the tyranny of the French, whereupon the Spaniards chearfully ſupplied them with proviſions.

Sir Cloudeſley arrived before Leghorn on the nineteenth of September, when count Lamberg went on board the admiral, to inform him, that Charles, archduke of Auſtria, had been proclaimed at Vienna king of Spain, on which joyful occaſion, he was ſaluted with fifteen guns from every ſhip in the fleet. The admiral, having performed the buſineſs he came upon, and by the cloſe keeping in of the enemy, being prevented from bringing them to action, proceeded homewards, and by the middle of November arrived in England.

Succeſs, in the interim, attended the allies on the Lower Rhine, where Bonne was taken; as well as in the Netherlands, where the French fled before the duke of Marlborough, and could not be brought to a pitched battle, which gave baron Spaar an opportunity to force their lines in the Pais de Waes. But on the other ſide, baron Opdam with the Dutch forces which lay near Breda, were ſurrounded by the French and routed; this was called the battle of Eckeren, wherein, although the Dutch behaved themſelves bravely, they ſuffered much. On the ſixteenth of Auguſt the allied army inveſted Huy, and took it on the twenty-fifth. Animated by former ſucceſſes, the duke of Marlborough propoſed to attack the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leue; but the ſcheme was oppoſed by the Dutch officers, and the deputies of ſtate, who alledged, that the attempt was hazardous, and the conſequence of forcing the lines inconſiderable. They therefore reſolved to inveſt Leinburg, which after eighteen days ſiege ſurrendered, the garriſon remaining priſoners of war; and Gueldres being taken in December following, the French were driven from the banks of the Maeſe, and the allies by that means became maſters of the whole Spaniſh Guelderland. The elector of Bavaria having taken Augſburgh in the month of December, put a period to the campaign in Germany.

Her majeſty, meeting her parliament on the ninth of November, expreſſed in her ſpeech to both houſes, the moſt ardent deſire of ſeeing them in perfect union among themſelves, and deſired they would avoid all heats and diviſions. She deſired of the commons, ſupplies to enable her to perform her engagement with the king of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, as well as her former engagements. She told them, that the funds held out ſo well, and the prizes were ſo conſiderable, that they had defrayed the charge of the expedition to Portugal, and of the augmentation of troops deſired by the ſtates general; that ſhe had out of her own revenue contributed to the

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ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies, under the greateſt preſſures, well deſerved her aſſiſtance. She wiſhed a leſs expenſive way could be deviſed for manning the fleet; and at the ſame time, expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſeeing the intereſt of the allies in a ſtill more flouriſhing ſtate. The commons then came to a reſolution, that the forty thouſand men, which were raiſed to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, and the additional troops, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, ſhould be continued for the uſe of the enſuing year; that the proportion of land forces to act in conjunction with Portugal ſhould be eight thouſand men, one thouſand whereof to be horſe and dragoons; that five thouſand marines, and forty thouſand ſailors, ſhould be employed, making the whole number, for the following year, one hundred thouſand.

The queen acquainted both houſes, in a ſpeech on the ſeventeenth of December, that a plot was carrying on in Scotland by the emiſſaries of France; and ſaid ſhe would lay the particulars before them, as ſoon as they could be made public without prejudice. The lords, in conſequence of this intimation, appointed a committee to examine into the matter, and preſented an addreſs of thanks to the queen, for promiſing to communicate thoſe informations of the ill practices of her enemies in Scotland; and aſſured her they would, by their utmoſt zeal, maintain the rights of the crown, and the church of England, in ſuch a manner, as might beſt conduce to further her majeſty's pious deſigns, and promote the happineſs of all her ſubjects. And an addreſs on this ſubject, was alſo preſented by the commons.

The duke of Marlborough, in the name of his royal miſtreſs, now viſited the archduke Charles, with her compliments of congratulation on his advancement to the throne of Spain. His majeſty took his ſword from his ſide, and gave it to the duke with a pleaſant aſpect, ſaying to him in French; "I have nothing "but my cloak and ſword, and I hope you "will not think it the worſe for one day's "wearing." On the contrary, replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of "your majeſty's juſt right and title; and of "the obligations I lie under, to hazard my "life in making you the greateſt prince in "Chriſtendom." The duke returned to England in October, and the king of Spain embarking with him for the ſame kingdom, under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty ſixth day of December. Having paſſed through the uſual formalities, received, and exhibited the moſt noble and obliging deportment, in the court at Windſor, he returned to Portſmouth, from whence on the fifth of January, he ſailed for Portugal, with the grand fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke; but meeting with a violent ſtorm off cape Finiſterre, wherein they received conſiderable damage, they were on the twentieth day of the month obliged to put into St. Helen's.

The damage which the fleet had ſuſtained being repaired, they ſailed with a fair wind on the tenth of February for Portugal, where king Charles ſafely arrived on the twenty fifth, and was received with great ſplendour, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

A complaint was exhibited to her majeſty, in the beginning of March, by an addreſs of the lords, ſetting forth that admiral Graydon, with a ſquadron of men of war, meeting four French ſhips and not attacking them, on pretence of his orders to make the beſt of his way to the Weſt-Indies, it was a prejudice to her majeſty's ſervice, and a diſhonour to the nation; and that his preſſing men in Jamaica, and ſevere uſage of the maſters of merchantmen, and tranſports under his convoy, was a diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, and prejudicial to the queen's ſervice: and therefore deſired that admiral Graydon might be nō more employed. With reſpect to the Scottiſh plot, they reſolved, that it appeared evident to that houſe, there had been a dangerous conſpiracy carried on for raiſing a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French power, with a view to bring in the pretended prince of Wales, to the ſubverſion of her majeſty's government.

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An addreſs was alſo preſented, requeſting that no perſon might act as a juſtice of the peace, who had refuſed the oaths to the late king; but that only thoſe of quality and eſtate might be employed, of known affection to her majeſty's government, the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the eſtabliſhed church; and that ſhe would order ſuch to be reſtored, who were ſo qualified, and had been turned out without juſt cauſe. Her majeſty declared herſelf entireley of the ſame ſentiments, and ſaid ſhe would give the proper inſtructions.

After having paſſed ſuch acts as were ready, on the third of April, her majeſty thanked both houſes for their readineſs to aſſiſt her in the proſecution of the war; and the houſe of commons in particular for the diſpatch of their ſupplies. Then the parliament was prorogued to the fourth of July.

About this period a memorial was preſented to the queen, by count Wratiſlaw envoy from the emperor, importing, that the French having joined the elector of Bavaria, and a rebellion been excited in Hungary, the emperor's hereditary countries were in great diſtraction; and that if he was not ſpeedily relieved, an entire devaſtation of Germany would enſue. He therefore intreated that her majeſty would be pleaſed to order the duke of Marlborough to concert with the ſtates general ſome ſpeedy meaſures for the relief of the empire; or that, to prevent the total deſtruction of Germany, his grace might proceed to its relief, with part of the troops in her majeſty's pay.

Secretary Hedges, by command of the queen, anſwered this memorial, informing the count, that ſhe had ordered the duke to concert the moſt effectual meaſures with the ſtates general, for the reſcue of the empire, from the imminent danger to which it was expoſed. Accordingly the duke embarked for Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the twenty-firſt of April, and by a forcible repreſentation of the ſtate of the empire, wrought the Dutch into compliance with the project of lending a body of troops for its immediate relief. The forces allotted for this expedition were ſpeedily aſſembled, and proceeded for Maeſtricht under his grace's command.

The duke joined Brigadier Ferguſon with the detachment under his command, on the ſixteenth of May, and on the eighteenth they united with the forces commanded by general Churchill, the duke's brother. On the fifth of June, the count de Frieze met the duke upon his march, being ſent by prince Lewis of Baden to acquaint him, that the elector of Bavaria was ſtrongly encamped at Ulm, on the other ſide of the Danube; and ſoon after he received intelligence, that prince Eugene of Savoy was arrived at the imperial camp. On the ninth, the duke marched with the horſe to Mildenheim, where he halted the next day, and prince Eugene and count Wratiſlaw dined at his grace's quarters. On the tenth his highneſs marched with the duke to Great Hippach, where his grace having ordered his army to be drawn up in line of battle, the prince expreſſed his ſurprize to find the troops in ſo good a condition after ſo long and haſty a march. "My lord" ſaid he, "I never ſaw better horſes, better cloaths, "better accoutrements; yet all theſe may be "procured for money; but there is a ſpirit "in the looks of your men, I never ſaw "before in my life." On the thirteenth, prince Lewis of Baden waited on his grace, and the three generals having concerted the future operations of the campaign, Eugene proceeded for Philipſburg to command the imperial army on the Rhine, and prince Lewis retired to his army on the Danube.

A council of war, being held by the generals on the twenty ninth, it was determined to proceed towards Donawert; and the thirty firſt the confederacy army marched, and encamped with their right at Loudthauſſen; and their left at Balmerſhoffen. On the firſt of July, they continued their march in ſight of the elector of Bavaria's army at Dillengen, and encamped with the right at Amerdighem, and their left at Onderingen. The elector of Bavaria hereupon ſent a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenburg, a riſing ground near Donawert, where he caſt up intrenchments, and employed ſome thouſands of pioneers to cover that place. The duke, however, gave orders for an immediate attack, being

ing reſolved to drive the enemy from this important ſituation.

In conſequence of this determination, his grace advanced at three o'clock in the morning with a detachment of ſix hundred foot, and thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, beſides thirty battalions of Imperial grenadiers; and the reſt of the army followed him with all poſſible expedition; but the way being bad and long, that detachment could not come to the river Werm.tz, which runs by Donawert, till about noon, and it was three hours after before they could get their artillery over the river. The duke, having paſſed the ſame at the head of the cavalry, viewed the intrenchments, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the attack; and in the mean time, the confederate's artillery began to play upon the enemy, who returned their fire very briſkly from their batteries. Theſe preparations being made, the Engliſh and Dutch beginning the attack with the moſt intrepid reſolution, before the Imperialiſts came up, met with a vigorous oppoſition; but after an engagement of about an hour and a half, when the Imperialiſts arrived, the intrenchments were forced, and the confederates made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy. As ſoon as the allies took poſſeſſion of the enemy's intrenchments, they fled with the utmoſt confuſion to the Danube; and being vigorouſly purſued, moſt of them threw themſelves into, and ſwam over that river, following the example of their leaders.

In this action the duke diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly; giving his orders with great compoſure, and expoſing his perſon to imminent danger. The other generals alſo as well as inferior officers, and private men, acquitted themſelves with great bravery. Prince Lewis of Baden, count Stirum, and ſeveral other general officers were dangerouſly wounded. Three general officers in the Dutch ſervice were killed.

The fate of the Bavarian troops alarming the elector, he repaſſed the Danube with precipitation, and marched towards the river Leche, leſt the victors ſhould cut off his retreat into his own country. The duke of Marlborough, not to give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation, immediately commanded his troops to paſs the Leche; whereupon the garriſon of Neuburgh abandoned that place, and retired to Ingolſtadt, and the duke ordered a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Neuburgh. The enemy having left a garriſon in Rain, a ſmall town within half a league of the Leche, it was immediately inveſted by the confederates, and in a ſhort time ſurrendered. The confederate generals thought fit at this time to propoſe to the elector of Bavaria terms of accommodation, which were in a manner agreed upon; but receiving advice that mareſchal Tallard was coming to join him, he ſent to acquaint count Wratiſlaw, that he eſteemed himſelf bound in honour ſtrictly to maintain his alliance with the French king, who was taking ſuch vigorous meaſures in his favour.

This proceeding ſo irritated the duke of Marlborough, that he ſent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria as far as Munich; an expedient, which however cruel, may ſometimes be neceſſary in peculiar caſes of war. Deputies were inſtantly ſent to the duke, offering to pay contributions, provided they might be ſaved from military execution. But the duke replied, "that "the forces of the queen of Great Britain, "were come into Bavaria, not to get money, "but to bring their prince to reaſon."

The attack of the elector in his fortified camp under the cannon of Augſburg being found impracticable, it was determined to undertake the ſiege of Ingolſtadt: whereupon prince Lewis ſat down before that place, while the duke of Marlborough was to cover the ſiege with his auxiliary forces; but mareſchal Tallard having joined the elector of Bavaria with a body of two and twenty thouſand horſe and foot, beſides the troops that joined him before under the command of mareſchal de Marſin; it was agreed, that prince Lewis ſhould continue the ſiege, while the motions of the elector were watched by prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough.

The confederate generals, in a view of the enemy, on the twelfth of Auguſt, by the help

help of their glaſſes, diſcovered that all their army was in motion. Soon after they diſcerned plainly that the enemy was advantageouſly poſted; their right being covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim, their left by a wood and the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom marſhy. The confederate generals perceived the danger of being forced to be inactive in their camp, till their forage ſhould be conſumed, and their proviſion exhauſted; and therefore reſolved to attack the enemy without delay. The army was therefore drawn up in order of battle on the plain, the very next day. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both ſides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about ſixty thouſand men. The numof the confederates exceeded not fifty-five thouſand; their right was led by prince Eugene, their left by the lords Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldſby; and the duke of Marlborough took his ſtation in the center, as commander of the whole. At firſt the center of the allies were charged by the French horſe with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were put in diſorder, and part of them obliged to repaſs the rivulet; but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. Prince Eugene at length compelled the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having overcome a great number of difficulties, ſuſtained a deſperate oppoſition, and ſeen his cavalry three times repulſed. Oberklaw and Lutzengen were now abandoned by the elector and mareſchal de Marſin, who ſaw that all farther oppoſition would be fruitleſs.

The village of Blenheim was now ſurrounded by the confederates, (who were become maſters of the field) in which were poſted twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons. Theſe troops ſeeing themſelves cut off from all communication with the reſt of their army, and deſpairing of being able to force their way through the allies, thought proper to capitulate; and on condition that the officers ſhould not be rifled, laid down their arms, and became priſoners of war.

There ſcarce ever was a victory more complete and glorious than this; in which ten thouſand French and Bavarians were killed on the ſpot; the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons were drowned in the Danube; thirteen thouſand were made priſoners, including one thouſand two hundred officers; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and ſeventy one ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle drums, three thouſand ſix hundred tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, twenty-four barrels and eight caſks of ſilver. Of the allies, about eight thouſand were wounded or made priſoners, and four thouſand five hundred killed.

The allied army lay on their arms the night after the battle, on the moraſs of Hochſtet, oppoſite to the elector of Bavaria, and the next day marched to Stenheim, where the care of their priſoners and wounded men detained them four or five days.

The French and Bavarians, after their defeat, marching with the remainder of their troops towards the Rhine, the confederate generals alſo marched that way, leaving only twenty-three battalions and ſome ſquadrons, under the command of general Thungen, to carry on the ſiege of Ulm. On the twelfth of September, prince Lewis of Baden inveſted Landau; and the duke of Marlborough with prince Eugene encamped at Croon-Weiſſenburg, in order to cover the ſiege, having detached brigadier Ferguſon, with five battalions of Engliſh foot, to convey the French priſoners to Holland. The ſame day advice from general Thungen, that Ulm had ſurrendered on honourable terms, was received by the duke.

The moſt important actions in Flanders were the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by nine thouſand Dutch troops, and two attempts on the French line.

They ſuperiority of the French in Italy

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over the duke of Savoy gave them great advantages. They reduced Vercelli, Jurea, and Verac, the laſt of which places ſuſtained a ſiege of no leſs than five months. The duke bore his loſſes with great equanimity, and told the Engliſh miniſter, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he ſcorned to follow their example.

The ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms on the banks of the Danube, was well ſeconded by their enterprizes at ſea. Sir George Rooke, having landed king Charles at Liſbon, was ordered by the miniſtry to cruize in the Mediterranean, and watch the motions of the Toulon ſquadron. Soon after he received advice, that a ſtrong fleet from Breſt had paſſed Liſbon, in order to join the Toulon diviſion. Sir George ſoon deſcried the Breſt ſquadron, and commanded the fleet to tack and ſtand after them; but the French having the weather gage, and night coming on, he could not bring them to an engagement; he therefore, as ſoon as they were out of ſight, ſailed towards the Straits, where he was joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, with a large fleet under his command.

In conſequence of the reſolution of a council of war, held in the road of Tetuan, on the ſeventeenth of July, they ſailed to make a ſudden attempt upon Gibraltar. On the twenty firſt, the prince of Heſſe landed on the Iſthmus with eighteen hundred marines, and ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender: but the governor anſwered, that the place ſhould be defended to the laſt extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders to cannonade the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from the fortifications at the South Molehead, he commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and attack that quarter. But the captains Hicks and Jumper, who lay next the Mole, puſhed on ſhore with their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications ſword in hand. The enemy ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about an hundred men were either killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs the two captains made themſelves maſters of the platform, and maintained their ground, until they were ſupported by captain Whitaker, and the reſt of the ſeamen; who took by ſtorm a redoubt between the Mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe entered the place, amazed at the ſucceſs of this attempt conſidering the ſtrength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by a handful of men againſt a numerous army. The admiral now returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water, leaving a ſufficient number of troops to defend the place, under the command of the prince.

Almoſt as ſoon as the combined fleets were ſailed, on the ninth of Auguſt they deſcried the French fleet, and immediately gave chace. On the thirteenth they came up with the enemy, as they lay in a line off Malaga, ready to receive him, to the number of fifty two ſhips of the line, and four and twenty gallies, under the command of the count of Thouloufe, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the black and white diviſions. The combined fleet conſiſted of fifty three ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates; but were inferior to the French in weight of metal, and in the number of Guns and men.

A little after ten in the morning the action began, when the rear and the van commanded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and the Dutch admiral Callemberg, immediately preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon compelled the enemy to give way: but the center of the French being remarkably ſtrong; bore hard upon Rook's diviſion, ſeveral of whoſe ſhips having expended their ſhot, were obliged to leave the line as entirely uſeleſs. The fight however was maintained till night, when the French bore away to leeward. In the night the wind ſhifted to the northward, and in the morning to the weſtward, which gave the enemy the wind of the combined fleet; and at length they diſappeared. The loſs in this engagement was pretty equal on both ſides, though not a ſingle ſhip was taken or deſtroyed by either; but the honour of the day ſeemed to remain with the Engliſh. After the battle Sir George Rook ſailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a ſquadron with

with Sir John Leake, ſet ſail for England on the twenty fourth day of Auguſt. He arrived in September, and was received by the miniſtry, and the people in general, with the higheſt marks of approbation and eſteem.

Philip, king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, ſent a powerful army to beſiege it under the command of the marquis de Villadarias. The ſiege laſted four months, in the courſe of which the prince of Heſſe gave undoubted proofs of great ability and courage. Gibraltar was ſupplied with proviſions and forces from Liſbon, till that communication was cut off by a ſtrong ſquadron entering the bay under the command of Monſieur de Pointis, who, however, retiring at the approach of Sir John Leake and admiral Vanderduſſen, the marquis de Villadarias ſpeedily abandoned his attempt.

Her majeſty, in a ſpeech to the parliament which aſſembled on the twenty ninth day of October, took notice that the remarkable ſucceſs with which providence had crowned her arms, had excited ſentiments of joy in all her ſubjects; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages, would enable them to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England. She deſired of the commons, the ſupplies for the enſuing year, and aſſured them they ſhould be carefully managed, at the ſame time recommending a ſpeedy diſpatch. She further told them, their ſucceſs abroad depended on their union at home, and hoped that unanimity would prevail amongſt them, and that they would to the utmoſt of their power, promote the public welfare. Next day the lords congratulated her majeſty, on the ſucceſs of her arms under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough. The commons alſo preſented an addreſs, in which they mentioned the atchievements of admiral Rooke; and aſſured her majeſty, they came diſpoſed to do every thing that was neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war; they would ſo diſpatch the public buſineſs, as might enable her majeſty to purſue the advantages ſhe had already obtained over the common enemy. At the ſame time they declared, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent all diviſions and animoſities among them, and that all their contention ſhould be, who moſt effectually ſhould ſerve the public.

An addreſs was ſoon afterwards preſented by the commons, requeſting her majeſty to beſtow her bounty upon the ſeamen and land forces who had behaved ſo gallantly in the ſervice of their country; and received for anſwer, that cognizance ſhould be taken of their requeſt. They then voted the number of forces, and the ſums neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance during the enſuing year. A bill was now brought in a third time for preventing occaſional conformity; which having paſſed the lower was ſent up to the upper houſe. This bill would hardly have excited a debate among the peers, had not the queen been preſent, and deſirous of hearing what could be urged on both ſides the queſtion. Therefore, for the ſatisfaction of her majeſty, the ſubject was again diſcuſſed, and the bill was rejected by a majority of twenty one, after the former arguments had been re-urged.

The act of ſecurity that had paſſed in Scotland, was the next thing that engaged the attention of the houſe of lords. The lord Haverſham in a ſhort ſpeech obſerved, that there were two ſources of all troubles, much diſcontent, and great poverty, and both were to be found in Scotland; that their nobility were brave, but diſcontented; their common people ſtout and numerous, but very poor; and it was hard to ſay, what ſuch a multitude ſo armed, and ſo diſciplined might do under ſuch leaders, could opportunities ſuit their intention; and that it appeared to him of the laſt conſequence to England, that there ſhould not be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence of a neceſſity to keep up regular troops in Scotland in time of peace. The ſentiments of lord Haverſham were adopted by the majority in both houſes, where theſe points were debated with great warmth.

The duke of Malborough, who arrived in England about the middle of November, with the priſoners and trophies of war taken at Blenheim, was, on his firſt appearance in the houſe, honoured with the thanks of the

peers, in an elegant ſpeech pronounced by the lord keeper. A committee of the houſe of commons alſo waited on his grace, to give him the thanks of that houſe, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes. Doctor Delaune vice chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the univerſity attended the queen with an addreſs of congratulation, upon the ſucceſs of her arms, under the admirable conduct, and invincible courage of the duke of Marlborough; and at ſea, under that gallant Admiral, Sir George Rook. He received a civil anſwer from her majeſty; though ſhe took umbrage at Rooke's being placed on a level with the duke, whoſe dutcheſs had drawn her affections from the tories, and whoſe great conqueſts had inſured her regard.

Her majeſty, ſoon after the duke's arrival, acquainted the commons, that ſhe was inclined to grant the intereſt of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock, and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and in conſequence of this intimation, was deſired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only complied with this addreſs, but likewiſe ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodſtock-Park, a magnificent palace for the duke, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim-houſe. The plan of this ſtructure was drawn by Sir John Vanbrugh, who ſeems to have preferred the duration to the elegance of the building.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was now appointed rear admiral of England, and Sir George Rooke was taken no notice of. On the ſixteenth of December, mareſchal de Tallard, with the other French officers taken at Hockſtadt, arrived in the Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Litchfield, where they were attended by general Churchill, with a detachment of the royal regiment of horſe guards. They were treated with great reſpect, and allowed the liberty of riding ten miles round the places of their confinement. Among theſe priſoners, were one mareſchal of France, two generals, two lieutenant generals, five major generals, four brigadier generals, and fourteen colonels; and perhaps, in no other battle has ſo many principal officers been made priſoners.

*A. D.* 1705. The allies having qeen extremely deficient in furniſhing their agreed number of forces to act by ſea and land, the commons addreſſed her majeſty, that ſhe would uſe her intereſt with the allies, that they might furniſh their ſupplies this year according to their reſpective treaties. Soon after, the queen went to the houſe of lords, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts, ſhe made a ſhort ſpeech, wherein ſhe acknowledged their diſpatch of the public buſineſs; and thanked the commons in particular for their ſupplies, aſſuring them ſhe had perſuaded herſelf ſhe ſhould always have the chearful aſſiſtance of her ſubjects in this war, till ſhe could obtain an advantageous peace, and obſerved, that they had a fair proſpect of this deſirable end, if they did not diſappoint it by their own unreaſonable animoſities. She concluded, therefore, with exhorting them to union, which ſhe thought never was more requiſite than at this time, when the kingdom was proceeding to a new election. The lord keeper prorogued the parliament to the firſt of May; but they were diſſolved on the fifth of April, and a proclamation for electing a new parliament was iſſued.

Her majeſty, about this time, went to Newmarket, accompanied by the prince of Denmark, and viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis, the vice chancellor, John Montague, council for the univerſity, and the famous Iſaac Newton, profeſſor of the mathematics.

The allies were, in the mean time, diligent in their preparations for the following campaign. The duke of Marlborough, having embarked for Holland, arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth of April, where he eaſily perſuaded the ſtates general to contribute their troops towards the execution of his project. Having gained this material point, he immediately repaired to Maeſtricht, in order to aſſemble his army. About the latter end of May, the troops paſſed the Maeſe, and continued their march towards the Moſelle, under the

the command of general Churchill, while the duke ſet out for Creutznack, to confer with prince Lewis of Baden, who had excuſed himſelf on pretence of his bad ſtate of health. The duke viſited him at Raſtadt, where after a long conſultation, they reſolved, that a ſufficient number of German troops ſhould be left for ſecuring the lines of Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen, and that prince Lewis ſhould advance with a ſtrong detachment towards Saar, to act in concert with the duke; but the Imperial army was unprovided of every thing, and not in a condition to march, till Marlborough had conſumed all the forage about him, and could no longer ſubſiſt in his camp at Elft; whereupon he held a council of war at Triers, wherein it was reſolved, that the forces under his command ſhould march back to the Maeſe; whereupon the duke began his march towards the Netherlands, leaving only ſeven thouſand Palatines in the pay of England and Holland, to ſecure Triers and that ſide of the country.

As ſoon as his grace had abandoned that part of the country, mareſchal Villars advanced with the French army towards the Saar. Upon his approach, monſieur d'Aubach, the Palatine general, ſent orders to the governor of Saarbruck to quit that caſtle, and blow up the fortifications, which was executed accordingly; and he himſelf, before the enemy appeared in ſight, deſtroyed all the magazines the Engliſh and Dutch had erected at Triers, blew up the fortifications, burned the boats prepared for bridges, and left the poſt to mareſchal Villars, who in four days afterwards took poſſeſſion of it.

During the duke's diſagreeable ſituation on the Moſelle, the French, taking advantage of their ſuperiority in the Netherlands, inveſted Huy, and took it with the caſtle and forts, on the eleventh of June, making the garriſon priſoners of war; and immediately afterwards inveſted the citadel of Liege. The ſtates general having informed the duke of Marlborough of theſe diſaſters, and repreſented to him the neceſſity of making a powerful diverſion on the Moſelle, or of returning immediately to the defence of their frontiers, he reſolved to abandon his deſign on the river, and return to the Netherlands. Having marched with great expedition, he arrived time enough to ſave the citadel of Liege; and the French upon advice of his approach, retired to Namur. On the ſixth of July, the allies inveſted Huy, and in a few days the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. After the reduction of this place, the confederates attacked the French lines with ſucceſs.

The allied army, in the interim, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Parck, whereby they covered both Louvain and Bruſſels, ſo that the deputies of the ſtates thought it too hazardous an attempt to attack them in this ſituation. Nevertheleſs, the intrepid Marlborough endeavoured to promp them to the attack, but the Dutch generals rejected his advice, and obliquely hinted, they did not pay an implicit deference to his judgment. The duke diſcovered apparent marks of reſentment, and the Dutch, fearful of the conſequences of his diſpleaſure, diſpatched monſieur Buys, penſioner of Amſterdam, to conciliate matters, and to aſſure his grace, that all reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhould be given him for the diſguſt he had conceived; as an evidence of which, they removed from command, general Schellenburgh, who had principally oppoſed the attacking the French army at Parck; a proceedure that amply ſatisfied the duke for the affront offered to his judgment.

On the fifth of May the emperor Leopald died at Vienna, and was ſucceeded on the Imperial throne, by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, king of the Romans; a prince who reſembled his father in mildneſs of temper, narrowneſs of intellect, and attachment to the Romiſh religion.

The duke of Marlborough now viſited Vienna, on the invitation of his Imperial majeſty; was treated with great reſpect, and concerted with the emperor the operations of the enſuing campaign. After viſiting the courts of Berlin and Hanover, he returned to the Hague, and perſuaded the ſtates general to furniſh an additional number of ten thouſand men, as a reinforcement to the army of prince Eugene in Italy. In a few days he embarked for

for England, and on the thirteenth of December arrived at St. James's.

No ſignal event was produced by the campaign on the Rhine. The Imperialiſts were commanded by prince Eugene, the French by the duke de Vendome. The former reduced Druſenheim, and Hagonau, and forced the enemy's lines at the place laſt mentioned. The duke de Feuillade, who commanded a ſeparate army near Turin, reduced Chivas, and inveſted Nice, which ſurrendered in the month of December after a vigorous defence.

During this campaign, the Portugueſe, Engliſh, and Dutch in alliance, marched to the frontiers of Spain, and meeting no enemy in the field on that ſide, inveſted Alcantara in the province of Alentejo, which ſurrendered; and the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven hundred Spaniards were made priſoners. They afterwards laid ſiege to Albuquerque, which held out a week, and then capitulated on honourable terms. It was afterwards debated, whether they ſhould inveſt Bajadox; but that town being better fortified than either of the former, the deſign was laid aſide, as the Portugueſe were not provided with ammunition ſufficient for the undertaking.

The marquis de la Minas, who commanded the Portugueſe in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salvaterra, plundered and burned Sarca, but was obliged to retire to Penamacos, on the appearance of the enemy; which concluded the campaign in that part of the country.

The affairs of the allies at ſea, during this year, were conducted with ſpirit, and attended with ſucceſs. The moſt remarkable atchievement of this ſummer was the reduction of Barcelona by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who in the latter end of May ſailed from St. Helen's with the Engliſh fleet, and on the twentieth of June landed at Liſbon, where they were reinforced by Sir John Leake, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the twenty-ſecond they arrived in the bay of Barcelona, the troops were diſembarked to the eaſtward of the city, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong camp, and were well received by the country people. On the twenty-eighth, king Charles landed amidſt the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who crying out "long live the king" welcomed him with the utmoſt tranſport.

Notwithſtanding the attachment of the people of Barcelona to the houſe of Auſtria, they were over awed by a garriſon of five thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Popoli, Velaſco, and other officers who had eſpouſed the cauſe of king Philip. Although theſe circumſtances rendered the attempt apparently hazardous, it was propoſed to beſiege the place by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who ſerved in the expedition as a volunteer, ſtrongly urged by king Charles, and readily approved by the earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel. Previous to the attempt, it was deemed expedient, to ſurprize the caſtle of Montjuic, to effect which, the neceſſary preparations were made; and at ſix o'clock in the evening a detachment of a thouſand men was ordered to march by the way of Serria; and a thouſand more followed at midnight to ſupport them if there ſhould be occaſion. The outworks were carried by aſſault, with the loſs of the gallant prince of Heſſe, who was ſhot through the head, and expired in a few hours. Then the earl began to bombard the body of the fort; and a ſhell happening to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up together with the governor and ſome of the principal officers; an accident which ſo alarmed the garriſon, that they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance.

When the Engliſh general had poſſeſſed himſelf of this important ſtation, he erected his batteries againſt the town with the help of the Miquelets and ſeamen; and the bomb ketches fired with ſuch execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated; and on the fourth of October, king Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia, except Roſeas, declared for him; ſo that the largeſt and richeſt province of Spain was conquered by an army ſcarce doubling in number the garriſon of Barcelona. Charles wrote with his own hand a letter to queen Anne,

Anne, containing a circumſtantial detail of his affairs; the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, and the greateſt encomiums on the earl of Peterborough and her other ſubjects.

As it became neceſſary from the ſeaſon of the year, for the fleet to return to England; king Charles reſolved to continue in Catalonia for the encouragement of the people of that province, together with the earl of Peterborough, and the land forces, as well as all the marines that could be ſpared from on board the fleet. Accordingly, admiral Shovel ſailed for England, leaving in his way, twenty five ſail of Engliſh ſhips, commanded by admiral Leake, and fifteen ſail of Dutch, under the command of admiral Waſſenaer, to winter at Liſbon; and four Engliſh and two Dutch frigates, were left for the ſervice of king Charles, at Barcelona.

The Engliſh arms were univerſally ſucceſsful this year, except in the loſs of the homeward bound Baltic fleet with their convoy of three ſhips of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk ſquadron, under the command of the count de St. Paul, though he himſelf was killed in the action. When an account of this event was communicated to the French king; he replied with a ſigh, "Very well; "I wiſh the ſhips were ſafe again in any Eng- "liſh port; provided the count de St. Paul "could be reſtored to life." The count was eſteemed the beſt ſeaman in France, after the death of the famous Dubart.

The election of members for the new parliament now engaged the attention of the Engliſh; but after a violent oppoſition a majority of whigs was returned. The great ſeal was taken from Sir Nathan Wright, and committed to the care of Mr. William Cowper, with the title of lord keeper. The new parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth of October, a warm conteſt aroſe about the choice of a ſpeaker. The tories propoſed Mr. Bromley, and the Whigs Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty three voices.

Her majeſty, in her ſpeech, urged the neceſſity of acting with the utmoſt vigour againſt France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe; aſſured them that the ſupplies voted ſhould not only be frugally managed; but ſhe would continue to add to them out of her own revenue. She informed them, that the parliament of Scotland had paſſed an act, impowering her to appoint commiſſioners to treat of an union, agreeable to one paſſed in England the laſt ſeſſion; and at the ſame time hoped they would by their concurrence promote this important work; ſhe earneſtly recommended an union among themſelves, and ſaid, ſhe could not without grief obſerve, that there were ſome among them, who endeavoured to ferment animoſities by malicious as well as unwarrantable affirmations; and that the beſt proof of their zeal for the preſervation of the church, would be to join heartily in proſecuting the war againſt an enemy, who would extirpate their religion, and reduce them to ſlavery; that ſhe would always affectionately ſupport the eſtabliſhed church, and inviolably maintain the toleration; that ſhe would uſe eve y poſſible means to prevent their diviſions and promote their general ſafety and happineſs; and that thoſe who would concur with her in theſe laudable deſigns, might reſt aſſured of her favour and protection. The houſes in conſequence of this ſpeech, preſented addreſſes in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection. The commons aſſured her majeſty of their aſſiſtance in bringing the treaty of union to a happy concluſion; after which, having diſcuſſed and decided ſome controverted elections, they proceeded to examine the eſtimates for the ſervices of the enſuing year, and chearfully granted ſuch ſupplies as were wanted.

During the time that her majeſty was in the houſe, on the fifteenth of November, lord Haverſham, at the end of a long ſpeech, in which he reflected on the conduct of the duke of Marlborough and the behaviour of the Dutch; moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, deſiring her to invite the preſumptive heir to the crown of England, to come and reſide in the kingdom. This motion was, however, ſoon dropped, though it was ſeconded by ſeveral perſons preſent.

The famous debate concerning the danger of the church, was held in the houſe of lords

on the ſixth of December; her majeſty being preſent to hear the reaſonings on this ſubject. It was opened by the earl of Rocheſter, and the reaſons he aſſigned in ſupport of his opinion that the church was in danger, were, the ſecurity act in Scotland, the abſence of the heir to the crown, and the parliament's not paſſing the occaſional bill. He was anſwered by lord Hallifax, who aſſerted, that the ſecurity act being meerly of a political nature, was foreign to eccleſiaſtical affairs; and was unavoidably paſſed to prevent an immediate rebellion. He ſlighted the ſecond reaſon as trivial, and with reſpect to the third, obſerved, that the matter had been ſufficiently canvaſſed; and the houſe had given their opinion of it already. The biſhop of London alledged that the church was in danger, from the profaneſs, irreligion and licentiouſneſs of the times; as well as the pernicious tendency of ſeveral ſermons, which had been lately preached, in which rebellion was countenanced, and reſiſtance to the higher powers encouraged. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum anſwered him, and affirmed, that extraordinary care had been taken of late in promoting religion; erecting ſchools for the inſtruction of youth, and giving away books to excite piety; in which uſeful works, one thouſand two hundred pounds had been expended the laſt year. The archbiſhop of York declared, that he apprehended danger from the increaſe of diſſenters; particularly from the many academies they had erected; to which lord Wharton anſwered, by complaining of the ſchools and ſeminaries held by nonjurors. The biſhop of Ely complained of the heat and violence in the univerſities. The biſhop of Litchfield alledged the abuſive language commonly uſed againſt the biſhops; the biſhop of Bath and Wells the invidious terms of high church and low church. The lord Somers cloſed the debate by a healing ſpeech. The queſtion was put, whether the church was in danger? and carried in the negative by a great majority. Then the houſe reſolved; "That the church "of England as by law eſtabliſhed, which was "reſcued from imminent danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now, by "God's bleſſing, under the auſpicious reign "of her majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and that whoever went about "to inſinuate to the contrary, was an enemy "to the queen, the church, and the kingdom." This vote being communicated to the commons, and their concurrence deſired therein; it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty voices; whereupon both houſes joined in addreſſes to the queen, exhibiting the ſaid reſolution, deſiring her majeſty to make it public, and to puniſh the authors and promoters of the ſcandalous report of the church's being in danger, and a proclamation was accordingly publiſhed.

*A. D.* 1706. The queen went to the houſe of peers on the ſeventeenth day of March, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts, made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein ſhe thanked them for the effectual proviſion made to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the ſteps they had taken toward the amendment of the law. She commended their unanimity and zeal throughout the whole ſeſſion; and deſired they would ſtill continue to ſhew a juſt diſlike of all faction in their ſeveral counties; and then prorogued the parliament to the twenty-fifth of May following.

An affair of the utmoſt conſequence now engaged the attention of the public; namely, a treaty for eſtabliſhing an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The queen having lately, in conſequence of the power which had been granted her by parliament, appointed the commiſſioners on both ſides; they met at the council chamber of the Cock-pit near Whitehall, on the ſixteenth day of April. Their commiſſions being opened and read by the reſpective ſecretaries, and introductory ſpeeches being pronounced by the lord keeper of England, and the lord chancellor of Scotland; they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, that all the propoſals ſhould be made in writing, and every point when agreed reduced into writing; that no points ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the two parliaments for their approbation; that a committee ſhould be appointed

pointed from each commiſſion, to reviſe the minutes which might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books, by the reſpective ſecretaries; and that during the whole treaty, the moſt profound ſecrecy ſhould be obſerved with regard to their proceedings.

All theſe preliminaries were agreed to, with this proviſo; that all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to or from any part or place within the ſaid united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there ſhould be a communication of all other privileges and advantages, which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom. To this the Engliſh commiſſioners conſented, under ſuch terms as might be found for their mutual advantage in the farther progreſs of the treaty.

On the twenty-ſecond of July the treaty was compleated, ſigned and ſealed, and on the next day the lords commiſſioners of both kingdoms waited on the queen at her palace of St. James's, where they were preſented to her majeſty by the lord keeper in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners; while at the ſame time, a ſealed copy of the inſtrument was likewiſe delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland, and each made an oration on the ſubject, to which the queen returned a very gracious reply. The ſame day, ſhe iſſued an order in council, that whoever ſhould be concerned in any ſeditious diſcourſe or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, ſhould be proceeded againſt according to law.

The ſubſtance of this celebrated treaty was as follows; that England and Scotland ſhould from the firſt of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain; that the ſucceſſion ſhould he veſted in the princeſs Sophia and her heirs; that all papiſts, or perſons that marry papiſts, ſhould be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown; that the united kingdom ſhould be repreſented by one parliament; that all ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of rights, and all advantages, and be under the ſame reſtrictions and regulations; that Scotland ſhould be exempted from the temporary duties on ſome commodities; that the ſum of three hundred, ninety-eight thouſand, and eighty five pounds ten ſhillings ſhould be granted to the Scots as an equivalent for ſuch part of the cuſtoms and exciſe, charged upon that kingdom in conſequence of the union, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion, which the cuſtoms and exciſe of Scotland bore to thoſe of England; that as the revenue of Scotland might increaſe, a further equivalent ſhould be allowed for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England; that the ſum to be paid at preſent, as well as the money ariſing from the future equivalents, ſhould be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the Engliſh coin; in paying off the capital ſtock and intereſt due to the proprietors of the African company, which ſhould be immediately diſſolved; in diſcharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; and in promoting manufactures and fiſheries, under the direction of commiſſioners appointed by her majeſty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain; that the laws concerning public right, policy and civil government, ſhould be the ſame throughout the kingdom; but that no alteration ſhould be made in laws which referred to private property, except for evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland; that the court of ſeſſion, and all courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges as they enjoyed before the union; ſubject, however, to ſuch regulations as ſhould be made by the parliament of Great Britain; that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs of Scotland, ſhould remain entire after the union; that Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain by ſixteen peers, and forty five commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament of Scotland; that all the peers in Scotland, and the ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhould, from

and

and after the union be peers of Great Britain, and ſhould have rank and precedency immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union; that they ſhould be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all the privileges of peers as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and particularly the right of ſitting on the trials of peers; that the crown, ſcepter, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and regiſters whatſoever ſhould remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhould ceaſe and be declared void by the reſpective parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such was the ſubſtance of that famous treaty which was ſoon after concluded, and which happily united the different parts of this iſland under the ſame monarchy; and it is much to be regretted that it has not had the happy effect of entirely uniting the minds of the inhabitants of both kingdoms.

While theſe affairs were on the carpet at home, the allies on the continent were remarkably ſucceſsful. The French had formed a deſign this campaign as well as the former, to ſurprize the duke of Marlborough before the Danes and Pruſſians could join him; and accordingly, in the beginning of May, the duke of Bavaria and mareſchal Villars decamped from Tirlemont, and paſſing the Dyle, marched directly towards the confederate army. The duke, by early intelligence, perceiving their drift, diſpatched an expreſs to the Dutch troops to join him; who by the twenty ſecond of May arrived within a league of his camp.

The duke of Marlborough advanced with his army, on Whitſunday in the morning, towards the village of Ramillies; where he was ſurprized with the agreeable news, that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Reſolving to avail themſelves of every advantage, which the nature of the ground afforded, the enemy took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp, their right extending to the Tomb of Hautemont on the ſide of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk, and Ramillies in the center. The allied army was drawn up, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yauſe; and their left was poſted near the village of Franquinies.

Lieutenant general Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, received the duke's orders to begin the action by aſſaulting the village of Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified. This attempt was couragiouſly made, and ſucceſsfully executed. The Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing charged with great intrepidity, but were ſo warmly received by the enemy, that they began to fall into diſorder, when the duke ordered them to be ſupported with the body of reſerve, and twenty ſquadrons drawn from the right wing. Here while his grace was rallying ſome, and giving his orders for others to charge, he expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent danger; being ſurrounded by the enemy, and falling from his horſe at the ſame time, he muſt have inevitably been killed or taken priſoner, had not a body of infantry come timely to his aſſiſtance, and obliged the enemy to retire. While he remounted his horſe, a cannon ball took off the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horſe, as he held the duke's ſtirrup. Before the arrival of the reinforcement, which the duke had ordered, the Dutch and Danes had returned to the charge, and the beſt part of the French muſqueteers were cut in pieces. By this time all the forces poſted in Ramillies were either killed or taken, and the right wing of the enemy's horſe were entirely defeated. The horſe of the allies left fell upon the enemy's foot on their right, of whom they ſlew great numbers, cutting to pieces above twenty of their battalions, whoſe colours and cannon they took. The French king's own regiment of foot begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the lord John Hay's dragoons. They now gave way on all ſides; the horſe fled three different ways, but were ſo cloſely purſued

purſued that very few eſcaped. The elector of Bavaria and mareſchal Villeroy ſaved themſelves with the utmoſt difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow paſs, obſtructed the way in ſuch a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in good order. The victorious horſe being made acquainted with this accident, purſued them ſo hotly, that great numbers threw down their arms and ſubmitted. The purſuit was followed till two in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvain. In a word, the confederates obtained a complete victory. They took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours or ſtandards, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers, and about eight thouſand were killed or wounded. The loſs of the allies did not exceed three thouſand men, including prince Lewis of Heſſe, and Mr. Bentick, who loſt their lives in the engagement.

A reduction of all Brabant was the immediate conſequence of the battle of Ramillies; and the principal cities of the Netherlands ſoon after ſubmitted and acknowledged king Charles.

The conſternation with which the people of Paris were overwhelmed is almoſt incredible; Lewis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmneſs and compoſure; but the conſtraint had ſuch an effect upon his conſtitution, that his phyſicians thought it neceſſary to preſcribe frequent bleeding in order to prevent more fatal conſequences. Univerſal ſilence reigned at his court, no mention being made of military affairs.

The count of Medavy-grancy, who commanded a body of troops in the Mantuan territories obtaining an advantage, ſerved to raiſe in ſome degree the ſpirits of the French. He defeated a party of the allies in the neighbourhood of Caſtiglione; but this victory was attended with no great conſequence in their favour.

A deſign of making a deſcent this year upon France, had been formed by the confederates; accordingly, the combined fleets under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſailed from England with ten thouſand land forces on board, about the middle of Auguſt; but being detained a conſiderable time by contrary winds, that deſign was laid aſide, and the earl Rivers, with the land forces on board, ſailed for Liſbon, where they arrived on the eighteenth of October. The earl propoſed the joining a body of the Portugueſe troops, and marching directly to Madrid; but the Portugueſe being but ill provided for ſuch an expedition, and the earl inſiſting that he would not be commanded by any but the king, they did not think fit to come into thoſe meaſures; whereupon he ſailed to Alicant, and having landed the troops there, returned to England.

The king of France was now reduced to take the moſt mortifying meaſures. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the ſtates general, containing propoſals, for opening a congreſs. In theſe propoſals, however, his ſincerity was ſuſpected; they were therefore attended with no good effect; and the allies reſolved to exert themſelves with redoubled vigour in the enſuing campaign. The duke of Marlborough having had ſeveral conferences with the ſtates general, and ſettled a plan for continuing the Heſſian troops in Italy, embarked for England, and on the eighteenth of November, he arrived in London.

The parliament of Scotland now took into conſideration the treaty of union lately concluded between the commiſſioners of both kingdoms. On the third of October, the duke of Queenſbury, as high commiſſioner, produced the queen's letter, which earneſtly recommended the compleating the union; he afterwards made a ſpeech on the occaſion, and another to the ſame purpoſe was made by the lord chancellor Seafield.

The diverſity of opinions on this important affair, was very great. The jacobites to a man declared againſt it, conſcious, that ſhould it take affect, it would for ever extinguiſh all their hopes of effecting the reſtoration of the abdicated family. Many of the preſbyterians ſeemed averſe to the meaſure from a ground-

leſs apprehenſion; that their church would be in danger from the ſmall influence the Scots would have in the Engliſh parliament.

By the moſt ſenſible and unprejudiced part of the people the treaty was, however, ſupported; and particularly by the dukes of Queenſbury, and Argyle; the earls of Montroſe, Seafield, and Stair; in a word, by every one who ſincerely regarded, and really underſtood the true intereſt of his country. It would be tedious as well as improfitable to enter into a detail of the debates in the many days, wherein the ſeveral articles were diſtinctly, and ſeparately conſidered from the tenth of October, to the tenth of January, on which day it received the royal aſſent; ſuffice it therefore to obſerve, that all thoſe who oppoſed the treaty, the only perſons on whom the parliament thought proper to beſtow any notice, were the preſbyterian clergy, who, conſidering their firm attachment to the government, and the great influence they poſſeſſed with the people, deſerved the higheſt regard. In order to remove thoſe groundleſs apprehenſions with which they had been alarmed, an article was now inſerted in the treaty, declaring as a fundamental article of the union, that the preſbyterian doctrine ſhould prevail in the church of Scotland and not be liable to any alteration in future times.

The Scottiſh parliament having paſſed an act to preſcribe the method for chooſing the repreſentatives for that kingdom, in the firſt parliament of Great Britain, and paſſed ſeveral other bills, the lord commiſſioner made a ſpeech, and adjourned them to the twenty ſecond day of April.

An addreſs was preſented to her majeſty by the houſe of lords on the ſeventh of December, requeſting that the honours and titles of the duke of Marlborough ſhould be ſettled upon his poſterity by act of parliament; and they prayed her majeſty's direction therein, to which ſhe was graciouſly pleaſed ſoon after to ſignify her royal aſſent; and then a bill was brought in accordingly, and immediately paſſed both houſes.

*A. D.* 1705. The houſe of commons addreſſed her majeſty in the beginning of January, intimating, as ſhe was pleaſed to erect the houſe of Blenheim, as a monument of the glorious actions of the duke of Marlborough, their willingneſs to make proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity to his poſterity, in ſuch a manner as her majeſty ſhould think fit. In conſequence of this intimation, the queen declared, that, ſhe having ſettled an annual penſion of five thouſand pounds, out of the revenue of the Poſt Office, on the duke of Marlborough, it would be agreeable to her, if that might be continued to his poſterity for ever. Accordingly, an act for that purpoſe was immediately paſſed.

The queen went to the houſe of lords on the twenty-eighth of January, and paſſed ſeveral public and private acts, and then made a ſpeech, acquainting them, that the union being perfected by the parliament of Scotland, ſhe had ordered the ſame to be laid before them, for their concurrence in it. She alſo intimated, that, Scotland being to have an equivalent for what that kingdom is obliged to contribute towards the debts of England, it was neceſſary to provide for the payment thereof. In the houſe of lords, previous to the entering upon conſideration of the articles of the union, a bill was ordered to be brought in for the ſecurity of the church of England; an act for the ſecuring of preſbytery in Scotland, having paſſed there before the articles of the union. The purport was, that the act of uniformity ſhould be in force for ever; that every king or queen hereafter, at their coronation, ſhould take an oath to preſerve the ſettlement of the church, and the doctrine and diſcipline thereof; and that this act ſhould be held a fundamental and eſſential part of the union.

The dukes of Marlborough and Vendome, loſt this ſeaſon, in marches and countermarches in the Netherlands; but theſe generals were ſo abundantly cautious, that no action happened between the two armies, nor was any town beſieged; but both ſides at the end of this campaign, occupied their former winter quarters.

The ſiege of Toulon was ſo much the object

ject of the attention of the allies, that other matters were much neglected. The latter end of June, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, began their march thither, with an army of between forty and fifty thouſand men; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the combined fleet and tranſports, having taken on board their heavy cannon, with the proviſions and ammunition neceſſary to carry on the ſiege.

The army paſſed the Var with ſmall oppoſition, on the eleventh of July, and then the duke of Savoy made a halt to refreſh his troops, and in order to be joined by his cavalry, which was not yet arrived, and to this delay the miſcarriage of that enterprize has been attributed; for the intention of the allies to beſiege Toulon being now no longer doubted, the enemy drew their troops thither from all parts; and not only repaired and augmented the fortifications of the town, but perfectly covered it with forty battalions, forming a fortified camp.

When the army of the allies arrived before the place, prince Eugene obſerved the diſpoſition of the enemy; and finding he muſt fight an army intrenched in the outworks, and on the heights that ſurrounded the place, and which were furniſhed with an infinite number of guns, was for retreating forthwith. But the duke of Savoy was poſitive in his opinion for carrying on the enterprize, and accordingly, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for attacking the hill of St. Catharine, which the enemy had fortified; and in this firſt attempt the allies were ſucceſsful. They alſo attacked and carried two ſmall forts near the harbour; but the enemy, whoſe forces were increaſed, attacked their camp, and recovered the hill of St. Catharine, about the ſixteenth of Auguſt.

The impoſſibility of taking Toulon, at length appearing to the duke of Savoy, who received intelligence that the enemy had now ſixty battalions in their intrenchments, beſides a numerous cavalry, he agreed to deſiſt from the enterprize. However, by way of retaliation for the ruin of his capital city of Turin, he gave directions for the bombarding of Toulon both by ſea and land; and both himſelf and prince Eugene advanced to an eminence to behold the dreadful blaze.

Fifteen men of war under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, proceeded for England, and on the twenty-firſt of October arrived in ſoundings; but by miſtake ſteering a wrong courſe, his own ſhip, the Aſſociation, ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly, wherein periſhed himſelf and every ſoul on board. Such was the unhappy fate of the Eagle, and Romney. The Firebrand was daſhed in pieces on the rocks, but the captain and twenty-four of his men ſaved themſelves in the boat; the Phœnix ran aground, but the crew ſaved themſelves. Sir George Byng in the Royal Anne, by ſkilful ſteerage changed her courſe in a moment, and ſaved the ſhip when in the moſt imminent danger of ſtriking. The admiral's body, being caſt aſhore, was taken up by ſome country people, ſtripped, and afterwards buried in the ſands; but upon enquiry, was found and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where her majeſty erected a monument for him at her own expence. Sir Cloudeſley was born of obſcure parentage in the county of Suffolk; but built his own fame, on his integrity, courage, and conduct.

The firſt parliament of Great Britain meeting on the twenty-third of October, the queen in a ſpeech to both houſes mitigated the miſcarriages in Provence and Spain, repreſenting the neceſſity of making further efforts againſt the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſow jealouſies in the commonwealth. The commons in their addreſs, expreſſed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion towards her majeſty's government; but in the houſe of lords, the earl of Wharton expatiated upon the ſcarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the miſmanagement of the navy. He was ſeconded by the lord Somers, and the leaders of all the tory party, who propoſed to conſider the ſtate of the nation, before they proceeded to any other buſineſs.

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The raiſing the earl of Orford again to the head of the admiralty, ſeems to have been the view of Wharton and Somers; and the tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped in the courſe of the enquiry to fix the blame of all miſmanagement upon the whig miniſters. A day being fixed for this examination, the houſe received a petition from the ſheriffs aud merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes by ſea, for want of cruizers and convoys, and theſe complaints were proved by witneſſes. The commons made ſome progreſs in an enquiry of the ſame nature, and brought in a bill for the better ſecuring the trade of the kingdom; and at the ſame time chearfully granted the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They alſo reſolved, that there ſhould be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain; that the militia of Scotland ſhould be put on the ſame footing with that of England; that the powers of the juſtices of peace ſhould be the ſame through the whole iſland; that the lords juſticiary in Scotland, ſhould go circuits twice a year, and that the writs for electing Scottiſh members to ſerve in the houſe of commons, ſhould be directed, and returns made in the ſame manner as practiſed in England. Her majeſty recommended an increaſe in the aids granted to the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, at the time ſhe paſſed theſe bills.

William Gregg, a clerk in Mr. ſecretary Harley's office, was, about this period, committed to Newgate for high treaſon, in correſponding with the enemy, and on the nineteenth of January, he was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, and confeſſed the indictments. It was ſuppoſed by many, that the ſecretary would have been found to have had a ſhare in that correſpondence, but Gregg honourably acquitted him with his laſt breath.

*A. D* 1708. The following promotions of ſea officers were made by the lord high admiral in the latter end of January. Sir John Leake was nominated admiral of the white ſquadron, and admiral in chief of her majeſty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Norris, vice admiral of the white; Sir John Jennings, vice admiral of the red; lord Durſley, vice admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear admiral of the red; and John Baker Eſq; rear admiral of the white. Mr. Harley reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſucceeded by the right honourable Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. Sir Thomas Manſell, comptroller of the houſhold; Sir Simon Harcourt attorney general, and Mr. St. John, ſecretary of war, alſo reſigned their places.

The French king, in revenge for the invaſion of his kingdom, and beſieging a place of ſuch importance to him as Toulon, endeavoured to ſhew on his ſide the diſtraction an invaſion produces. He was invited to it by the evident diſcontent of the Scottiſh nation, occaſioned by the union, where many in the vehemence of their miſguided zeal, gave oblique hints, that the pretended prince of Wales would be no unwelcome gueſt. The French therefore, propoſed to fix the ſeat of war in Great Britain, by affording their aſſiſtance to the chevalier de St. George.

With all poſſible expedition, therefore, they fitted out a fleet of men of war and tranſports at Dunkirk, and ten thouſand land forces, with many officers, and a great quantity of proviſion and ammunition were put on board. Major general Cadogan, her majeſty's envoy in Holland, ſoon gave notice of thoſe preparations; and then went to Bruſſels, and concerted matters in ſuch a manner with monſieur d'Auverquerque, that ten battalions of the Engliſh forces in Flanders were immediately drawn to the coaſt ready to be ſhipped. At the ſame time the admiralty of England uſed ſuch diſpatch in equipping a fleet; that three and twenty ſail of men of war under the command of Sir George Byng, and the lord Durſley, appeared before Dunkirk on the twenty ſeventh day of February, when the enemy vainly hoped, that the Engliſh had no fleet abroad. The pretender arrived at Dunkirk on the ninth of March; but the ſight of the Engliſh fleet induced the French admiral monſieur Fourbin, to write back to court for freſh inſtructions; and to colour the delay of this proceeding, it was pretended the young prince was ſick.

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In anſwer to Fourbin's letter, the French king returned poſitive orders to his admiral to venture out, and at the ſame time contrary winds had forced the combined fleet back again. The allied fleet was by this time reinforced to the number of forty ſail of line of battle ſhips, beſides frigates and tenders. Sir George Byng, having received advice, that the enemy had ſailed out of the harbour on the ſeventeenth day of March, immediately ſet ſail after them, at the ſame time the forces were ſhipped off at Oſtend, and admiral Baker convoyed them over; theſe forces, together with ſeveral regiments of horſe marched for Scotland with all expedition. But theſe precautions were rendered unneceſſary by the vigilance of Sir George Byng, who arrived at the Frith of Edinburgh almoſt as ſoon as the enemy; whereupon, they took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the ſail they could crowd.

At the break of day, the combined fleet deſcried the enemy, and immediately gave chace; but were out-ſailed, ſo that except the Saliſbury, a man of war formerly taken from the Engliſh, they all eſcaped. They roved about ſome time with intention to land at Inverneſs; but having no pilots, and the wind not permitting a frigate, which they had ſent for ſome proviſions, to get aſhore, they ſtood off, and by diſperſing themſelves in that wide ſea and hazy weather, made ſhift to get back to Dunkirk in a moſt ſhattered condition. There were taken priſoners on board the Saliſbury, the lords Griffin and Clermont, and Mr. Middleton, a lieutenant general, his aid de camp; a colonel, two lieutenant colonels, five captains, and two lieutenants, two hundred and fifty ſeamen, together with all the officers of the ſhip. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew their gratitude for their deliverance, preſented Sir George Byng with his freedom of the city, the inſtrument being incloſed in a gold box, inſcribed in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion.

The lords Griffin, and Clermont, Mr. Middleton, and ſeveral other priſoners taken on board the Saliſbury, were brought up to London, and committed priſoners to the Tower, and Newgate, and the duke of Hamilton, the lord Belhaven, and ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry, that were ſuſpected of carrying on any correſpondence with the court of St. Germain's, were brought to London, and confined in the Tower, and Newgate, but were admitted to bail ſoon afterwards.

The parliament was diſſolved by proclamation on the fifteenth of April, ſoon after which, writs were iſſued for calling a new one; at the ſame time, a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the peers of North Britain, to meet on the ſeventeenth day of June at Holyrood houſe, in Edinburgh, in order to elect ſixteen peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh parliament, purſuant to a clauſe in the treaty of union.

Lord Griffin was brought to the King's-bench bar on the fifteenth of May, and upon the former outlawry againſt him, received ſentence of death; but her majeſty was pleaſed to grant him a reprieve for a month, which was renewed from time to rime, till he died a natural death in the Tower. In Scotland the privy council was diſſolved, and the duke of Queenſbury was created a peer of England, by the title of baron of Rippon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover. At the ſame time, Robert Walpole, Eſq; was appointed ſecretary at war, on the reſignation of Henry St. John.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, having agreed to act in conjunction in the Low Countries, during this campaign, took the field about the middle of May. They then marched to the general rendezvous; and having left no other troops at Ghent, and Bruges, than the country militia, theſe places, on the appearance of a detachment of French troops, ſurrendered to them without oppoſition. The enemy advanced as far as Dutch Flanders, and laid the whole country under contribution. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the chevalier de St. George, who this year took the field with the duke of Vendome, looked upon themſelves ſo much ſuperior to the confederates, that they reſolved upon the ſiege of Oudenarde, and ac-

cordingly inveſted that place on the ninth day of July, which occaſioned a battle two days after.

Being acquainted with the enemy's deſign, the duke of Marlborough, by an expeditious march, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Leſſines, which the French endeavoured to have poſſeſſed. There he was joined by prince Eugene with part of his forces; that general having ſent a reinforcement to the relief of Oudenarde, which was immediately abandoned by the enemy.

This diſappointment induced the French to paſs the Schelde at Gavre, where the duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene paſſed alſo, reſolving to give them battle, though the number of the enemy greatly exceeded that of the allies. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon the battle began, but could not be deemed a general engagement till ſeven in the evening, when the action became very furious and doubtful on both ſides; for the French being continually reinforced, they maintained the fight with great vigour and reſolution for ſome time; at length, they were totally defeated, by the ſuperior conduct and courage of Eugene and Marlborough.

The French retreated towards Ghent in the night, having loſt above three thouſand men on the field of battle, together with ſeven hundred officers, ſeven pieces of cannon, and upwards of one hundred ſtandards and colours; while on the other hand, the loſs of the confederates did not exceed eight hundred and twenty-four killed, and two thouſand, two hundred wounded.

To give full proof of their contempt for the enemy, the confederates reſolved to inveſt Liſle, the capital of a large rich diſtrict; the ſtaple of trade between France and the Low Countries, and accounted one of the keys of France. There was in the town, which is one of the moſt finiſhed fortifications in Europe, a garriſon of at leaſt twenty-one battalions, commanded by mareſchal Boufflers, a circumſtance, which rather animated prince Eugene to undertake the ſiege than otherwiſe.

The prince of Orange attacked it on one ſide, while prince Eugene did the ſame on the other, on the thirteenth day of Auguſt; and the duke of Marlborough covered the ſiege with the reſt of the army. On the twenty-ſecond, the trenches were opened, and the dukes of Burgundy and Vendome having joined the duke of Berwick, marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for ſeveral days cannonaded his camp; whereupon prince Eugene joined him with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot from the ſiege; but the allies finding the deſign of the French was only to retard the ſiege, the duke of Marlborough intrenched himſelf; and prince Eugene returned to Liſle, where the bravery of the French made the ſiege go on very heavily.

As prince Eugene was in the intrenchments, giving his orders, on the twenty-firſt of September, he was wounded by a muſquet ball, which grazed upon his ſkull, and confined him to his tent for ſome days; while the duke of Marlborough had the command both of the ſiege and of the covering army. Mareſchal Boufflers having informed the duke of Vendome that ammunition began to be wanting in the town, the duke detached the chevalier Luxembourgh with two thouſand horſe and dragoons, each of them carrying a bag of ſixty pounds of gun powder; but they were diſcovered by the allies, who purſued them to the barrier of the town, where by ſome accident, ſeveral bags of powder took fire, and a great number of the enemy were blown up, together with their horſes by the exploſion; only about three hundred of them got into the town, many wheeling off, to eſcape under favour of the night.

The diſtreſs of the allies for want of proviſion was not leſs than that of the beſieged; their communication with Bruſſels being in a manner cut off by the duke of Vendome; this obſtructed the ſiege until the arrival of ſome troops from England, under the command of major general Earle, who landed at Oſtend on the twenty firſt of September. The duke of Marlborough, therefore, reſolved to ſend ſeven hundred waggons, under the convoy of part of thoſe forces. The waggons were

were accordingly loaded and ſent forward; but a body of French being ſent to intercept them, major general Webb marched with a body of troops to meet and reinforce the convoy. This officer being met by the French at a place called Wynendale, in a paſs between two woods, diſpoſed his battalions ſo judiciouſly, and his men fought ſo bravely, that with ſix thouſand men he maintained a fight of two hours againſt twenty thouſand of the enemy; and in the end forced them to retreat in great confuſion, having loſt, including officers, only nine hundred and twelve of his own people, and leaving upwards of ſix thouſand of the enemy ſlain on the field of battle.

The convoy with the proviſions marched forward during the battle, and arrived ſafe in the camp before Liſle on the thirtieth of September; but the duke of Vendome in order to cut off the communication of the beſiegers with Oſtend, marched himſelf towards Bruges with a ſtrong detachment, and cauſed the dykes to be cut and laid under water; inſomuch, that it was with infinite hazard and difficulty, that the allies brought over their ammunition afterwards in boats, to the places where the waggons waited to carry it to the camp. But the confederates having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties; on the twenty third of October the town of Liſle ſurrendered upon articles of capitulation. The caſtle ſtill continued to make a vigorous defence, and while the allies lay before this place the duke of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Bruſſels, which probably he would have effected, had not the army, under the duke of Marlborough marched to its relief.

The citadel capitulated on the eighth of December, and on the tenth the mareſchal Boufflers marched out with the garriſon, with the uſual marks of honour and was conducted to Douay.

The allied army inveſted Ghent on the eighteenth of December, where the count de la Motte commanded with thirty battalions, notwithſtanding which the town ſurrendered on the thirtieth. About the beginning of the next month, the enemy abandoned Plaſſendal and Leſſengen, and retreated to their own country, whereby this ſucceſsful campaign was terminated.

During this ſummer, commodore Wager fell in with the Spaniſh galleons off Carthagena, but two of his captains being remiſs in their duty, moſt of them eſcaped: however, the Spaniſh admiral, computed to be worth three millions of pieces of eight, blew up in the engagement. At the ſame time the Commodore took the rear admiral, which was very rich; his own ſhare amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. When the commodore arrived at Jamaica, the two captains were broke, in conſequence of the ſentence of a court martial.

An inſult offered to the ambaſſador from Moſcovy, about this time, was a very diſagreeable circumſtance to the Engliſh court. He was arreſted in the ſtreet, at the ſuit of one Morton, a laceman, and maltreated by the baliffs, who dragged him to a ſpunging-houſe, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feverſham, and a merchant in the city. The ambaſſador, enraged at this inſult, demanded redreſs of the government, and was ſeconded in his remonſtrances, by the ambaſſadors from ſeveral other powers.

Her majeſty was exceedingly incenſed againſt the authors of this outrage, who were taken into cuſtody, and ordered to be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of the law. Mr. ſecretary Boyle aſſured him, that he ſhould receive ample ſatisfaction; notwithſtanding which, he demanded a paſſport for himſelf and his family; and retiring to Holland, refuſed the cuſtomary preſents.

On the twenty eighth of October, an aſthmatic diſorder put a period to the life of prince George of Denmark, in the fifty ſixth year of his age. He was a prince poſſeſſed of many amiable and engaging qualities, but deſtitute of great talents, and little qualified for making a figure in the world. He had always lived in great harmony with the queen; who, during the whole courſe of their marriage, and eſpecially in his laſt illneſs, gave evident marks of her ſincere regard for him.

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The earl of Pembroke was made lord high admiral on the twenty-fifth of November, and the earl of Wharton ſucceeded him in the lieutenancy of Ireland; and the lord Somers was made preſident of the council. The duke of Marlborough now began to decline in his credit with the queen, whoſe actions and ſentiments were privately influenced by Mr. Harley.

Sir Richard Onſlow was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons at the meeting of parliament on the ſixteenth of November. Her majeſty being abſent on account of the late demiſe of her conſort, commiſſioners were appointed to repreſent her royal perſon; in whoſe name the lord chancellor made a ſpeech, in which he recommended a large ſupply for the army in Flanders, and another for the fleet; proviſion of ſuch laws as might be neceſſary to make the union more perfect, and an improvement of the commerce of the nation.

Addreſſes on the death of the prince, and the ſucceſs of her majeſty's arms, were preſented by both houſes; who proceeded to examine the different branches of the ſupply; and voted an augmentation of ten thouſand men, as neceſſary to carry on the war with vigour. There paſſed this ſeſſion, an act for naturalizing all foreigners, being proteſtants: and another to aſcertain the privilege of ambaſſadors. In this parliament, the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland were voted incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons.

Proper enquiries having been made concerning the intended invaſion of Scotland, after many debates on the ſubject, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords under the title of "An Act for improving the union of "the two kingdoms." It referred to trials for treaſon committed in Scotland, which by this law, were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with very little variation. It was oppoſed by the Scottiſh members as an incroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by ſeveral of the Engliſh, who had made it a maxim to oppoſe every meaſure of the court. Notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. The queen, however, in order to make them eaſy, conſented to an act of grace, wherein all treaſons were pardoned, except ſuch as were committed on the high ſeas; an exception made to prevent thoſe who had embarked with the pretender from reaping any benefit by the act.

The parliament was prorogued on the twenty-firſt of April, by the lord chancellor, who addreſſed them in the name of her majeſty.

*A. D.* 1709. Overtures of peace being received from France about this time, the lords reſolved to addreſs her majeſty, deſiring her to take care at the concluſion of the war, that the French king ſhould be obliged to own her majeſty's title, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; that her allies be guarantees of the treaty; and that the pretender be removed out of the French dominions. This addreſs being ſent to the commons for their concurrence, they added to it a clauſe, inſiſting on the demolition of Dunkirk.

The duke of Holſtein's envoy monſieur Petkum, aſſiſted to advance the negotiation, and by his means the allies were prevailed upon to permit the preſident de Rouille to come into the Netherlands, in order to carry on the negotiation on the part of France. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year, that miniſter had ſeveral private conferences with Buy's and Vanderhuſſen: the ſtates gave immediate advice to the emperor and the queen of Great Britain, who diſpatched Eugene and Marlborough to Holland, as her negotiators.

The demands of the confederates were communicated to the court of France by monſieur de Rouille, and the duke of Marlborough returned to England, to inform the queen of the progreſs made in the negotiation, and to receive her further commands. The duke ſoon after repaired to Holland, with the lord Townſhend, as joint plenipotentiary; and prince Eugene being likewiſe at the Hague, the conferences immediately commenced.

The miniſter from the court of France ſaid that his maſter agreed to the demolition of Dunkirk; that he would acknowledge her majeſty's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion;

that

that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, and yield the places in the Netherlands, garriſoned by the Dutch for their barrier; and that, with regard to the empire, he would reſtore all things as they were ſettled by the treaty of Ryſwick, and demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburg. The allies, not contented with theſe conceſſions, further inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the upper and lower Alſace; the town of Straſburg; the town and caſtellany of Liſle, Huningen, Fort Lewis, and New Briſac.

The conferences ended on the French king's refuſing to comply with theſe demands; Rouille was ordered to quit Holland immediately; and the confederates reſolved to open the campaign without heſitation.

Marlborough and Eugene repaired immediately to Flanders; by the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Liſle, to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand fighting men. At the ſame time the mareſchal Villars, accounted one of the moſt fortunate generals in France, aſſembled the French forces on the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals having obſerved his ſituation, and finding they could not attack him without incurring great danger, reſolved to inveſt Tournay, the garriſon of which Villars had imprudently weakened. To conceal their deſign, they made a motion towards Ypres, and while the attention of the enemy was wholly diverted to that quarter, they ſuddenly laid ſiege to Tournay. The town itſelf was eaſily taken; but the citadel was ſo ſtrong by nature and art, that, with only a weak garriſon, the ſiege was ſuſtained for a whole month, by the courage and good conduct of the governor monſieur de Surville.

The confederates proceeding by the method of ſap, their miners frequently met with thoſe of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and piſtol. The volunteers on both ſides preſented themſelves to theſe ſubterraneous combats, in the midſt of mines and countermines big with ruin and deſtruction. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and ſometimes ſprung by deſign; ſo that great numbers of theſe brave men were ſtifled below; and by a ſingle exploſion upwards of four hundred of the beſiegers met with their fate.

A practicable breach being effected on the twenty eighth of July, and the proper diſpoſitions for a general aſſault being made, the governor offered to ſurrender. Articles were drawn up and tranſmitted to Verſailles; but Lewis refuſed to ratify them, except on condition that there ſhould be a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Netherlands till the fifth of November, This condition being rejected, hoſtilities were renewed and proſecuted with great ardour and animoſity. Surville being now reduced to extremity, deſired to capitulate, and ſent certain articles to the duke of Marlborough; but he received for anſwer, that no terms were to be expected, and he muſt therefore ſurrender at diſcretion. Surville and his garriſon were, at length, obliged to ſurrender as priſoners of war, the citadel being in want of proviſions.

As ſoon as the reduction of Tournay was effected, the allies paſſed the Scheld with a reſolution to inveſt the city of Mons. The prince of Heſſe was detached to attack the French lines from the Haiſne to the Sambre, which were abandoned at his approach. In the mean time the mareſchal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, and the duke of Marlborough receiving advice that the French had detached a large part of their army to attack the advanced body commanded by the prince of Heſſe, left his camp at Havre, and made a motion to the left to ſupport the prince.

The armies approached ſo near each other, that they began to cannonade on the ninth of September. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, were poſted behind the woods of La Merte and Franciere in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the ſame number, encamped with the right towards Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of Lagniere; the head quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, inſtead of attacking the allies, fortified their camp, with tripple intrenchments, thus adding great ſtrength to a place before well defended by nature, but

which was now compleatly covered with lines, hedges, cannon, and trees laid acroſs.

Early in the morning, on the eleventh of September, the allies, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries in the center and on each wing, and the weather clearing up, began the attack about eleven o'clock with the utmoſt fury; eighty-ſix battalions on the right, commanded by general Schellemburg, the duke of Argyle and other generals, and ſupported by two and twenty battalions, under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than an hour they were driven from their intrenchments, into the woods of Sart and Taniers. The prince of Orange with ſix and thirty Dutch battalions, advanced againſt the right of the enemy poſted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Both ſides fought with the moſt intrepid reſolution: the Dutch compelled the French to quit the firſt intrenchment; but were repulſed from the ſecond with great ſlaughter. The prince of Orange renewed the attack with great fury; and the enemy at laſt ſeeing their lines forced, their left and center giving way, and Villars their general dangerouſly wounded, retreated under the conduct of Boufflers towards Bavay, and took poſt between Valenciennes and Queſnoy.

In this battle the confederates loſt twenty thouſand of their beſt troops, which was but ill repaired by their taking ſixteen pieces of artillery, forty colours and ſtandards, and a great number of priſoners. Lottum, general Tottau, Count Oxienſtern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed. Prince Eugene was ſlightly wounded on the head, and lieutenant general Webb received a ſhot in the groin. The prince of Orange had two horſes ſhot under him, but eſcaped unhurt; as did likewiſe the duke of Argyle, though his cloaths, hat, and wig had been ſhot through.

On the French abandoning the neighbourhood of Mons, the allies beſieged that city, which capitulated on the twenty ſixth of October, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

No material tranſaction happened on the Rhine, except one ſharp action between a detachment of the French army and a body of Germans, in which the latter were defeated and afterwards obliged to repaſs the river.

The French king attempted to renew the negotiation for peace at the end of this campaign; but he ſtill acted with the ſame inſincerity as formerly. His miniſter Torcy demanded paſſports, that the plenipotentiaries might repair to Holland, but the ſtates general refuſed his requeſt. They however permitted Mr. Petkum, the Holſtein reſident at the Hague to repair to Verſailles.

In the interim a manifeſto was publiſhed by king Philip, proteſting againſt every thing that ſhould be tranſacted at the Hague, to his prejudice. Petkum brought back from Verſailles a kind of memorial, importing, that the French king would willingly treat of a general and reaſonable peace, but refuſed to confine himſelf to the form of the preliminaries impoſed by the allies. The ſtates general now reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour, no doubt remaining of Lewis's inſincerity.

Her majeſty, in her ſpeech to the parliament, which met on the fifteenth of November, told them that the enemy had endeavoured by falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations of a deſire after peace, to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; that the Almighty had been pleaſed to crown the arms of the confederates with remarkable ſucceſs; and that France was, therefore, in more need of a peace than in the beginning of the campaign. She declared herſelf obliged to aſſiſt her allies in all parts, and proſecute the advantages reſulting from victory, with the utmoſt vigour, in order to finiſh the great work of reducing that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Europe. This ſpeech had the deſired ſucceſs; both houſes preſented congratulatory addreſſes, thanked the duke of Marlborough for his ſignal ſervices; and ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year were granted by the commons.

A complaint was made to the houſe of commons by Mr. Dolben, of two ſermons preached and publiſhed by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, as containing ſeveral dangerous poſitions. Sacheverel was poſſeſſed of little genius or learning, but much bigotry and intemperate zeal; he conſtantly vented his animoſity againſt the diſſenters, but was ſomewhat of a favourite among the high-church.

Sir Peter King ſeconding Mr. Dolben's motion againſt Sacheverel, the ſermons were voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels; in purſuance of which reſolution, the doctor and Henry Clements his publiſher, were ordered to attend the bar of the houſe. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of December, Sacheverel was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of both the ſermons, and declared, that he had received encouragement from the lord mayor, to print that intitled, "The perils of falſe brethren." The lord mayor, who was a member of the houſe, denied that he had ever given ſuch encouragement; upon which the commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach the doctor at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of England, appointed a committee to draw up articles againſt him, and commanded the uſher of the black rod to take him into cuſtody. On the ſeventeenth, he petitioned the houſe that he might be admitted to bail; but the commons, determined to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt rigour, denied his requeſt.

*A. D.* 1710. No other public buſineſs was carried on during this trial, which continued for three weeks; her majeſty being preſent every day, in quality of a private ſpectator. The invectives contained in the ſermons, againſt the revolution, the toleration, the union, the diſſenters, and the adminiſtration, were ſo explicit, and the doctor's acknowledgement of himſelf as author ſo frank, that there was no need of further proof on that ſubject. At laſt, after ſome violent debates, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices, but four and thirty peers entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. He was prohibited from preaching for the ſpace of three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the lord mayor and the two ſheriffs of London. The tories conſidered the lenity of this ſentence, which indeed was chiefly owing to the fear of popular reſentment, as a triumph over the whigs, and teſtified their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

While the people of England were thus engaged, the miniſters of Lewis maintained a correſpondence with Petkum, and by him intreated the ſtates general, that the negotiation might be reſumed. Theſe means proving ineffectual, Lewis reſolved to hazard another campaign, truſting for the chance of peace, to the event of the war, or a change in the Engliſh miniſtry.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough quitted the Hague for Tournay, on the fifteenth of April, to aſſemble the forces which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Flanders, and in Brabant. On the twentieth they ſuddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines thrown up by the French to cover Douay, and other frontier towns. On their approach, the troops left for the defence of the lines retired, and the allies, having thrown bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough with his diviſion paſſed the river, and encamped at Vitri, while prince Eugene inveſted Douay. Mareſchal Villars, having aſſembled all his forces, croſſed the Schelde, and encamped at Bouchain, declaring he would give battle to the confederates; but after viewing their ſituation, thought proper to retreat to the heights of St. Laurence, where he encamped.

The town of Douay capitulated fifty days after the trenches were opened, on the twenty ſixth of June, and the allies, finding it impracticable to attack the enemy in their fortified lines, undertook the ſiege of Bethune, which ſurrendered on the twenty ninth of Auguſt. Soon after, both armies marched into winter quarters, the confederates having reduced the towns of Aire and St. Venant.

The campaign on the Rhine was entirely inactive, nor was any thing of moment tranſacted in Piedmont.

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The tory party in England now began to execute the ſchemes they had formed for effecting the ruin of the whig miniſtry. A popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters, had been excited by Sacheverel's trial. Addreſſes were preſented to her majeſty from all parts, condemning all reſiſtance as rebellious, and urging her hereditary right in the ſtrongeſt terms.

Her majeſty, who was not proof againſt ſuch flattery, began to expreſs her partiality to this party, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough, whoſe intereſt was not now even ſufficient to prevent the diſmiſſion of his ſon-in-law, the earl of Sunderland from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, in which he was ſucceeded by the lord Dartmouth; and the duke of Shrewſbury was advanced to the office of lord chamberlain, in the room of the duke of Kent.

Theſe alterations gave great uneaſineſs to the whig party. The directors of the bank repreſented to the queen the prejudice that would inevitably reſult to public credit from theſe alterations. The emperor and the ſtates general interpoſed their good offices; their miniſters at London preſented memorials, explaining the injury that would redound to the common cauſe from the late proceedures. The queen aſſured them, that the duke of Marlborough ſhould be continued in his employments, whatever other changes might take place.

The lord treaſurer Godolphin was deprived of his office on the eighth day of Auguſt, and the treaſury put into commiſſion under the direction of Mr. Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under treaſurer. The earl of Rocheſter was made preſident of the council in the room of lord Somers; Henry St. John ſecretary of ſtate inſtead of Mr. Boyle; the lord chancellor having reſigned the great ſeal, it was put into commiſſion, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt; the earl of Wharton ſurrendered his commiſſion of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond; the earl of Orford retired from the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Grenville was appointed ſecretary of war in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; the command of the forces in Portugal was conferred on the earl of Portmore; and the duke of Hamilton appointed lord lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaſter. In a word, there was not one whig left in any office of ſtate, except the duke of Marlborough; and even he would have reſigned his command, had not his particular friends repreſented to him, that ſuch a ſtep could not fail of being prejudicial to the intereſt of his country. The whig parliament was alſo diſſolved, and proper care taken to obtain a majority of tories in the ſucceeding parliament.

Mr. Bromley was unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker to the new parliament, which met on the twenty fifth of November. Her majeſty in her ſpeech from the throne, recommended the proſecution of the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain; ſhe declared her reſolution to ſupport the church of England, preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution according to the union, maintain the indulgence allowed by law to ſcrupulous conſciences, and that only ſuch perſons as were attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover ſhould be employed.

The lords preſented an addreſs, importing, that they would concur in all reaſonable meaſures for procuring an honourable peace. The addreſs of the commons diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated; they exhorted her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as thoſe by which her crown and dignity had been lately endangered.

Honeywood, Macartney, and Meredith were deprived of their regiments, becauſe in their cups they had drank confuſion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

When the duke of Marlborough arrived in England on the twenty-eighth of December, the queen informed him he muſt not expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; and added, that ſhe hoped there would be a perfect agreement between him and her miniſters. The duke, with a moderation truly admirable, expreſſed no reſentment at the alterations which had been made, being reſolved to continue at the head of the army for the public good.

*A. D.* 1711. Her majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes on the third of January, informing them that there had been an action in Spain to the diſadvantage of king Charles; that the Engliſh forces had particularly ſuffered; that ſhe had ordered the loſs to be repaired by a reinforcement, and hoped they would approve her conduct. This opportunity was ſeized by the commons for inveighing againſt the old miniſtry. The duke of Marlborough, who had curbed the inſolence of France, retrieved the renown of the Britiſh arms, and ſecured the liberties of Europe, was now become the object of popular contempt and parliamentary cenſure, and his character traduced by the vileſt aſperſions; a ſtriking proof on what paltry foundations public fame is built!

A penſion of four hundred pounds, which was paid to Guiſcard, the French partizan, who had given the plan for invading Provence, during the queen's pleaſure, he now conſidered as a paltry reward. He had been abandoned by St. John, the former companion of his pleaſures, and Harley was his profeſſed enemy. Provoked at theſe diſappointments, he reſolved to make his peace with the court of France. and offered his ſervice in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris; but his packet being intercepted, a warrant was iſſued to apprehend him for high treaſon.

When the meſſenger diſarmed him in St. James's Park, he gave evident marks of guilty fear, and begged to be immediately killed, but he was conveyed to the Cockpit, where ſeeing a penknife lying upon the table, he took it up without being perceived by his attendants. Finding his correſpondence with Moreau was diſcovered, he deſired to ſpeak a word in private with Mr. ſecretary St. John. His requeſt being refuſed, and that gentleman out of his reach, he ſtepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at "thee then," ſtabbed him in the breaſt with the penknife which he had concealed; he repeated the blow with ſuch force, that though the inſtrument broke upon the bone without penetrating into the cavity, Harley immediately fell to the ground. St. John ſeeing him fall, exclaimed, "The villain "has killed Mr. Harley," and drew his ſword. His example was followed by ſeveral other members, and Guiſcard was wounded in ſeveral places; he however, made a deſperate defence, but being overpowered by the meſſengers and ſervants, he was conveyed from the council-chamber to Newgate, where, although his wounds were not ſuppoſed to be mortal, he died of a gangrene which they occaſioned.

This attempt upon Harley induced both houſes of parliament, in an addreſs to her majeſty, to declare, that, in their opinion, his zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They intreated her to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon, and for that purpoſe to give directions for cauſing all papiſts to be removed from the cities of London and Weſtminſter.

A proclamation was publiſhed in conſequence of this addreſs, directing the laws to be ſtrictly put in execution againſt papiſts. The earl of Rocheſter dying about this time, Harley became ſole miniſter, was created baron of Wigmore, and raiſed to the rank of earl, by the ancient titles of Oxford and Mortimer. He was ſoon after appointed lord treaſurer, and had the ſole management of public buſineſs.

On enquiring into the debt of the navy, the commons finding it exceeded five millions, they threw it with many other debts, into one ſtock, amounting to near nine millions and a half. To pay the intereſt at ſix per cent. of this capital, until it ſhould be diſcharged, they granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South Sea, to the proprietors of navy bills, debentures, and other public ſecurities, and incorporated them for that purpoſe. Such was the origin of the South Sea company, founded on the belief, that the Engliſh would be permitted to trade to Peru in the Weſt-Indies.

The ſmall pox carried off the emperor Joſeph; who dying without male iſſue, king Charles's immediate aim was to ſucceed his brother on the Imperial throne. At the ſame time, the houſe of commons paſſed a bill for building fifty new churches in the

ſuburbs of London and Weſtminſter, and allotted for this purpoſe the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, which was now compleated.

On the eighteenth of February the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Holland, her majeſty having aſſured him that the payment of the troops ſhould be duly remitted. About the middle of April he aſſembled an army at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay; and mareſchal Villars drew together the French forces in the neighbourhood of Cambray, and Arras, and encamped behind the river Sanſet, in ſuch an advantageous poſt, that the utmoſt danger muſt attend the attacking it.

His grace hereupon paſſed the Scarpe, and pitched his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene on the twenty third of May. This general however, did not long continue in the Netherlands; for hearing that detachments had been ſent from the army of Villars, and the neighbouring garriſons, to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, he marched with the imperial and palatine troops, in order to ſecure the German dominions.

Repaſſing the Scarpe in the interim, the duke of Malborough encamped in the plains of Lens; and thence advanced towards Aire, as if he intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. Theſe lines extended along the Sanſet and the Scarpe from Bouchain to Arras, and thence along the upper Scarpe to Canchè. They were ſecured by redoubts and other works in ſuch a manner, that Villars deemed them impenetrable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. But his towering hopes were diſappointed; Marlborough advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of faſcines to be made, and declared he would attack them the next morning; Villars, therefore, drew all his forces on that ſide, expecting an engagement. The duke, imagining that the paſſage of the Sanſet by Arleux would be left unguarded, ordered the generals Cadogan, and Hompeſch, to aſſemble twenty battalions, and ſeventeen ſquadrons from the garriſons in the neighbourhood, and endeavour to paſs the Sanſet at Arleux. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons to throw bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitri, while the duke with the whole allied army, began his march about nine in the evening. By five in the morning, he had paſſed the river Vitri, where he received intelligence, that Hompeſch had taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on the Sanſet and Schelde without oppoſition, the enemy having withdrawn their forces from that ſide, juſt as he had conjectured. Induced by this intelligence to quicken his march, he arrived before eight o'clock with his vanguard of fifty ſquadrons, at Baca Bachuel where he was joined in about two hours by his whole infantry. Villars being informed of his intention, decamped with his whole army about two in the morning, and marched at the head of the king's houſhold troops with ſuch expedition, that by eleven he was in ſight of the duke of Marlborough, who had now joined count Hompeſch. The French general retreated to the main body of his army, which had reached the high road between Arras and Cambray, while the allies encamped upon the Schelde between Oiſy and Eſtrun, after a moſt unparalleled march of ten leagues without halting.

By the happy execution of this plan, the duke, without looſing a ſingle man, entered the lines which Villars had ſaid were impregnable. The field deputies of the ſtates general propoſed that they ſhould give battle to the enemy, who had paſſed the Crevecœur in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke diſreliſhed the propoſals. His intention was to reduce Bouchain, which was judged impracticable, in as much as it was ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous garriſon, and in the neighbourhood of an army ſuperior to that of the allies, who were likewiſe expoſed to the excurſions of Valenciennes and Conde. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, and the diſſuaſions of his particular friends, he reſolved to undertake the ſiege, and began his attacks

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in a regular manner on the tenth day of Auguſt.

Endeavours to baffle the attempts of the Engliſh general had employed the utmoſt ſkill of Villars: he had reinforced the garriſon with ſix thouſand choſen men, commanded by officers of approved courage and ability; he made ſeveral attempts to raiſe the ſiege, but they were rendered ineffectual by the ſuperior prudence and capacity of Marlborough. Perhaps a more difficult enterprize was never undertaken than the ſiege of Bouchain; Marlborough was obliged to caſt up lines, erect forts, raiſe batteries, throw bridges over a river, form a cauſeway through a deep moraſs, and provide for the ſecurity of convoys againſt a numerous army on one ſide, and the garriſon of Conde and Valenciennes on the other. Such difficulties required all the ſkill, and experience of a conſummate general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate army, who had perhaps never exhibited ſuch amazing proofs of courage upon any other occaſion; for in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This was the laſt military atchievement of the immortal Marlborough; who retired to the Hague ſoon after the taking of Bouchain; and about the middle of November he arrived in England.

Although many of the Engliſh, following the example of the miniſtry were, or affected to be, blind to the merit of their accompliſhed general, the allies lay not under the ſame prejudices; they frankly acknowledged, that their many valuable acquiſitions were in a great meaſure owing to the courage and conduct of that greateſt of generals.

Her majeſty having given the command of the forces in Spain to the duke of Argyle, he on the twenty-ninth of May landed at Barcelona, where he found the Britiſh troops in the utmoſt diſtreſs for the want of ſubſiſtence. The treaſurer had promiſed to ſupply him liberally, the commons having granted a million and a half for the war in Spain. All their hopes of ſucceſs were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by Vendome was in ſuch a wretched condition; that had Staremberg been properly ſupported by the allies, he might have reduced king Philip to the laſt extremity. The remittances were ſo long delayed, that Argyle was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the Britiſh troops could take the field; and the campaign ended without any action of conſequence being performed.

Prince Eugene, in the mean time, at the head of the German forces protected the electors at Frankfort from the deſigns of the enemy, and Charles was unanimouſly elected emperor.

The next attempt of the miniſtry was an expedition againſt Quebec and Placentia in North America, projected by colonel Nicholſon, who had taken poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, and garriſoned the town of Annapolis. A body of five thouſand men were embarked in tranſports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, and ſailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May with a ſtrong convoy commanded by Sir Hoveden Walker. At Boſton in New England they were joined by two regiments of Provincials, and about four thouſand irregular troops, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet with the Engliſh troops ſailed up the river St. Laurence.

By a violent ſtorm of the twenty firſt of Auguſt, they were driven among the rocks, where eight tranſports were loſt, with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately put back to Spaniſh river bay, where it was reſolved in a council of war, that, as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and a ſupply could not be depended on from New England, they would attempt nothing farther, but immediately return to England.

A negotiation for a treaty of peace had for ſome time paſt been carried on between the court of France and the new miniſtry, who were determined at all events to put a period to a war, which they were equally unwilling and incapable to continue. The earl of Jerſey ſent a private meſſage to the court of France, intimating the queen's ſincere deſire of a peace; and intreating that Lewis would propoſe

propoſe to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which caſe the Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſhould have ſuch inſtructions, as would render abortive all the endeavours of the ſtates general to prevent the concluſion of the treaty. The French court were extremely unwilling to enter into freſh conferences with the ſtates of Holland, but very deſirous of peace, and therefore ſent an anſwer with aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of Lewis.

Hereupon Mr. Prior was commiſſioned to ſignify the demands of the Engliſh to the court of Verſailles, to receive the French king's anſwer, and demand whether king Philip had transferred a power of treating to his grandfather. Prior arrived incognito at Fontainbleau, and preſented the queen's memorial, in which ſhe demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire, a ſecurity for the Dutch commerce, and a general ſatisfaction to all her allies. She required, that the places taken from the duke of Savoy ſhould be reſtored, and that he ſhould poſſeſs ſuch towns and diſtricts in Italy, as had been ceded to him in former treaties; that Lewis ſhould acknowledge queen Anne and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and conclude a new treaty of commerce; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhould be ceded to the crown of England; that the Britiſh ſubjects trading to Spain ſhould enjoy the advantages granted by that crown to the French; that queen Anne ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Newfoundland; though the trade of Hudſon's bay might be carried on indifferently by the ſubjects of either crown, and that in America all things ſhould remain in the ſame ſituation in which they ſhould be found, at the concluſion of the peace. Soon after, Meſnager, deputy of the council of trade in France, accompanied Mr. Prior to London, with full power to ſettle the preliminaries of the treaty, which were ſigned on the eighth of October, by the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the French miniſter, after various debates on the ſubject.

This proceeding greatly alarming the ſtates of Holland, they diſpatched Buys, as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen, that ſhe would alter her reſolutions; but all his endeavours had no effect; ſhe retained her reſolutions; and the earl of Strafford, ambaſſador in Holland, declared in the queen's name, that any delay in the ſtates to concur with her majeſty, would be conſidered as an abſolute refuſal. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the firſt of January, granted paſſports to the French miniſters, and the biſhop of Briſtol and earl of Strafford were plenipotentiaries for the queen of England.

A number of writers were now employed to vindicate the conduct of the miniſtry. Whereby a paper war was produced between the whig and tory parties, and ſuch a torrent of falſehood, ſcurrility and abuſe was poured forth on both ſides, as ſeemed to bid defiance to truth, decency and good manners. The miniſtry, as is generally the caſe, would not allow the ſame liberty to their antagoniſts which they aſſumed to themſelves. They cauſed fourteen bookſellers, printers, and publiſhers, to be apprehended and proſecuted; though they were bound over on their recognizances to the laſt day of term, at the requeſt of the attorney general.

Even among the tories, ſome were diſpleaſed with the preliminaries, and certain peers joined with the whigs, in remonſtrating againſt them. The court being informed of this matter, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh of December, hoping that the arrival of the Scottiſh peers would be ſufficient to turn the balance in their favour.

The queen, in her ſpeech at the aſſembling of parliament, obſerved, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, both the place and time were appointed for opening the treaty for a general peace; and that the ſtates general had expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared, her chief concern ſhould be to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover, to procure all the advantages to the nation of an improved commerce, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could procure for a

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dutiful and loyal people, and to obtain all reaſonable ſatisfaction for her allies. She added, that the ſureſt way of procuring an advantageous treaty, would be to make early preparations for a vigorous campaign; earneſtly recommended unanimity, and prayed that the Almighty would direct their conſultations, that being delivered from the hardſhips of war, they might be happy in the perfect enjoyment of the various bleſſings of peace.

When the queen's ſpeech was delivered, a motion was made in the houſe of lords for returning her majeſty thanks for her ſpeech, and the earl of Nottingham propoſed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "That "no peace could be ſafe or honourable to "Great Britain or Europe, if Spain or the "Weſt Indies were allotted to any branch "of the houſe of Bourbon." This motion occaſioned a violent debate, in the courſe of which the earl of Angleſey repreſented the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expenſive war. The duke of Marlborough, at whom this reflection was levelled, made a long ſpeech in his own vindication; he appealed to the queen, who was then in the houſe incognito, whether he did not on all occaſions inform her and her council of all the propoſals offered by the enemy for a peace, and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on that ſubject? he declared upon his conſcience, that he was deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his private emolument, as had been falſely inſinuated by his enemies. At laſt, the queſtion being repeated, which the earl of Nottingham propoſed, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſix voices. The ſame clauſe was afterwards rejected by a very conſiderable majority in the houſe of commons.

It was reſolved by the commons, on the ſeventeenth of December, to preſent an addreſs to the queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to lay before them the treaty, whereby her majeſty was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand men to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies in the Low Countries; and on the twentieth, Mr. ſecretary St. John reported, that no treaties could be found for any convention made for that purpoſe. The houſe then addreſſed the queen, that an account might be laid before them of the quotas and proportions to be furniſhed towards the preſent war by her majeſty and her allies.

On examining the public accounts, the commiſſioners having diſcovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual penſion of five or ſix thouſand pounds from the contractors for bread to the army; the queen declared in council, that ſhe thought proper to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might be ſtrictly and impartially examined; and accordingly, on the thirty firſt of December, her majeſty ſent his grace a letter written with her own hand, whereby ſhe required him to reſign all his employments.

The duke of Hamilton, one of the ſixteen peers of Scotland, being about this time created duke of Brandon in England, his right of ſitting in the houſe as a peer of Great Britain, was queſtioned; and after hearing council on both ſides, it was reſolved, that Scottiſh peers, created peers of Great Britain ſince the union, have no right to ſit in the houſe as peers of Great Britain. The Scottiſh peers were ſo incenſed at this deciſion, that they drew up a repreſentation to the queen, complaining of its being an infringment of the union, and a mark of diſgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. To this repreſentation the queen anſwered, that ſhe was reſolved to preſerve union between the two kingdoms, and would give them all the ſatisfaction that was in her power.

The oppoſition in the upper houſe, was rather ſtrengthened than otherwiſe by the diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough; and the miniſtry being determined at all events to procure a majority in that aſſembly, perſuaded the queen to venture on a meaſure, which no Engliſh prince had ever before attempted. This was the creating of no leſs than twelve new peers; a proſtitution of honours which reflects equal diſgrace on the queen, who be-

ſtowed them, and thoſe who received them; for, as thoſe who receive peerage for eminent ſervices performed to their county, will be eſteemed and reſpected by every reaſonable, reflecting man; ſo, contempt will always attend thoſe, who accept of honours to ſerve the low purpoſes of a party.

*A. D.* 1712. The duke of Ormond was advanced to the command of the forces in the room of the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Northumberland was appointed captain of the ſecond troop of horſe guards; the earl of Rivers maſter of the ordnance, and the duke of Beaufort, captain of the band of penſioners, in the room of the duke of St. Alban's: brigadier Hill was made lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant general Cadogan; the duke of Somerſet was removed from his poſt of maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Sunderland, and the lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, reſigned their places of ladies of the queen's bedchamber.

Prince Eugene now arrived in England with a letter from the emperor to the queen, and a new plan for the vigorous proſecution of the war. He was treated with all the reſpect due to his quality and eminent talents, though his errand was far from being agreeable to the miniſtry. He was admmitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency, and expreſſed her concern, that her health did not permit her to converſe with his highneſs as often as ſhe could wiſh; but that ſhe had ordered the ſecretary and treaſurer to receive his propoſals, and confer with him as frequently as ſhe ſhould think proper. He expreſſed a moſt extraordinary regard for the duke of Marlborough, notwithſtanding his diſgrace. The treaſurer, while he entertained him at dinner declared, that he conſidered that day as the happieſt in his whole life, ſince he had the honour of ſeeing in his houſe the greateſt captain of the age; to which the prince replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordſhip;" a ſevere ſtroke at the earl, who had been the chief inſtrument of Marlborough's diſgrace.

Her majeſty, by a meſſage on the ſeventeenth of January, informed both houſes, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utretcht, and that ſhe was employed in making preparations for the enſuing campaign. She therefore hoped the commons would diſpatch the neceſſary ſupplies.

The zeal and activity of Mr. Robert Walpole, who was in the whig intereſt of the houſe of commons, engaged the notice of the miniſtry; who found means to diſcover ſome clandeſtine practices, in which he was concerned as ſecretary at war, with regard to the forage contract in Scotland. Mr. Walpole was therefore voted guilty of corruption, impriſoned in the Tower, and expelled the houſe; he was, however, voted re-choſen for the borough of Lyn Regis, which he had before repreſented. But the commons voted him incapable of ſerving in the preſent parliament, and his election void. About the ſame time, prince Eugene, after preſenting a memorial to the queen, concerning the conduct of the emperor, during the war, and containing a propoſal relating to the affairs of Spain, retired to the continent, having received the moſt favourable impreſſions of the Engliſh people, and the worſt poſſible of the miniſtry.

At this time the conferences for a general pacification went forwards at Utrecht; but as all the powers except France entertained ſentiments very different from thoſe of her Britannic majeſty, they ſeemed calculated to retard rather than accelerate a pacification. The difficulties had been foreſeen by the queen of England, whoſe principal aim was to free her ſubjects from the miſeries attending an unprofitable war, and reſtore to Europe the bleſſings of peace. At the ſame time, ſhe determined to procure reaſonable terms of accommodation for her allies, but not to laviſh the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects in ſupporting their extravagant demands. The miniſtry, perſuaded they could expect nothing but ruin and proſecution for obeying their ſovereign's commands, in caſe death put a period to her exiſtence, before the treaty was concluded, the kingdom appeaſed, and the people ſatisfied with their conduct; adviſed

adviſed the queen ſet on foot a private negotiation with Lewis; to ſtipulate certain advantages for her ſubjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into ſuch mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandeſtine tranſactions to her prejudice, and enable her, in ſome meaſure, to preſcribe terms for her allies. But the precipitate execution of this plan deſtroyed its merit, and fruſtrated its advantages.

The whole tranſaction had well nigh proved abortive by the intervention of unforeſeen occurrences. The dauphin had died of the ſmall pox in the courſe of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred on the duke of Burgundy, who now reſigned his breath, upon the laſt day of February, ſix days after the demiſe of his wife Mary Adelaide of Savoy. Theſe were ſoon followed to their laſt peaceful manſion by their eldeſt ſon the duke of Bretagne, in the fixth year of his age; ſo that none remained alive, except the duke of Anjou, now king in France, who was then a ſickly infant. This train of misfortunes muſt be extremely ſhocking to Lewis in his old age, but they were ſtill more alarming to her Britanic majeſty, who ſaw that nothing but the precarious life of a diſtempered infant divided the two monarchies of France and Spain; an union ſhe determined to prevent. Gualtier was, therefore, ſent to Paris with a memorial couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſenting the danger to which the liberties of Europe muſt inevitably be expoſed, if Philip ſhould aſcend the thrones of France and Spain; and demanding, that in conſequence of his pure, ſimple and voluntary renunciation, the title might be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry.

The propoſals of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, were, in the interim delivered in writing, under the title of ſpecific orders, which were received with indignation by the allies, and treated in England with univerſal contempt. On the other hand, the demands of the allies were equally extravagant; ſo that the miniſters ſeemed to have been aſſembled at Utrecht, rather to increaſe than to heal the public animoſities.

In the interim, the duke of Ormond, now commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, received a particular order not to hazard an engagement. In the beginning of March, the earl of Albemarle marched at the head of thirty-ſix battalions towards Arras, which he reduced to aſhes by a dreadful bombardment.

Prince Eugene was joined at Tournay in the beginning of May by the duke of Ormond, and the whole allied army paſſed the Schelde on the twenty-ſixth of the month, and encamped at Haſpre and Solerands. Soon after, the imperial general propoſed that they ſhould attack the French army under Villars, who knowing that the duke was reſtrained from hazarding a battle, had been greatly remiſs in his military preparations. Prince Eugene ſoon perceived the motive for the duke's refuſal, and repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, the injury the grand alliance muſt receive from his obeying ſuch an order. Ormond, piqued at this remonſtrance, in a letter to ſecretary St. John, earneſtly requeſted to be recalled. The imperial general, however, inveſted the town of Queſnoy, and the duke aſſiſted him with ſeven battalions and nine ſquadrons of foreign troops, in the pay of Great Britain; and ſoon after, the duke of Ormond received a freſh order, to join in the ſiege with the generals of the allies.

Her majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſixth of June, and communicated the plan of the peace to her parliament. She firſt obſerved, that the making peace or war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown; and hinted, that the difficulties which aroſe from the very nature of this affair, had been increaſed by artful contrivances to obſtruct it.

She then acquainted them, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by law in the houſe of Hanover, had been ſecured, and not only acknowledged by France in the ſtrongeſt terms, but as an additional ſecurity, the pretender was to be removed from the French dominions; that the duke of Anjou ſhould renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants, all claim to the crown of France, ſo that the two monarchies could never be united.

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She gave them to underſtand, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun; but the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods and the prohibition of others, had rendered it impoſſible to put the laſt hand to that treaty; that proviſion was made that England ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges granted by France to the moſt favoured nation; that the king of France agreed to make an abſolute ceſſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations; that he had alſo conſented to reſtore to England, the whole bay and ſtraits of Hudſon; and the electoral dignity of the houſe of Hanover would be acknowledged on the part of France.

The commons immediately voted an addreſs, approving and thanking her majeſty for this ſpeech. On the twenty-firſt of June, the queen put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe obſerved, that ſhould the treaty be broken off, the burthens of the nation would be at leaſt continued if not increaſed; that the preſent opportunity would be irrecoverably loſt of Britain's eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe, and improving her own commerce; and, that the ſufferings of ſome of the allies would be very great, although others might be gainers in a ſmall degree.

The trenches before Queſnoy were now opened, and the ſiege vigorouſly proſecuted under cover of the duke of Ormond's forces. On the twenty-fourth of June, the duke declared to prince Eugene and the deputies of ſtate attending the army, that he had received orders from the queen his miſtreſs, to publiſh within three days, a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, between his army and that of the French, and to make a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; which, as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſes, was to be delivered by the king of France to the Engliſh.

The duke of Ormond propoſed alſo, that the like ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be publiſhed in the confederate army; adding, that if they perſiſted in their operations againſt Queſnoy, they muſt take care to oppoſe the attempts of the enemy, as he could cover the ſiege no longer. The deputies deſired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to conſult their principals, and prince Eugene obſerved, that his marching off with the Britiſh troops, and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy; but hoped the latter would not obey the duke's orders. His hopes were ſoon confirmed, for their commanders abſolutely refuſed to obey the duke of Ormond, alledging, that they could not ſeparate from the allies without abſolute orders, having received poſitive command to act againſt the French.

At a conference held at Utrecht on the twenty-ſeventh of June, the biſhop of Briſtol acquainted the miniſters of the allies with the conceſſions made by France, and propoſed a ceſſation of arms for two months, in order to adjuſt the demands of all the confederates. They told him, that they had no inſtructions on the ſubject, and could therefore give no anſwer.

The town of Queſnoy ſurrendered on the third of July, and the garriſon, being made priſoners of war, were ſent to Holland. Prince Eugene, having thus reduced Queſnoy, and being deſirous of undertaking ſome bold enterprize, that might dazzle the confederates, detached major general Groveſtein with fifteen hundred cavalry to penetrate into the heart of France. Accordingly, this officer, about the middle of July, advanced into Champagne, paſſed the Noire, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and the Saar, and retired to Treabach with a rich booty and a great number of hoſtages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to aſhes. This irruption ſpread conſternation to the very gates of Paris, and the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were aſſembled about the palace at Verſailles, Lewis not thinking himſelf ſafe with his ordinary guards. Villars had indeed ſent a detachment after Groveſtein, but the French troops, although they traced his rout by the deſtruction

tion he made, were unable to overtake him.

The utmoſt endeavours were, in the mean time, exerted by the Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs, to induce the Dutch, and the other allies in the ſuſpenſion of arms; but they rejected the propoſal, and continued their preparations to proſecute the war with vigour. In the beginning of Auguſt, ſecretary St. John, now created lord viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent to Paris, in order to remove the obſtructions which retarded the concluſion of the treaty between England and France. Mr. Prior and the abbè Gualtier accompanied him to the court of Verſailles, where he was treated with profound reſpect, adjuſted with the marquis de Torcy the principal intereſts of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria; and concluded a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months by ſea and land, between the crowns of France and England. Lord Bolingbroke having finiſhed his negotiation, returned to England, leaving Mr. Prior behind him as reſident.

As the enemies of the duke of Marlborough daily increaſed, and he was accuſed of being the author of miſchiefs between the parties, he choſe to withdraw to the continent, whither he was followed by his dutcheſs. He was received at Oſtend, Antwerp, Maeſtricht, and all the other places through which he paſſed, with thoſe marks of honour and reſpect, which were ſo juſtly due to his diſtinguiſhed merit. After ſpending ſome time on the road, he took up his reſidence at Aix-la Chapelle.

Lord Godolphin, who died in September, bore the character of an able, cool, and diſpaſſionate miniſter, and had enjoyed great credit under four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, and managed the finances with equal ſkill and integrity. The duke of Shrewſbury was appointed ambaſſador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton; the duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the ſame quality from the court of Verſailles; and, about the ſame time, the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, one of the plenipotentiaries at the congreſs on the part of king Phillip.



The allies were ſtill earneſtly ſollicited to acquieſe with the terms propoſed by the britiſh miniſtry. In November, the earl of Strafford preſented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promiſed to procure to the ſtates-general, the city of Tournay, and ſome other places, which on her concluding a ſeparate treaty they would certainly never poſſeſs.

The provinces began to reflect on this propoſal. They ſaw that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burden, which they could not bear, eſpecially, as the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy had abandoned the alliance: they were tempted too by the offer of the new barrier, ſo much more advantageous than that, which France had propoſed at the beginning of the conferences: and they were influenced by another motive; namely, the apprehenſions of new dangers to the empire, from the king of Sweden, in whoſe favour the French king had ſucceſsfully employed his intereſt at the Ottoman Porte.

Pomerania was invaded by the Czar and king Auguſtus: the king of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid the city of Hamburgh under contribution: but count Steenbock, the Swediſh general, defeated the Daniſh army in Mecklenburgh, ravaged Holſtein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to aſhes. The Grand Signior threatened to declare war againſt the Czar, on pretence that he had not performed one of the moſt eſſential articles of the late peace, that of withdrawing his troops from Poland: but a deſire to aſſiſt the king of Sweden ſeems to have been his true motive.

By a powerful party at the Porte, which was diſinclined to the war, he was, however, prevailed upon to relinquiſh his intention. Charles, who was ſtill at Bender, was deſired to return to his own kingdom, and, at the ſame time, aſſured, that the Sultan would procure him a ſafe paſſage, he treated the perſon who brought this meſſage with the moſt outrageous inſolence, rejected the propoſal with the higheſt indignation, fortified his houſe, and reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. Being attacked by a conſi-

derable body of Turkiſh forces, he and his attendants fought with the moſt deſperate courage. They killed ſome hundreds of the aſſailants: but, at laſt, the Turks having ſet fire to the houſe, he and his followers ruſhed out upon the muſſelmen, who immediately diſarmed him, and conducted him to Adrianople. Mean while the Czar tranſported an army into Finland, which he ſoon reduced to ſubjection. Steenbock continued to maintain himſelf in Tonningen, until his ſupplies being totally cut off, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his troops priſoners of war; a circumſtance that alarmed the kingdom in a high degree, as theſe were the very beſt of the Swediſh troops.

This turn in affairs, however, had not been foreſeen when the Dutch apprehended a rupture between the Czar and the Grand Signior, and were farther informed, that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that event they knew the emperor would withdraw great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war would devolve chiefly upon their ſhoulders. from theſe ſeveral circumſtances, they came to a reſolution of accepting her majeſty's offers, and ſigned the barrier treaty accordingly.

A remonſtrance was, on the ſame day, preſented to the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of the four aſſociated circles, importing, that, in compliance with the requeſt of king William, they had entered into the grand alliance, by a ſolemn treaty concluded at Nordlingen, and afterwards ratified by the preſent queen of England: that, on their part, they had punctually performed all the conditions of that treaty, and chearfully born all the calamities of a bloody and ruinous war, without troubling her majeſty for one farthing of ſubſidy; and this they had done from an entire confidence, that, as ſhe had always declared her ſatisfaction with the conduct and firmneſs of the circles, ſhe would not fail remembering them at the concluſion of a peace, but would endeavour to procure them thoſe advantages, which, conſidering the ſervice they had done to the common cauſe, they had a right to expect: that, notwithſtanding theſe juſt expectations, and the repeated aſſurances her majeſty had given them, they had the mortification to hear, that ſhe perſiſted in the opinion, that a general peace might be concluded, without granting to the circles the leaſt benefit from the alliance; without making them any amends for the great ſums they had expended, and the numerous hardſhips they had borne; without indulging them with any barrier, or any ſecurity: that, ſhould this ſcheme take effect, it would involve the circles in utter ruin and deſolation: and that they, therefore, begged leave to addreſs themſelves to the juſtice and goodneſs of her majeſty, to the wiſdom and equity of her miniſters, and to the honour and humanity of the whole Britiſh nation; humbly beſeeching them not to abandon ſuch faithful and zealous allies, nor leave them in their preſent unhappy ſituation, in which their ſtrict adherence to former treaties had involved them.

The anſwer of the Britiſh miniſters to this repreſentation, imported, that if the circles ſhould not obtain what they deſired, they ought to blame themſelves alone, as the authors of their diſappointment: that they had been deficient in furniſhing their proportion of troops and other neceſſaries; and left the whole burden of the war, in the Netherlands, to lie upon the queen, and the ſtates general: that, when a ceſſation was judged neceſſary, they had deſerted her majeſty, to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene: that, while ſhe proſecuted the war with the utmoſt vigour, they had acted with coldneſs and indifference; but, when ſhe inclined to peace, they began to exert themſelves in proſecuting hoſtilities with the utmoſt eagerneſs: that, nevertheleſs, ſhe would not abandon their intereſts; but endeavour to procure for them better conditions than by their abſurd conduct they had any right to expect.

The aſſociated circles were convinced by this anſwer, that they had little to hope from the interceſſion of England. Even the emperor began to perceive, that, ſhould he continue

continue the war, he muſt reſolve to ſupport it on his own bottom; and as he was unequal to this undertaking, he determined to accede to the general treaty, could he but obtain tolerable conditions. He ordered his miniſter, count Zinzendorf, to declare, that he was very well diſpoſed to a peace, and no longer inſiſted on the ceſſion of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria. Philip's plenipotentiaries, together with thoſe of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the conferences; and the Britiſh miniſters began to conſider themſelves as mediators between the ſeveral parties. But they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake, and obliged to aſſume the character of humble ſupplicants.

The grand alliance was now diſſolved, tho' the terms of peace were not fully adjuſted. The French were become entire maſters of the conditions; and theſe they were reſolved to accommodate to their own conveniency. They now raiſed a thouſand objections to the offers they had formerly made, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Britiſh miniſtry, who, rather from a regard to their own ſafety than any concern for the intereſt of their country, exerted uncommon diligence on the occaſion, the matter was compromiſed, greatly to the diſadvantage of England. This circumſtance was ſo apparent, that even the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht refuſed to ſign the treaty, until they were furniſhed with a new commiſſion; and this they no ſooner received, than they declared to the miniſters of the other powers, that on the eleventh of April, they, and the other plenipotentiaries, were willing to ſign the reſpective treaties.

A delay of as much time as might be neceſſary for him to conſult his maſter, was now requeſted by count Zinzendorf, who even threatened, that, if the ſtates ſhould ſign the peace contrary to his deſire, the emperor would immediately recall his troops from the Netherlands. The miniſters of France agreed with thoſe of England, whom they now conſidered as their firm friends, that his imperial majeſty ſhould have time to conſider whether he would embrace the propoſals; but they would not conſent to a ceſſation of arms, and allowed only till the firſt day of June for his anſwer.

The peace with France was ſigned in ſeparate treaties, on the day before appointed, by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Savoy, Pruſſia, Portugal, and the ſtates general. Count Zinzendorf propoſing to return to Vienna, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries delivered to him a writing, intitled, "offers and "demands of the French king for making "peace with the houſe of Auſtria and the "empire." The count and the miniſters of the German prince exclaimed againſt the inſolence of France, in pretending to impoſe terms upon them with relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, and in refuſing to his preſent imperial majeſty, the title of emperor.

Her majeſty having ratified the treaties of peace and commerce between Great Britain and France, the parliament was aſſembled on the ninth of April. Her majeſty, in her ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the treaty was ſigned, and the ratifications would in a few days be exchanged; that ſhe hoped what ſhe had done for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip ſubſiſting between her and the houſe of Hanover, would convince thoſe, who wiſhed well to both, and deſired the quiet and ſafety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them; that ſhe left it entirely to the houſe of commons, to determine what force might be neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade by ſea, and for guards and garriſons; that ſhe ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied in their opinion of their own ſafety, ſince, next to the protection of the divine providence, ſhe depended on the loyalty and affection of her people, nor wanted ſhe any other guaranty; that ſhe took this opportunity to recommend to their care thoſe brave men who had expoſed their lives in the ſervice of their country, and could not be employed in time of profound peace; that ſhe hoped they would concert proper meaſures for eaſing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging the manufactures and fiſhery; for employing the hands of idle people; for ſuppreſſing the ſcandalous and ſeditious libels that were every day publiſhed; and for putting a ſtop to the impious practice of duelling; that ſhe conjured them to

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uſe their utmoſt endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and ſhe hoped, that what their enemies abroad had been unable to accompliſh, would never be brought about by factious jealouſies and diviſions at home.

Both houſes preſented her majeſty with addreſſes of thanks and congratulation. The ratification of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May with the uſual ceremonies; and it was about this time, that the pretender tranſmitted a printed remonſtrance to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, ſolemnly proteſting againſt whatever might be ſtipulated to his prejudice. The commons had preſented a ſecond addreſs, entreating her majeſty to communicate to the the houſe, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France; which the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Benſon, delivered accordingly.

The French had agreed, by the treaty of peace, to abandon the pretender; to acknowledge the queen and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and St. Chriſtopher's, to England; but the French were to be allowed to dry fiſh on the coaſt of Newfoundland, and to keep Cape Breton.

The emperor was, by ſtipulation, allowed to poſſeſs the Spaniſh Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchy of Milan; it was agreed, that the duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily with the title of king; that the elector of Bavaria ſhould receive the ſame title, with the iſland of Sardinia, as an indemnification for his loſſes; that the ſtates general ſhould reſtore Liſle and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport, ſhould be added to the other places they already poſſeſſed in Flanders; that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have Upper-Gueldres in lieu of Orange and the other eſtates belonging to that family in Franche Comtè. The king of Portugal was ſatisfied, and the emperor was allowed till the firſt day of June to determine on his choice.

A free trade was eſtabliſhed, by the treaty of commerce, according to the tariff of the year 1664, except in a few commodities, which in 1699 were ſubjected to a new regulation. It was agreed, that the duties impoſed upon the productions of France, imported into England, ſhould not exceed thoſe laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and that matters relative to commerce ſhould be adjuſted by commiſſioners to meet at London.

The treaty being examined and approved by parliament, a public thankſgiving was appointed, and celebrated with great ſolemnity; and on the ſixteenth of July, the queen put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe thanked both houſes for the ſervices they had done the public; recommended to them all, the making her ſubjects truly ſenſible of what they had gained by the peace; and the endeavouring to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs jealouſies which had been ſo induſtriouſly fomented among the people.

Great rejoicings were now made in many places, on account of the term of Doctor Sacheverel's ſuſpenſion being expired; and her majeſty preſented him with the rich benefice of St. Andrew's Holborn.

An addreſs was now preſented to the queen, by a deputy from the magiſtrates of Dunkirk; requeſting her to ſpare their port and harbour, which they repreſented might be uſeful to her own ſubjects; the memorial was printed and diſperſed among the people; but the arguments it contained were ſoon anſwered and confuted by Meſſrs. Addiſon, Steele, and Manwaring; commiſſioners were therefore ſent to Dunkirk to ſee the fortification demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up. The diſcharge of two hundred and forty proteſtants from the galleys, was now procured by the queen's application to the French miniſtry.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, the tories managed the elections in ſuch a manner, as to retain the legiſlative power in their own hands; but the queen's indiſpoſition, and the conteſt among her miniſters, delayed the meeting of the parliament until the tenth of December. Oxford and Bolingbroke were at once competitors for power, and

and rivals in reputation for ability; they were both aſpiring and ambitious, began to form parties, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke was powerfully ſupported by Sir Simon Harcourt the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. ſecretary Bromley; while Oxford entertained thoughts of retiring, as he found his influence on the decline.

Her majeſty, who had retired to Windſor, was ſeized about this time, with a dangerous inflammatory fever. This accident revived the hopes of the Jacobites; the public funds fell immediately, and ſo great a run was made upon the bank, that the directors ſent one of their members to repreſent to the treaſurer the danger that threatened the public credit. By this time, the queen was recovered from her indiſpoſition, and ſent a letter to Sir Samuel Stainer, lord mayor of London, declaring ſhe would ſhortly return to her uſual reſidence, and on the ſixteenth of February opened the ſeſſion of parliament. This letter greatly abated the ferment, which the authors of ſeveral party writings had induſtriouſly raiſed.

*A. D.* 1714. The peace between great Britain and Spain was proclaimed in London on the firſt of March. By this treaty the kingdoms of France and Spain were for ever ſeparated. Philip acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and renounced the pretender; agreed to renew the treaty of commerce and navigation concluded in 1667; granted an excluſive privilege to the Engliſh for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with Negroes; ceded Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca to Great Britain, on condition that the Spaniſh inhabitants of the latter ſhould enjoy their eſtates and religion; yielded the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy, and granted a full pardon to the Catalonians.

Her majeſty, in her ſpeech, on the ſecond of March, in the houſe of lords, acquainted the parliament, that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greater part of her allies; and was perſuaded, that by their hearty concurrence, her interpoſition might at leaſt prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe. She alſo obſerved, with much propriety, that as this country could only flouriſh by trade, ſo it would be moſt formidable by a right application of its naval force. She complained, that effectual means had not been uſed to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious papers, and rumours by which deſigning men had been able to ſink credit, and cauſe the innocent to ſuffer. She intimated that ſome through malice had inſinuated, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover was in danger under her government; but averred, that thoſe who thus endeavoured to diſtract the minds of the public with imaginary dangers, could only mean to diſturb the national tranquillity, and bring real evils upon the kingdom. She further added, that after all ſhe had done to ſecure the religion and liberties of her people, and to tranſmit both ſafe to poſterity, ſhe could not mention theſe proceedings without emotion; and hoped that the parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render her poſſeſſion of the crown uneaſy, could never tend to the furtherance of the proteſtant ſucceſſion; "I have done," ſaid ſhe, "and "ſhall continue to do my beſt for the good "of my ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour "as it ſhall be mine, to unite our diffe-"rences, not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt "adherence to our conſtitution in church "and ſtate, but by obſerving the laws "yourſelves, and enforcing a due obedience "on others."

Complaint was made in the houſe of commons, in the month of March, of ſundry ſcandalous papers lately publiſhed under the name of Richard Steele Eſq; a member of that houſe. Theſe papers, Sir William Wyndham declared, contained inſolent, injurious reflections on the queen herſelf, and could only be dictated by a ſpirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place; and a day appointed for his trial, when he owned the writings, and entered into a circumſtantial defence. Mr. Addiſon, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole, were his principal defenders; and his opponents, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney general. But all that could be

urged in his vindication had little weight with the majority, who determined to condemn him; and accordingly, two pamphlets, intitled, "The Engliſhman," and "The "Criſis," written by Richard Steele Eſq; were voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels: and that the author ſhould be expelled the houſe of commons.

A general removal of the whigs from employments civil and military, much alarmed the people about this time. Theſe poſts were filled up by tories, ſome of whom were ſuppoſed to be attached to the pretender. Baron Schutz, the Hanovarian reſident, held ſecret conſultations with the chiefs of the whig party, and communicated their obſervations to the elector. They maintained a correſpondence with the duke of Marlborough; and the health of the queen being now ſo much impaired, that her life was deſpaired of; they concerted meaſures that might oppoſe all efforts made againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion on her demiſe; and excited the fears and apprehenſions of the people by every art in their power.

The danger which threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion was now the ſubject of many debates in the houſe of lords. The archbiſhop of York and the earl of Angleſey joined the oppoſition to the miniſtry. The latter affirmed, that the honour of his ſovereign and the good of his country were the only rules by which he regulated his conduct; and that when truth and juſtice bore witneſs to his actions, he ſhould not be intimidated from purſuing a wicked miniſter from the queen's cloſet, to the Tower, and from the Tower to the ſcaffold.

Baron Schutz, about this period, demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover to ſit in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge, intimating that he deſigned to reſide in England. The chancellor granted the writ with reluctance; but the deſign of his coming to England was ſo diſagreeable to the queen, that ſhe wrote a letter to the princeſs Sophia, ſignifying her diſapprobation of ſuch a ſtep. At the ſame time ſhe wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining of his having formed ſuch a reſolution without knowing her ſentiments on the ſubject; and plainly informing him, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in his line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to her, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture. Theſe letters were printed and publiſhed in England, with a view to inform the friends of the Hanoverian family, why the duke of Cambridge had laid aſide his deſign of reſiding in Great Britain. The publiſher of theſe letters was taken into cuſtody, by the command of the queen, who conſidered the publication as a perſonal inſult, and an attempt to injure her in her ſubjects good opinion.

The princeſs Sophia departed this life in the month of May, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was notified to the queen, by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James the firſt of England. She inherited from nature an excellent capacity, which was admirably improved; and was, in every reſpect, one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived. At her death, the court of England went into mourning, and the elector of Brunſwick's name was inſerted in the liturgy, and he was publicly prayed for.

The enemies of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, who wiſhed to defeat that eſtabliſhment, attempted, as a preliminary ſtep, to effect the ruin of the diſſenters, who had been always conſidered as its firm friends. With this view, Sir William Wyndham propoſed a bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the church of England. The deſign of it was to prohibit diſſenters from teaching in ſchools or academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly oppoſed in both houſes, as a meaſure equally dangerous and cruel. General Stanhope, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Lechmere, exerted all their eloquence in oppoſition to it.

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They urged againſt it, that it looked more like a decree of Julian the apoſtate, than a law enacted by a proteſtant parliament, ſince it tended to raiſe as great a perſecution againſt their proteſtant brethren, as either the primitive chriſtians ever ſuffered from the heathen emperors, or the proteſtants from popery and the inquiſition; that it would neceſſarily give occaſion to foreign education, which would drain the kingdom of great ſums of money, and, what was worſe, fill the minds of youth with prejudices againſt the conſtitution of their country; that this was abundantly verified by the example of the popiſh ſeminaries abroad, which were ſo pernicious to Great Britain, that, inſtead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, they wiſhed, that even the papiſts might be allowed a certain number of ſchools in England, and the ſeverity of the laws againſt them mitigated.

Sir William Wyndham, ſecretary Bromley, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Collier, ſpoke in behalf of the bill. Collier, who, from a petty attorney, had riſen to the directorſhip of Drury-lane playhouſe, and afterwards, by the intereſt of lord Bolingbroke, obtained a ſeat in parliament, ſpoke in a moſt ſtrange and unaccountable manner. In order to expoſe the diſſenters, he begged leave to read to the houſe, a collection of abſurdities and impious expreſſions, which he pretended to have extracted from their writings. After reciting part of this impertinent legend, he came to a paſſage taken from the nonſenſical rhapſodies of the late Mr. Hickeringhill, miniſter at Colcheſter, in which, Mr. Collier ſaid, the author averred, "that our bleſſed Sa-" viour was a ſon of a w-----." His ridiculous harangue was here interrupted by the ſpeaker.

The bill was more vehemently oppoſed in the houſe of lords. Lord Cowper ſaid, that inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and enlarging the pale of the church, it tended to produce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion; that, in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar-ſchools were chiefly ſupported by the diſſenters, not only for the inſtruction of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe of poor churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing of thoſe ſchools, would, in ſome places, prevent the reading of the holy ſcriptures, and baniſh all kind of education in a very great degree.

Lord Bolingbroke, the chancellor, and the treaſurer, having been all educated among the diſſenters, gave occaſion to the earl of Wharton to obſerve, that he was agreeably ſurpriſed to ſee, that ſome men of pleaſure were, on a ſudden, become ſo religious, as to ſet up for patrons of the church; but he could not but wonder, that perſons, who had been educated in diſſenting academies, whom he could point at, and whoſe tutors he could name, ſhould appear the moſt forward in ſuppreſſing them; that this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from theſe ſchools, which bred thoſe great men, who had made ſo glorious a peace, and treaties that executed themſelves; who had obtained ſo great advantages for the trade of the kingdom; and who had paid the public debts without any further charge to the nation; that he could not, therefore, ſee any reaſon for ſuppreſſing theſe academies, unleſs it were an apprehenſion, that they might ſtill produce greater genius's, that ſhould eclipſe the merits and abilities of the preſent patriots; that, to be ſerious, however, it was no leſs melancholy than ſurpriſing, that, at a time, when the court of France proſecuted the deſign, which they had long ſince formed, of extirpating the Proteſtant religion; when not only ſecret practices were uſed to impoſe a popiſh pretender on theſe realms, but even men publicly inliſted for his ſervice; it was no leſs melancholy than ſurpriſing he ſaid, that, at this very time, a bill ſhould be brought in, which could not but tend to divide proteſtants, and conſequently, to weaken their intereſt, and haſten their ruin; that he diſapproved of the word ſchiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was graced; and it was ſtrange they ſhould call that ſchiſm in England, which was the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; that if the lords, who repreſented that part of Great Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that, in order to be

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even with the Engliſh, and conſiſtent with themſelves, they would move for another bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm in their own country; that, both in the bill itſelf, and in the ſpeeches of thoſe who declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited and urged; but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned; he expected, indeed, that the venerable bench of biſhops would have taken notice of it, but, ſince they had thought proper to be ſilent on the occaſion, he would himſelf name it; it was the law of the goſpel, "to do to others as we would they ſhould "do unto us."

It was obſerved by lord Halifax, that the introduction of the bill was injurious to the queen, nor could he believe her majeſty would ever give her aſſent to ſuch a law, after the ſolemn declaration ſhe had made from the throne, that ſhe would "inviolably main-"tain the toleration," which this bill would, in effect, deſtroy; that her majeſty had made it the glory of her reign to follow the ſteps of queen Elizabeth, who had not only received and protected the reformed Walloons, who took ſanctuary in her dominions from the Spaniſh inquiſition; but had likewiſe allowed them the public exerciſe of their religion, and cauſed a clauſe in their favour to be inſerted in the act of uniformity; that, by theſe means, that wiſe and glorious queen had vaſtly increaſed the wealth of the realm, the Walloons having eſtabliſhed the woollen manufactures, which are the beſt branch of the national trade; that the protection and encouragement given by the late king and her preſent majeſty, to the French refugees, had proved no leſs advantageous to the kingdom; that it would, therefore, be a piece of the higheſt barbarity to make an act, which would deprive many French proteſtants of the means of ſubſiſting, either by keeping public ſchools, or by teaching in private families, eſpecially conſidering their late hard treatment from the government, which had not, for above three years paſt, paid them any part of the fifteen thouſand pounds per annum, allowed in the civil liſt towards the maintenance of their poor and miniſters; and that thoſe who promoted this bill with ſo much eagerneſs, would do well to remember the conſequences of perſecuting the diſſenters, in the reign of king Charles the firſt, which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended in the death of the king, and the total overthrow of the church and ſtate.

Among other juſt remarks on the danger of perſecution, lord Townſend ſaid, that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had obſerved that the wealth and ſtrength of that great and powerful republic, conſiſted chiefly in the number of its inhabitants; and that he was perſuaded, that, if the ſtates ſhould cauſe the ſchools of any one ſect, tolerated in Holland, to be ſhut up, thoſe provinces would be deſerted by their numerous inhabitants, and as thinly peopled as Spain or Sweden.

The occaſional conformity of the diſſenters, lord Nottingham ſaid, he had formerly conſidered as dangerous to the eſtabliſhed church; and therefore, he had ever promoted the bill to prevent it; but the church having now that ſecurity, he believed her ſafe, and out of danger; and therefore he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to oppoſe ſo barbarous a law as the preſent, which tended to deprive parents of the natural right of educating their own children. He ſaid, he had obſerved, both from hiſtory and his own experience, that all the perſecutions, which had been raiſed in England againſt ſchiſmatics, proceeded originally from a deſign to favour and countenance popery. He particularly excepted againſt that part of the bill which ordained, that any perſon, who ſhould keep any public or private ſchool, or act as tutor to any youth, ſhould have a licence from the biſhop of the place. My lords, continued he, "I have many children, and I know "not whether God will vouchſafe to let me "live to give them the education I could "wiſh. Therefore, my lords, I own I trem-"ble when I think that a certain divine, "who is hardly ſuſpected of being a chriſ-"tian (meaning Dr. Swift) is in a fair way "of being a biſhop, and may one day give "licences to thoſe, who ſhall be intruſted "with the education of youth."

But the number or weight of the arguments uſed

uſed againſt the act, gave little concern to the miniſtry, who knew they had a plurality of voices: they therefore inſiſted on the queſtion being put; and the bill paſſed, though only by a majority of five votes. It afterwards received the royal aſſent; but it was rendered in great a meaſure ineffectual, by the death of the queen, which happened before it took place.

Her majeſty's conſtitution was by this time pretty well exhauſted; one fit of ſickneſs was followed by another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the anxiety of her mind, owing partly to the diſcontents which prevailed among her ſubjects, and partly to the diſſenſions and animoſities of her miniſters, which were now become intolerable. The council chamber was converted into a ſcene of obſtinate and violent contention. The treaſurer and ſecretary frequently quarrelling, even in the queen's preſence.

In the mean time the earl of Oxford, who foreſaw that the whigs would ſoon get into power, is ſaid to have adviſed more moderate meaſures, and ſought to accommodate matters between himſelf and ſome noblemen of that party. Bolingbroke affected to ſet the whigs at defiance: he profeſſed a flaming zeal for the church; and ſoothed the queen's inclinations with the moſt artful flattery. He, and his coadjutrix, lady Maſham, inſinuated, that the treaſurer was prejudiced in favour of the diſſenters, and even, that he was employed by the houſe of Hanover as a ſpy.

The jacobites were by no means idle during theſe commotions. They believed that the queen ſecretly favoured the intereſt of the pretender; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the ſame cauſe. They fondly imagined, that the ſame ſentiments were entertained by a great part of the nation. They held frequent conſultations both in Great Britain and Ireland. They reſolved to improve the public diſſenſions to the advantage of their party. They had even the preſumption to inliſt men for the ſervice of the pretender. Some of theſe practices were diſcovered by the earl of Wharton, who immediately communicated the intelligence. Several perſons were ſeized, and ſome of them condemned and executed.

The miniſtry were compelled to take ſome notice of an affair that made ſo much noiſe. A proclamation was therefore publiſhed, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the pretender, whenever he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation, and aſſured her majeſty, that they would chearfully aid and aſſiſt her, by granting the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to the author of ſo great a public ſervice.

A motion was made by the earl of Nottingham, that the lords ſhould preſent an addreſs on the ſame ſubject. This motion was ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who, holding the queen's proclamation in his hand, moſt pathetically lamented her majeſty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the pretender from Lorrain had proved ineffectual. "Unhappy princeſs!" ſaid he, "how much "is her condition altered! will poſterity be- "lieve, that ſo great a queen, who had re- "duced the exhorbitant power of France, "given a king to Spain, and whoſe very "miniſters have made the emperor and the "ſtates general to tremble, ſhould yet want "power to make ſo petty, ſo inconſiderable a "prince as the duke of Lorrain comply with "her juſt requeſt of removing out of his "dominions the pretender to her crown?" The houſe, approving the motion, voted the addreſs accordingly.

With a view to conceal his real ſentiments, lord Bolingbroke propoſed a bill, denouncing the penalty of high-treaſon againſt thoſe, who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the pretender's ſervice. The lord Hallifax obſerved, that ſuch a bill was altogether needleſs, as both the pretender and all his adherents were already attainted of high-treaſon: that the pretender was of himſelf inconſiderable, and not to be feared, but only as he was countenanced and protected by the French king, whoſe intereſt and conſtant deſign it was to impoſe him on theſe kingdoms.

He therefore moved, that it ſhould be high treaſon for any of her majeſty's ſubjects to liſt or be inliſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince or ſtate, without a licence under the ſign manual of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors. The bill paſſed with this amendment, and the commons concurred in it.

The peers, on the ſecond of July, began to take into conſideration the treaty of commerce with Spain, and ſeveral merchants being examined at the bar of the houſe, declared, that, unleſs the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, which had been made at Madrid after the ſigning of the treaty, were reſcinded, they muſt neceſſarily looſe twenty-five per cent. by a continuation of that trade.

The houſe, after a long debate, determined to addreſs the queen for all papers relative to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the perſons who adviſed her majeſty to that treaty. To this addreſs the queen anſwered, that underſtanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the treaty.

Hereupon lord Wharton obſerved, that if ſo little regard was ſhewn to the addreſſes of that auguſt aſſembly, they had no buſineſs in that houſe. He moved for a remonſtrance to her majeſty, to lay before her the inſuperable difficulties that attended the Spaniſh trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the houſe approved of the motion. It was likewiſe moved, that the houſe ſhould inſiſt that the perſons who had adviſed her majeſty to ratify the three explanatory articles, ſhould be named.

This ſtroke was levelled at the lord Bolingbroke and Arthur Moore, his agent, a member of the lower houſe, who had had the chief management of the treaty, and who, by ſeveral circumſtances, appeared to have been corrupted by the Spaniſh court. He was ſcreened by the majority in parliament; but a general court of the South-ſea company reſolved, upon a complaint preferred by captain Johnſon, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to, and encouraged the deſign of carrying on a clandeſtine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the truſt repoſed in him; and that, for ſuch miſdemeanour, he ſhould be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in that company. The queen had taken to herſelf the quarter part of the Aſſiento contract, which, in conſequence of an addreſs from the upper houſe, ſhe now gave up to the company; but their requeſt that ſhe would name the perſons who had adviſed her to ratify the explanatory articles, was refuſed.

Her majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ninth of July, to give her aſſent to the lottery bill, and then cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the uſual topics. After having thanked them for the ſupplies they had granted, ſhe declared, that her conſtant endeavours were to preſerve the proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and to ſecure the tranquillity of her kingdom; but that ſhe muſt tell them plainly, that theſe deſirable ends could never be attained, unleſs they brought the ſame diſpoſition on their parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, which create and foment diviſions among them, were laid aſide; and unleſs they ſhewed the ſame regard for her juſt prerogative, and for the honour of her government, as ſhe had always expreſſed for the rights of her people.

From a conviction that they had been equally concerned in the late treaty of peace, the miniſters had hitherto been reſtrained, by the fear of common danger, from coming to an open rupture; but being now freed from that reſtraint, by the treaty's receiving the approbation of parliament, they no longer kept any meaſures, but gave an unbounded looſe to their mutual animoſity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing an account of the public tranſactions during the four laſt years; in the courſe of which he endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct, and expoſe his rival to the utmoſt of his power, whom he repreſented as turbulent and ambitious in the higheſt degree.

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In return for this treatment, Bolingbroke charged the treaſurer with inviting the duke of Marlborough to return to England; with having held private conferences with other whig lords; with having diſcovered the queen's councils to the court of Hanover; and even with having adviſed them to demand a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The duke of Shrewſbury likewiſe complained of his having preſumed to ſend orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majeſty and the council. In all probability, his greateſt crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, lady Maſham, by ſcrupling to pay a grant of fifteen hundred pounds a year, which ſhe had lately obtained. Certain it is, on the twenty ſeventh day of July, a very violent altercation paſſed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's preſence. The treaſurer ſaid he had been wronged and abuſed by lies and miſrepreſentations; but he would be revenged, and leave ſome perſons as low as he found them.

Oxford was, however, deprived of all his employments; and Bolingbroke ſeemed to triumph in the victory he had gained. He hoped he ſhould ſucceed as prime miniſter in the adminiſtration of affairs; and is ſaid to have formed the deſign of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who, at this very time, embarked at Oſtend for England. Probably Oxford had attempted the ſame expedient, but met with a repulſe from the duke, who had ſolemnly vowed never to have any connection with him.

It is hard to ſay what plans had been formed, but the fall of the treaſurer was ſo ſudden, that no meaſures were concerted for ſupplying his place, and filling up the other vacancies that neceſſarily attended his diſgrace. The general confuſion that followed at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on the event, had ſuch an effect upon the queen's ſpirits and conſtitution, that ſhe declared ſhe ſhould not outlive it, and was immediately ſeized with a lethargic diſorder. Several medicines were preſcribed by the phyſicians; but notwithſtanding all their applications, the diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they deſpaired of her life. The committee of the council, which was aſſembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kenſington.

On hearing the dangerous condition in which the queen lay, the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, went directly to Kenſington, and without being ſummoned, entered the council chamber. The members were ſurprized at their appearance, but upon being made acquainted with the motives of their coming, the duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance in ſuch a critical juncture, and deſired they would take their places. Then they propoſed that the phyſicians ſhould be examined concerning the ſtate of the queen's health, that they might act with propriety on any emergency.

As her majeſty was declared to be ſenſible, though extremely weak, ſome members repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſupplying the treaſurer's place in caſe of her death. They accordingly recommended the duke of Shrewſbury as the fitteſt perſon to undertake that important charge. When this opinion was ſignified to the queen, ſhe ſaid they could not have recommended a perſon ſhe liked better than the duke of Shrewſbury. She delivered to him the ſtaff, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord chamberlain's ſtaff, but ſhe deſired him to keep them both; ſo that he was at one time poſſeſſed of three of the higheſt poſts, lord lieutenant of Ireland, lord chamberlain, and lord treaſurer.

The duke of Shrewſbury being placed at the head of the treaſury, produced an entire alteration in the face of affairs; it baffled the deſigns of Bolingbroke, extinguiſhed the hopes of the jacobites, and revived the ſpirits of all who wiſhed well to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle propoſed, that all privy counſellors, in an about London, ſhould be invited to attend, without diſtinction of party. The motion was approved, and the lord Somers, with many other friends of the family of Hanover, repaired to Kenſington.

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The proper ſecurity of the kingdom began now to be the object of their conſideration. Severe reflections were made upon the miniſtry for leaving the maritime places entirely deſtitute of men and ammunition, conſequently incapable of defence, in caſe of a ſudden invaſion. Orders were diſpatched for four regiments of horſe and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Weſtminſter. Seven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Oſtend for England, with all poſſible diſpatch: an embargo was laid upon all ſhipping; and directions were given for equipping all the ſhips of war that could ſooneſt be got ready for ſervice.

They ſent a letter to the elector of Brunſwick, acquainting him that the phyſicians had deſpaired of the queen's life, informing him of the meaſures that had been taken, and deſiring he would, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to Holland, where a Britiſh ſquadron ſhould be ready to bring him to England immediately on the queen's death.

Inſtructions were alſo ſent to the earl of Strafford, to require the ſtates-general to prepare for performing their guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Meaſures were taken to ſecure the ſea-ports; and overawe the jacobites in Scotland; the command of the fleet was beſtowed on the earl of Berkley; and the heralds at arms were kept in readineſs to proclaim the new king, as ſoon as the vacancy of the throne ſhould happen. The queen continued to doſe in a ſtate of lethargic inſenſibility till the firſt of Auguſt about ſeven in the morning, when ſhe died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. Her majeſty was in her perſon of the middle ſtature, well proportioned; her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy, her face round, and her aſpect rather comely than majeſtic. Her voice was clear and harmonious. Whatever her natural capacity was, it was, in a great meaſure, uncultivated by education; nor indeed did ſhe ever give any very conſpicuous proofs of the ſuperiority of her genius. During the laſt four years of her reign, the ſplendor and fame which the victorious Marlborough had acquired for her, was eclipſed by the cabals and intrigues of a ſet of miniſters, who ill deſerved the confidence ſhe repoſed in them.

She was blindly attached to the tory party, whom ſhe had been taught to conſider as the only true friends of the church and the ſovereign; and conſequently much prejudiced againſt the whigs; but her heart was good, and ſhe had a ſincere love for her people. She was a generous miſtreſs, and an admirable pattern of conjugal duty and affection. Upon the whole, ſhe deſerves, if not to be conſidered as the greateſt, at leaſt ranked with the moſt amiable of thoſe who have ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre.

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*Engrav'd for*
*Clarendon's History of England*

GEORGE I.

# BOOK XIII.

## From the death of queen ANNE, to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; a period of thirty-four years.

## GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714. A New period of Hiſtory, a new order of ſucceſſion to the throne of theſe realms now opens upon us; and to this alteration we owe innumerable bleſſings. The crown having, by act of parliament, devolved upon the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, who who died but a little time before queen Anne, it came of courſe to her ſon, George Lewis, elector of Hanover, as the neareſt proteſtant heir.

His electoral highneſs was formed for government; to a genius naturally extenſive, had been added all the graces ariſing from a well cultivated education. His perſonal good qualities joined to his experience, ſeemed to promiſe much happineſs to his ſubjects. His maxim was, "never to abandon his friends, "to do juſtice to all men, and to fear no "man." As he had been educated a zealous proteſtant, the majority of the Engliſh nation looked up to him for the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

As ſoon as queen Anne was dead, the members of the privy council met, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hanoverian reſident Kreyenberg, produced the three inſtruments, in which the elector of Brunſwick had nominated the perſons to be added as lords juſtices, to the ſeven great officers of the realm. Theſe were the dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Devonſhire, Kent, Argyle, Montroſe, and Roxburg; the earls of Pembroke, Angleſey, Carliſle, Nottingham, Scarborough, and Orford, lord viſcount Townſend, and the lords Halifax and Cowper. King George was immediately proclaimed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the earl of Dorſet went to Hanover with the news of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him to England by order of the regency.

The army and navy having been much neglected, the lords juſtices took the neceſſary precautions to guard againſt a ſurprize; ordered thoſe officers in whom they could confide, to their reſpective poſts; and appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary, giving him orders to receive the diſpatches directed to the lord Bolingbroke, whoſe place of ſecretary of ſtate was not yet vacated.

On the fifth of Auguſt, the parliament meeting, in conſequence of the act to regulate the ſucceſſion, the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes in the name of the regency, importing, that the privy council appointed by the elector of Brunſwick, had proclaimed that prince under the name of king George, as the lawful, and rightful ſovereign of theſe kingdoms; that they had taken the neceſſary care to preſerve the public peace; that he hoped they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the eſtabliſhing and advancing public credit; that the privy council, not having received his majeſty's orders, declined laying before them any thing that did not require their immediate conſideration; that he would only take the freedom to exhort them with the greateſt earneſtneſs to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to the intereſt of their ſovereign, as the method by which the public tranquillity would be moſt effectually preſerved.

Addreſſes were immediately drawn up by both

both houſes, containing condoleances on the death of the late queen, congratulations on his majeſty's happy acceſſion; and the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and affection.

His majeſty anſwered, by ſympathizing with them on the loſs they had ſuſtained, thanked them for the aſſurances of their loyalty and attachment, and promiſed to make it his conſtant care to preſerve their religion and liberties inviolate.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, Mr. Craggs, who had been ſent to Hanover before the queen's death, returning with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the houſe of peers, and the chancellor made another ſpeech to both houſes, intimating, that his majeſty was highly ſatisfied with the loyalty and affection which his people had univerſally expreſſed at his acceſſion; and that agreeable to their earneſt deſire, he was haſtening his arrival amongſt them.

When the commons had compleated the civil liſt bill, and one for making ſome alterations in the act for the ſtate lottery, which received the royal aſſent from the regency; the parliament was prorogued to the third day of September.

The body of the deceaſed queen was buried with great ſolemnity, in the ſame vault with her late huſband, prince George of Denmark, in Henry the ſeventh's chapel, on the twenty fourth of Auguſt.

The government of his dominions in Germany being left to the care of a council, king George ſet out with the electoral prince from Herenhauſen, on the thirty firſt of Auguſt, and in four days arrived at Utrecht, from whence he repaired to the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the ſtates general. On the ſixteenth of September, he embarked at Orange-Polder under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron commanded by the earl of Berkeley, and next evening arrived at the Hope, where the admiral came to an anchor. Next day the Yatch ſailed up the river, where his majeſty with the prince were landed from a barge at Greenwich about ſix in the evening. There he was received by the earl of Northumberland, captain of the life guards and the lords of the regency. His majeſty choſe to walk on foot to his houſe in Greenwich Park, whither he was accompanied by the nobility, gentry, and vaſt crowds of ſpectators, who teſtified their joy on his arrival.

His majeſty made his public entry on the twentieth of September, with great pomp and magnificence, being preceded by above two hundred coaches of the nobility and gentry; each of them drawn by ſix horſes.

A total change in the miniſtry now took place. The great ſeal was committed to lord Cowper, the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Marlborough was made generaliſſimo; the duke of Devonſhire ſteward of the king's houſhold, and lord Townſend and Mr. Stanhope appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. Theſe had all ſignalized themſelves in the defence of his majeſty's ſucceſſion, when attacked by the late miniſtry. The former privy council was diſſolved and a new one appointed. Mr. Pulteny was made ſecretary at war; and Mr. Walpole paymaſter both to the army, and Chelſea hoſpital. The treaſury and admiralty were put into commiſſion, and the title of prince of Wales was given to the prince royal.

It appears that the tories had not the influence they pretended to have; for theſe changes produced no ill humour, or popular diſcontent. Addreſſes of congratulations were preſented to his majeſty by the two univerſities, and all the cities and corporations of the kingdom; and he expreſſed particular ſatisfaction at theſe tokens of their loyalty, and attachment to his perſon and government.

He declared in council his reſolution to ſupport and maintain the churches of England and Scotland, as they were ſeverally by law eſtabliſhed. This he apprehended might be done without impairing the toleration allowed by law to proteſtant diſſenters, and neceſſary to the commerce and riches of the kingdom; and he further aſſured them, that he would endeavour to render property ſecure; a circumſtance in which

England

England was happier than any other part of the world.

In the beginning of October, the princeſs of Wales arrived in England with her two eldeſt daughters, the princeſſes Anne and Amelia.

His majeſty was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities on the twentieth of October, the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke attending the ceremony. The occaſion was diſtinguiſhed by popular rejoicings over all the kingdom, except in a few places, where the rabble ſhewed their averſion to the proteſtant ſucceſſion by tumults and riots.

Mr. Prior now received orders to preſent a memorial to the court of France, for the immediate demolition of Dunkirk, which had been much protracted, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finiſhed. This miniſter receiving an equivocal anſwer, and the council thinking he did not ſufficiently exert himſelf, he was recalled, and the earl of Stair ſent as ambaſſador to Paris.

The tories now began to revive the former clamour of the danger of the church; ſeditious libels were diſperſed, and dangerous tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom; particularly at Birmingham, Briſtol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading. The party cry was; "Down with the whigs; "Sacheverel for ever; damn all foreign "government." Many whig gentlemen were abuſed; magiſtrates in town and juſtices in the country were reviled and inſulted; and one perſon even killed in endeavouring to appeaſe the rioters. At the ſame time, a printed manifeſto was ſent by the pretender to the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. This manifeſto was refuted in a pamphlet written by doctor Poland, who expoſed the abſurdity of the pretender's allegations. The copies of the repreſentation being delivered to the ſecretaries of ſtate, the king refuſed an audience to the marquis of Lamberti, miniſter from the duke of Lorrain, convinced that his maſter was acquainted with and countenanced this tranſaction.

The want of loyalty among the common people, was in a great meaſure owing to the conduct and doctrine of ſome clergymen, who omitted to recognize the king's title in their prayers. About the ſame time, directions were publiſhed for preſerving unity in the church, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the ſtate.

A new parliament was ſummoned to meet on the ſeventh of March, by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the pernicious deſigns of ſome men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion, and of their having miſrepreſented his principles and conduct. He mentioned the perplexed ſituation of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, the heavy debts of the nation; and expreſſed his hope that his loving ſubjects would elect ſuch perſons as had ſhewn their attachment to the proteſtant religion when it was endangered, as the moſt likely to rectify the preſent diſorders.

*A. D.* 1715. Mr. Spencer Compton was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, on the fourteenth of March, at the meeting of the new parliament. On the twenty-firſt, the king came to the houſe of peers, and delivered to the chancellor a written ſpeech, which was read in preſence of both houſes, and contained the following particulars. His majeſty thanked his faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs ſhewn in the defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion againſt all the open and ſecret practices that had been uſed to defeat it. He told them, that ſome conditions of the peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defenſive alliances ſhould be formed to guarantee the preſent treaties. He obſerved, that the pretender threatened to diſturb the peace of England, and that he boaſted of the aſſiſtance he expected here, to repair his former diſappointments; that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable, and if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation; that the public debts, which were very great, had, ſince the ceſſation

tion of arms, been continually increaſing.

His majeſty proceeded to inform the commons, that the branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, were ſo far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown; that ſince it was his and their happineſs, to ſee a prince of Wales, who might in due time ſucceed him on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many children; theſe circumſtances would naturally occaſion an expence, to which the nation had not for many years been accuſtomed; he therefore doubted not but they would think of it with that affection, which he had reaſon to hope from his commons. He obſerved, that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and waited with impatience the iſſue of this firſt ſeſſion. He begged no unhappy diviſions of parties might divert them from purſuing the common intereſt of their country, nor any wicked inſinuations diſquiet the minds of his ſubjects. He aſſured them, that the eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould be the rule of his government, and the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of his people, the chief care of his life; that he ſhould always conſider thoſe who concurred with him, in proſecuting theſe meaſures, as his beſt friends; and that he doubted not but he ſhould be able with their aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of ſuch as would deprive him of the affection of his ſubjects, which he eſteemed the chief bleſſing of his life.

General Stanhope preſented to the houſe, on the ninth of April, fourteen volumes, containing all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the ceſſation of arms, and moved, that they might be referred to a ſelect committee of twenty perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their obſervations, to the houſe. Before this meaſure was taken, lord Bolingbroke withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter, in vindication of his conduct, behind him, which was afterwards printed.

Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, and the witty, the eloquent, the facetious marquis of Wharton, departed this life at this period, in both of whom, the whigs ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs.

It was now reſolved by the houſe of commons to augment the allowance before granted to his majeſty, for the better ſupport of his houſhold and family, ſo as to make up the yearly ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and they appointed a committee of ſecrecy to enquire into the conduct of the late miniſtry, and ordered their report to be printed, and ſent to the returning officers of every city and borough; and came to a reſolution of impeaching Henry viſcount Bolingbroke, Robert earl of Oxford, James duke of Ormond, and Thomas earl of Strafford, of high treaſon and other crimes and miſdemeanors. They prepared bills accordingly, which ſoon after paſſed the houſe of lords and received the royal aſſent; and as tumultuous aſſemblies were now become very frequent in London and other places, a bill was prepared to prevent them.

His majeſty, on the twentieth of July, went to the houſe of peers, and having ſent for the lower houſe to attend him there, he acquainted them that he had received certain advices of an attempt preparing abroad in favour of the pretender, and gave the royal aſſent to the bill for preventing tumultuous aſſemblies, and that concerning the Quaker's affirmation inſtead of an oath.

The parliament, the convocation, the common council of London, and the ſeveral counties and corporations of England, now preſented addreſſes filled with expreſſions of loyalty and affection. The apprehenſions of deſigns in favour of the pretender, made it neceſſary that the Habeus Corpus act ſhould be ſuſpended for ſome time; it was accordingly ſo ordained by parliament for the ſpace of ſix months. Soon after, the duke of Powis, the earl of Jerſey, the lords Lanſdown, and Dunbar, Sir Marmaduke Conſtable, Sir John Packington, Sir George Brown, colonel Paul, and ſome others were ſecured; the coaſts

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ſtrictly guarded, and an expreſs ſent to the ſtates general for diſpatching their forces, agreeable to their engagement.

The earl of Mar had by this time began to act openly in Scotland, and he expected to be ſupported by a ſtrong party in England. This nobleman, at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt who made profeſſion of loyalty and attachment to his preſent majeſty. But not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he retired in diſguſt to his own country, where, prompted by reſentment and ambition, he reſolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender. He proſecuted his deſign with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the pretender's ſtandard was ſet up on the ſixth of September, and ſoon after, he was proclaimed in form at Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and ſeveral other places; and the number in arms to ſupport his title, now amounted to about ſix thouſand.

An attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of Edinburgh was made by a party of the rebels, who were repulſed by colonel Stuart, lieutenant governor of that fortreſs.

The ſpirits of the rebels were ſo damped by the death of Lewis XIV. which happened about this time, that ſome of them propoſed to defer any further attempts till the pretender ſhould be actually landed in Scotland; but the majority, depending on an inſurrection in England in their favour, reſolved to proſecute the enterprize at all events.

The dukes of Roxburgh and Argyle, the earl of Sutherland, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Tweedale, and ſeveral other Scottiſh peers, repaired to the north to raiſe their vaſſals and exert their influence for the public ſervice. The duke of Argyle was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in North Britain.

The earl of Derwentwater, Mr. Forſter, and about two hundred and fifty more appeared in rebellion, and rendezvouſed at Plainfield, near Rothbury, being ſoon after joined by the lord Widdrington, with about thirty horſemen, and a party of horſemen from Scotland. They proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Hexham. Upon the approach of general Carpenter, who was ordered to march into thoſe parts with ſeveral regiments of horſe and foot; the enemy was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and at Hardwick it was debated whether they ſhould ſtand their ground, or march off. Mr. Mackintoſh was for the firſt, urging the ſuperiority of their number, and that the longer they deferred an engagement, the greater oppoſition they were likely to meet with: but Mr. Forſter, who was then their general, was againſt fighting, till they ſhould be joined by a ſtrong body of horſe; and moſt of the other principal officers being of the ſame opinion, they marched to Longhoolm, from thence to Brampton, and ſo to Penrith, Appleby, Kendal, Kirby, Dounſdale, and Lancaſter, and in moſt of thoſe towns they proclaimed the pretender.

About fifteen hundred perſons from Lancaſhire, joined them in their march towards Preſton. Being thus reinforced, and not knowing whither to fly, they barricaded the place as well as they could, waiting for the arrival of the king's forces under the command of general Wills, who coming up to them three days after, and having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring the ſeveral paſſages to the town, began to attack the enemy in form. The king's troops at firſt were much galled by the enemy's ſhot from the windows of the houſes; but upon orders being given by the general to ſet fire to the houſes at each end of the town, and the arrival of a reinforcement to the king's forces; they were ſo diſpirited, that they deſired a ceſſation of arms, and ſoon after ſubmitted themſelves to mercy. About one hundred and thirty men were ſlain on the king's ſide; but how many on the enemy's is uncertain. The king's forces were no leſs ſucceſsful in the ſouthern than in the northern parts of the iſland. The very day, on which the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton, was remarkable for the battle of Dumblain, fought between the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Mar, commander in chief of the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he heard that the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being

ing now reinforced by the northern clans, under the earl of Seaforth, and thoſe of the Weſt, commanded by general Gordon, he determined immediately to paſs the Forth, in order to join his ſouthern friends with an intention to march into England together.

Having accordingly advanced to Auchterardere he reviewed his army, and reſted on the eleventh day of November. The duke of Argyle, informed of his intention, and being joined by ſome regiments of dragoons from Ireland, reſolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain. On the twelfth day of the month, he croſſed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblain, and his right toward ſheriff-moor, the rebels approached within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; their whole army of horſe and foot, amounting to nine thouſand.

On receiving intelligence that they were in motion, the duke, in the morning, drew up his forces, amounting to about three thouſand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-eaſt of Dumblain; but he was greatly outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that compoſed the center and right wing of the enemy, with their chiefs, Clanronald and Glengary, at their head, charged the left wing of the king's army, ſword in hand, with ſuch impetuoſity, that, in a few minutes, both horſe and foot were totally routed, with great ſlaughter; and general Wetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, declaring that the rebels had totally defeated the royal army.

In the interim, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in perſon on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; though in that ſpace they wheeled about, and endeavoured to rally ten times: ſo that he was obliged to puſh them hard, that they might not be able to recover their ranks. Brigadier Wightman followed, with three battalions of infantry, in order to ſupport him; while the right wing of the rebels having purſued Wetham a conſiderable way, returned to the number of five thouſand men, and formed in the rear of Wightman.

Wightman, who had faced about, taken poſſeſſion of ſome incloſures and mud walls, in expectation of an attack, was now joined by the duke of Argyle, who had returned from the purſuit. In this poſture both armies ſtood fronting each other, but neither caring to renew the engagement; when, night approaching, the duke drew off towards Dumblain, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual moleſtation. Next day, the duke, marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few priſoners were taken on either ſide: the king's army loſt about five hundred, and the enemy about eight hundred men, and the victory was claimed by both parties.

The rebels, ſoon after this battle, loſt Inverneſs, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's intereſt, but now declared in favour of the government. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sunderland had raiſed a ſtrong body of vaſſals. the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to abandon the rebel army, in order to ſecure their own territories, and in a little time, ſubmitted to the king: a good number of the Frazers, influenced by the example of their chief, lord Lovat, declared againſt the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army to defend his own country; and the clans, began to diſperſe, as there was no proſpect of another action.

By this time the government was able to ſend ſtrong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thouſand men that were claimed of the ſtates, by virtue of the treaty, arrived in England, and began their march to Edinburgh: General Cadogan ſet out for the ſame place, together with brigadier Petit and ſix other engineers; and a train of artillery was ſhipped off at the Tower, for that country, the duke of Argyle being determined to drive the

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earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town with the remains of his army he had retired for ſhelter.

Though affairs were in this ſituation in Scotland, the pretender reſolved to try his fortune in that kingdom. With this view, he poſted through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, landed on the twenty-ſecond day of December, at Peterhead, with ſix gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. He paſſed through Aberdeen incognito to Fetteroſſe, where the earls of Mar and Mariſchal, with about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of quality met him.

At this place he was proclaimed, and his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and diſperſed in all parts of that neighbourhood; and here, likewiſe, he received addreſſes from the epiſcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the dioceſe of Aberdeen.

*A. D.* 1716. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee, and on the ſeventh arrived at Scoon, where he ſeemed reſolved to ſtay till the ceremony of his coronation ſhould be performed. On the ninth day of January, he repaired to Perth, where he reviewed his forces, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at the appearance of the men, and the form of the Highland dreſs, to which he was hitherto a ſtranger.

He now formed a regular council at Scoon, and publiſhed ſeveral proclamations; one for a general thankſgiving on acconnt of his ſafe arrival; another, enjoining the miniſters to pray for him in churches; a third, eſtabliſhing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ſummoning the meeting of the convention of eſtates; a fifth, ordering all fencible men to repair to his ſtandard; and a ſixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic ſpeech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party aſſiſted. They ſeemed, at firſt, reſolved to make new efforts, and with this view began to fortify Perth; but at length determined to abandon the enterprize, on the conſideration that the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and themſelves not only reduced to a ſmall number, but in want of money, proviſion, arms and ammunition.

By this time, the duke of Argyle had taken poſſeſſion of Burnt-iſland, and tranſported a detachment to Fife, ſo as to cut off the communication of the rebels with that fertile county. On the twenty ninth day of January, he began his march towads Dumblain, and next evening reached Tullibardine, where he received advice, that the pretender and his forces, had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took poſſeſſion of Perth, and then purſued the enemy towards Aberbrothick, notwithſtanding a deep fall of ſnow, which almoſt rendered the roads impaſſable.

The purſuit was ſo cloſe, that the pretender was perſuaded to embark on board of a ſmall French ſhip, that lay in the harbour of Montroſe. He was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant general Bulkley, and other perſons of diſtinction, to the number of ſeventeen. In order to keep clear of the Engliſh cruizers, they ſteered their courſe for Norway, and coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, arrived at Gravelin in five days.

The prender left the command of his forces to general Gordon, who, with the aſſiſtance of the earl Mariſchal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he procured three veſſels to ſail northward, and take on board about two hundred perſons, who deſigned to make their eſcape to the continent. From Aberdeen they continued their march through Strathſpey and Strathdown to the hills of Badenoch, where they diſcharged the common people.

Such expedition was uſed in this retreat, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could not overtake their rear-guard, which was compoſed of a thouſand horſe, commanded by the earl Mariſchal. Such was the iſſue of a rebellion, which, inſtead of weakening, ſerved rather to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and by which the ruin of ſeveral very conſiderable families was effected.

The houſe of commons now began to think of proſecuting, in the moſt rigorous manner, the

the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down ſuch miſeries upon the nation. They began by expelling Mr. Forſter from the houſe. They impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Winton; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. Theſe noblemen being brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read, on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their anſwers on the ſixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower houſe ordered a bill to be brought in to continue the ſuſpenſion of the Habeus Corpus act ſix months longer; then they prepared another to attaint lord John Drummond, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and the marquis of Tullibardine.

His majeſty, on the twenty-firſt of January, gave the royal aſſent to the bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeus Corpus act. He told the parliament, that, as he had reaſon to believe, when he laſt ſpoke to them, that the pretender was landed in Scotland, ſo the accounts he had received ſince, put it beyond all doubt, that he was heading the rebellion in that country, and aſſuming the title of king of theſe realms; that the moſt effectual way to put a ſpeedy end to theſe troubles, would be to make ſuch proviſion as might diſcourage any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels; and he, therefore, hoped, that every ſincere proteſtant, and true Briton, would look upon the extraordinary expence, which ſuch a preparation might require, to be the beſt huſbandry; ſince it would, in all probability, prevent that deſolation and thoſe calamities, which would unavoidably enſue, ſhould the rebellion be ſuffered to ſpread, and be ſupported by popiſh forces from abroad. Both houſes aſſured his majeſty of their inviolable duty and affection, and of their readineſs to aſſiſt his majeſty's endeavours for the ſuppreſſion of his enemies.

The impeached lords ſeverally pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited againſt them, on the nineteenth of January, except the earl of Winton, who petitioned for a longer time to prepare his defence. The reſt received ſentence of death on the ninth of February, in a court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, where the lord chancellor Cowper acted as lord high ſteward.

While his majeſty was paſſing through the apartments of the palace, the counteſs of Nithſdale and lady Nairn, without the ceremony of a formal introduction, threw themſelves on a ſudden at his feet, and, with tears in their eyes, implored his mercy in behalf of their huſbands; but their application proved ineffectual. The council reſolved that the ſentence ſhould be executed, and orders were given for that purpoſe to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex.

Lady Derwentwater, with her ſiſter, accompanied by the dutcheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other ladies of the firſt diſtinction, were introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, into the king's bedchamber, where ſhe implored his majeſty's clemency for her unfortunate conſort. What anſwer ſhe received from his majeſty is not known, but moſt probably ſhe had but little hope from that quarter, for ſhe afterwards repaired to the lobby of the houſe of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the ſame quality, and begged the interceſſion of the houſe; but no regard was paid to the petition. Next day they went to Weſtminſter, with a ſtill greater train than ever, and petitioned both houſes of parliament; but their ſuit was rejected.

In the houſe of lords, the duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, declaring, that himſelf ſhould oppoſe his ſollicitation. The earl of Derby expreſſed ſome compaſſion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the reſt were preſented by other lords, influenced by motives of humanity.

The reading of the petitions was violently oppoſed by lord Townſend and others of the whig party; but the earl of Nottingham thinking this indulgence might be granted, his opinion had a conſiderable weight: the majority aſſented to the propoſal, and agreed to an addreſs, praying his majeſty would reprieve

prieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his mercy. To this petition, he anſwered, that, on this and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſafety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, preſident of the council; his brother the earl of Ayleſbury, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter; his ſon lord Finch, one of the lords of the treaſury; his couſin lord Guernſey, maſter of the jewel office; were diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſervice at the ſame time.

Immediate orders were given for the execution of Derwentwater, Nithſdale and Kenmuir, the others were reſpited to the ſeventh day of March. Nithſdale made his eſcape in women's apparel, conveyed to him by his mother. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twenty fourth day of February; the latter died a member of the church of England; the former, of the Roman church; both of them adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, the earl of Winton was brought to his trial, and being found guilty ſentence of death was paſſed upon him.

When the king gave his aſſent to the land-tax bill, in the preamble to which the preſent rebellion was charged on the fatal and pernicious counſels of the late miniſters, he informed both houſes, that his forces had, at laſt, obliged the pretender to fly out of Scotland; and that he was ſince arrived at Gravelin in France.

A commiſſion for trying the rebels aſſembled in the court of Common pleas on the ſeventeenth of April, when bills of high treaſon were found againſt Mr. Forſter, brigadier Mackintoſh, and twenty of their confederates. Forſter eſcaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in ſafety: the reſt pleaded not guilty, and were allowed the ſpace of three weeks to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a conſiderable number guilty of high-treaſon. Two and twenty were executed at Preſton, Wigan, and Manchester: about a thouſand priſoners ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation.

Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being ſuſpected of having connived at Forſter's eſcape, was tried for his life at the old Bailey and acquitted. Notwithſtanding this proſecution, which ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jailers, brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſeveral other priſoners having maſtered the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the centinel, broke out of Newgate.

A great number of thoſe that remained were found guilty; of whom, four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn; and among them William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his laſt ſpeech, profeſſed himſelf a ſincere and true member of the church of England, but not of the revolution ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops had abandoned the king, and ſhamefully given up their eccleſiaſtical rights, by ſubmitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authorized by the prince of Orange. It ſhould ſeem, however, that his principles were not firmly eſtabliſhed; for he begged pardon of God, his king, and his country, in a petition for mercy, after ſentence was paſſed, in which he declares his ſorrow for the crime he had committed.

The ſpirit of diſaffection, however, ſtill prevailed; though the rebellion was cruſhed. The jacobites and violent tories ſtill harboured an implacable antipathy to the preſent government. Enraged by the diſappointment of their late enterprize, they exerted themſelves with redoubled vigour, in inflaming the jealouſies and diſcontents of the people; and they flattered themſelves, that, at the next election, which would ſoon arrive, they ſhould either be able to procure a majority of their own party, or at leaſt to raiſe ſuch a ferment in the kingdom, as might lay the foundation of new diſturbances, and perhaps produce an inſurrection.

The miniſtry took a very extraordinary ſtep to prevent any diſagreeable conſequences to the government which might ariſe on a new election; for the duke of Devonſhire, on the tenth of April, repreſented in the houſe of

lords, that triennial elections ſerved to keep up party diviſions; to raiſe and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wiſdom of ſuch and auguſt aſſembly, to apply a remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences; eſpecially in the preſent temper of the nation, while the ſpirit of rebellion ſtill remained unconquered, and ſeemed only to wait for a freſh opportunity to diſplay itſelf with more uncontrouled violence than ever: that as the election of a new parliament, which by the triennial act was faſt approaching, was the moſt favourable juncture, which the jacobites could expect, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to deprive them of that reſource; and that for this purpoſe, he begged leave to propoſe a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliament, and deſired that the houſe would conſent to its being read. He was ſeconded by the earls of Dorſet and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townſend, and other leaders of the whig-party. The motion was oppoſed by the heads of the tory party, and particularly by the earls of Nottingham and Abingdon, and earl Paulet.

It was remarked by the earl of Dorſet, that the triennial act was a new law, and an alteration of the old conſtitution: that, as they had by the experience of twenty years, found the many inconveniences attending that law, they ought to apply a ſpeedy remedy; that it ſowed the ſeeds of corruption, as evidently apparent from this circumſtance, that great numbers of perſons had no other livelyhood than that of being employed in bribing corporations; that of this fact the nation had lately a fatal proof, ſince, by thoſe methods, the laſt miniſtry procured a parliament, which gave ſanction to moſt of their wicked meaſures, and went near to ſurrender the trade and liberties of the nation; that triennial elections deſtroyed all family-intereſt, and ſubjected the conſtitution to the caprice of the multitude; and in a word, that by triennial elections the nation had but a triennial government, which was little better than no government at all.

It was aſſerted by lord Carteret, that the people's rights and liberties were beſt ſecured by frequent parliaments; but this bill, he ſaid, was not againſt frequent ſeſſions, but only againſt frequent elections; that they ought maturely to weigh what was ſuggeſted in the preamble of the bill "that there was "a reſtleſs Popiſh faction, deſigning, and "endeavouring to renew the rebellion within "theſe kingdoms:" that of all rebellions this laſt was the moſt monſtrous and unnatural; for all other rebellions had been carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas the profeſſed intention of this laſt was to eſtabliſh ſlavery: that with regard to our allies abroad, though he could not ſay they expected this bill, yet it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would be glad to ſee it paſs into a law; for having found, by ſad experience, that the beſt concerted meaſures might be greatly altered by different parliaments, influenced by different miniſtries; ſo if they had not ſome ſecurity for the performance of the treaties, which his majeſty was now negotiating with them, they might juſtly apprehend, a deſtruction of the whole plan, in conſequence of the popular fury which a new election might produce.

The reaſons urged againſt the bill by the earl of Nottingham, were, that it would rather exaſperate than quiet the minds of the people: that it ſhewed a diſtruſt of the people and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worſt kind of government: that he believed no man would preſume to inſinuate, that his majeſty had no proſpect of gaining the affections of his ſubjects: that the king came in univerſally beloved, and was received with the general acclamations of his people; and that though he could not aſſign the true cauſe of the preſent diſſatisfaction, yet ſome ſecret cauſe muſt certainly have been given for it; that he hoped, however, the diſſatisfaction of the people was not near ſo great as had been repreſented; that the rebellion was now, at length, entirely ſuppreſſed

preſſed; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper expedient to allay it, and would rather rivet the diſaffected in their prejudices againſt the government, than make them change their opinion; that, with reſpect to foreign potentates, the bill might produce an effect quite contrary to what was intended; they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble to this bill, that the popiſh faction was ſo dangerous, as to threaten deſtruction to the government; they would apprehend that the adminiſtration was ſo weak, as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be truſted; and that the good affections of the people were reſtrained within the limits of the houſe of commons; that this bill, far from preventing the expence of elections, would rather increaſe it, and encourage every ſpecies of corruption; for the value of a ſeat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament; and the purchaſe would riſe accordingly; that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom, aſcertained in the practice of many ages; that the reaſons urged for continuing this parliament for ſeven years, would be at leaſt as ſtrong, and might, by the conduct of the miniſtry, be made much ſtronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legiſlative power, to the abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the realm; and finally, that this bill evidently tended to increaſe the power of the ſovereign, by furniſhing his miniſters with ſuch an excellent opportunity of corrupting the members of parliament; but that numberleſs inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, concurred to prove, that the crown was always a ſufferer by attempts to enlarge its prerogative.

The duke of Argyle, in anſwer to lord Nottingham, obſerved, that he could not agree with him, either as to the origin or the concluſion of the rebellion; that, notwithſtanding the artful ſuggeſtion, that the king had been received with the general acclamations of his people, it was, nevertheleſs, certain, that, whatever arts were uſed by the laſt miniſtry to blind and deceive the people, deſigns had been formed to bring in the pretender, long before his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne; that the diſappointment of theſe deſigns was entirely owing to providence, for, had the conſpirators thrown off the maſk ſooner, and improved the ferment which their emiſſaries had raiſed in the nation, at the laſt election, it was extremely probable, that their wicked deſigns for defeating the proteſtant ſucceſſion, had been rendered effectual; that he wondered, therefore, his lordſhip could be puzzled to find out the cauſe of the preſent diſaffection, as it plainly proceeded from the falſe repreſentations of things and perſons, which had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, both before and ſince his majeſty's arrival; that, with reſpect to the allegation of the rebellion's being extinguiſhed, he acknowledged, for his own part, he was of a very different opinion; that the rebels had only removed their head quarters from Perth to Paris or St. Germains; but their emiſſaries in Great Britain were ſtill as buſy and inſolent as ever, and waited only for a freſh opportunity to renew the inſurrection, and favour an invaſion; that, as he was not ſo well read in hiſtory, as that noble lord, he would confine himſelf to what had happened in his own time; and ſaid, he had obſerved, that his lordſhip had, by turns, oppoſed whatever had been offered, either for the intereſts of the crown, or the liberties of the people; that of this aſſertion, were it neceſſary, he could produce a number of proofs; and therefore, he was not in the leaſt ſurprized, that there appeared already ſo much joy, among a certain party, over a repenting ſinner. The queſtion was at length put, and carried in the affirmative by a conſiderable majority, after many debates on the ſubject.

In the houſe of commons, the bill was oppoſed by the lords Guernſey and Finch, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Hungerford; and defended by Sir Richard Steele, Sir John Brownlow, Mr. Lyddal, and Mr. Hampden. Mr. Lyddal ſaid, that if they loſt this opportunity, they might poſſibly never find another, at leaſt, ſo good a one, not only to conquer, but even to extirpate that

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ſpirit of jacobitiſm, which had infected the nation, and had, more than once, brought it to the very brink of deſtruction; that ſince, therefore, they had, with ſo much danger and difficulty, ſecured their religion, laws and liberties, when all was at ſtake, from the treachery of the late miniſtry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the laſt triennial parliament, why ſhould they run the riſk of having a new one ſo ſoon, firſt choſen by French money, and then voting by French directions, eſpecially as the king and his parliament were exerting their united efforts for the good of the public, and in order to retrieve the honour of the nation? why ſhould they not continue longer together, that they might finiſh what they had ſo unanimouſly and happily begun? in fine, that the electors and people of all the boroughs in England, having for ſeveral years paſt been bribed and preached into the pretender's intereſt, and a diſlike of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, it became rather a matter of neceſſity than choice, to apply to ſo extraordinary a diſeaſe, the only remedy that ſeemed likely to effect its cure.

It was proved by Mr. Hampden, by a ſhort review of the Engliſh hiſtory, that nothing could be more falſe and ill-founded, than the opinion, which was commonly received, that triennial parliaments were an eſſential part of the Engliſh conſtitution. He owned indeed, that frequent meetings of parliament were to be conſidered in that light; but this, he affirmed, was only to be underſtood of frequent ſeſſions, not of frequent elections. He then undertook to ſhew, that triennial parliaments had been attended with infinitely greater inconveniences than thoſe which were called only once in ſeven years; that, far from checking, they ſerved rather to encourage the ſpirit of venality and corruption; and that they kept the nation in a continual ferment, the ſpace of three years not being ſufficient to heal thoſe feuds and animoſities, which were occaſioned by each ſucceſſive election. It was alledged, he ſaid, that the reaſon of reviving ſeptennial parliaments, was, becauſe the majority of the preſent parliament, were whigs; and though it was allowed, that this parliament had acted for the ſervice of the king and the nation, the proceedings of the laſt parliament were ſaid to be as deſerving of the good opinion of his majeſty, and the people, as thoſe of the preſent; that, in proof of this aſſertion, it was urged, that the tories granted the civil liſt; that he acknowledged was true, but he affirmed, at the ſame time, that his majeſty would ſoon have had it, even if they had not granted it.

With regard to the pretence of his majeſty's being received with the univerſal acclamations of his people; he aſked, why that ſatisfaction had ceaſed ſo ſoon? had the king done any thing to forfeit the affections of ſo many of his people? or had his miniſters? if his miniſters, why had the ſpirit of patriotiſm been ſo much wanting in gentlemen, as not to repreſent to his majeſty, or to the parliament, the crimes of thoſe whom he employed in his ſervice? but if no real cauſe for theſe diſcontents had been given, either by the king or his miniſters, then thoſe who pretended ſuch a zeal for the king and his ſervice at his firſt arrival, had acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing ſo little as what they now ſo openly profeſſed. That they ought to conſider the preſent ſituation of the minds of the people; how exaſperated one ſet of them were at the neceſſary proſecution of thoſe, who had ſo fatally concerted the ruin of their country; to what a degree that reſtleſs ſpirit had influenced the people in the late rebellion, and how induſtriouſly a falſe and malicious report of the church's being in danger, had been propagated in the nation; that the motives which induced him to contend for the bill, were, to diſpoſe the people to follow their occupations, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of diſtracting each other by elections; to deprive ſuch as had the will, of the power of giving any new diſturbance to the government; to prevent another rebellion, there being juſt as much reaſon to expect one this year, as there was the foregoing; to diſappoint the treacherous deſigns of thoſe, who had ſworn to the king, and riſen in ams againſt him, or abetted ſuch as had; to diſconcert-

concert any ſcheme that may have been formed by the regent of France, or by any other prince to diſturb Great Britain, at a time, when elections, or the approach of them, might raiſe a ferment in the minds of the people; and to procure to the clergy an interval from politics, that they may be better able to take care of their flocks, in the manner which the ſcripture has preſcribed. Several other arguments were advanced on both ſides the queſtion. At laſt, the matter being put to the vote, the bill was carried by a great majority, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The rebellion being now cruſhed, the ſuſpected perſons in cuſtody, and the public tranquillity reſtored, his majeſty reſolved to viſit his German dominions; but as he was reſtricted from leaving the kingdom by the act for the farther limitation of the crown, this clauſe was repealed in a new bill, which paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition. On the twenty ſixth day of June his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them, that he was highly ſatisfied with the proceeding of the parliament; that he hoped the wholeſome and neceſſary laws they had made, would anſwer the great and important ends, which it was evident they had in view, thoſe of defeating the deſigns and ſubduing the ſpirit of the diſaffected, and encouraging the friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; from all which, he thought he might reaſonably flatter himſelf with the proſpect of a quiet and ſettled government; that he was confident his conduct in puniſhing the rebels had been ſuch, as plainly proved, that he rather deſired to leſſen their number by ſoft and gentle means than by the rigorous execution of juſtice; but he was ſorry to find, that the many inſtances of mercy, which he had ſhewn, had produced no other effect, than to encourage the jacobites to renew their inſults upon his authority and the laws of the kingdom, and, in a word, to act with ſuch folly and madneſs, as if they intended to convince the world, that they were not to be reclaimed by ſuch methods, as were moſt agreeable to his own inclinations; that he doubted not, but, during the receſs, they would employ their utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all manner of diſorders; ſince, as the firſt ſcene of the late rebellion was opened and uſhered in by tumults and riots, ſo they might be aſſured, that, upon whatever pretence theſe were raiſed, they would have no other tendency, than to ſupport the ſpirit of a faction who were always reſtleſs and unwearied in their endeavours to renew the rebellion, and to ſubvert the religion, laws, and liberties of their country; that he deſigned to make uſe of the approaching vacation to viſit his German dominions; and that the better to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom, he had conſtituted his beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the realm during his abſence. Such were the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, which, by its vigorous and reſolute meaſures, in a great degree defeated the hopes of the jacobites, and eſtabliſhed his majeſty on the throne.

The diſaffected party diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by wearing white roſes, on the tenth of June, the anniverſary of the pretender's birth day. The Oxonians too, could not let ſlip ſuch a favourable opportunity of diſplaying their principles. They broke all the windows that were illuminated in that city on the king's birth day, as well as ſuch as were not lighted upon the anniverſay of the reſtoration. They had even the inſolence to attack ſome officers of the army who were peaceably celebrating the king's birth day; and they drew up a remonſtrance, which they preſented to parliament, becauſe the officers repulſed them in a ſpirited manner.

General Macartney, who had returned to England at the acceſſion of king George, now ſubmitted to a trial for the murder of the duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who had formerly depoſed, that he ſaw the general give the duke the wound of which he died, now departed from that declaration, and only averred; that he ſaw the general reach his ſword over the duke's ſhoulder. The falſity, however, of this aſſeveration, was ſufficiently

evinced by the teſtimony of two park-keepers, who ſwore, that they took up the ſwords, when the general and colonel ran to the aſſiſtance of the duke and lord Mohun; and that neither of the weapons were ever returned to either of the parties. The general was, therefore, acquitted of the murder; and was, ſoon after, reſtored to his rank in the army, and had the command of a regiment beſtowed on him.

Prince Erneſt, biſhop of Oſnaburgh, brother to his majeſty, was created duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulſter. The earl of Portland was created marquis of Titchfield and duke of Portland; and the duke of Devonſhire conſtituted preſident of the council. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgraces. The earl of Argyle, and his brother, the earl of Ilay, were deprived of all their employments. The removal of theſe noblemen was the more ſurprizing, as they had, all along, been warm advocates for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, had the principal hand in extinguiſhing the rebellion in Scotland, and were firmly attached to the preſent government. Whatever was the cauſe, certain it is, they were not only diſmiſſed from the ſervice, but, in order to ſhew that there was no hopes of their being reſtored, their places were diſpoſed of; general Carpenter being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of Minorca; and the duke of Montroſe ſucceeded the earl of Ilay as lord regiſter of Scotland.

His majeſty embarked at Graveſend on the ſeventh of July, and landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he paſſed incognito to Hanover, and thence ſet out for Pyrmont to drink the waters for his health.

His chief aim in going to the continent was, to ſecure his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and Great Britain from the deſigns of the pretender. Charles was highly incenſed at his Britannic majeſty for having joined in the confederacy, which deprived him of Bremen and Verden, and for having afterwards purchaſed theſe dutchies of the king of Denmark. The pretender, laying hold of this opportunity, prevailed upon the Swede to eſpouſe his intereſt, and even to form a regular deſign of advancing him to the Britiſh throne,

His majeſty determined to make new alliances abroad, as a ſecurity againſt ſuch an attempt. He knew the duke of Orleans cheriſhed the ambition of aſcending the throne of France, in caſe the young king, who was a ſickly child, ſhould die without iſſue. He was ſenſible, at the ſame time, that Philip of Spain would powerfully conteſt that ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding his renunciation; and he believed the regent would think an increaſe of his intereſt with England and Holland worthy his notice.

He therefore ſounded the duke's inclinations on this ſubject, and found him eager to engage in ſuch an aſſociation. The treaty was negotiated by general Cadogan for England, the Abbe de Bois for France, and the penſionary Heinſius for the ſtates general. The regent readily aſſented to all their demands. It was ſtipulated, that the pretender ſhould be immediately removed from Avignon to the other ſide the Alps, and never be permitted to return to Lorrain or France, on any pretence whatſoever; that no refuge ſhould be given to the rebellious ſubjects of either of the parties; that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed, to the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty. The treaty contained a guaranty of all places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers; of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as that of the family of Orleans to the crown of France, excluſive of the houſe of Anjou; and a defenſive alliance, aſcertaining the proportion of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power, which ſhould be diſturbed by invaſions from abroad, or commotions at home.

The ſubjects of France expreſſed the utmoſt averſion to this treaty. They ſaid, that the regent had ſacrificed to his own ambitious views, the honour and intereſt of the nation. In England too, the tories found fault with this alliance. They alledged, that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht; nor was there occaſion for ſo many

many foreign troops, which, on pretence of an invaſion, might be introduced for very different purpoſes. The king and the regent little regarded theſe murmurs, being firmly determined to compel the Spaniſh monarch to adhere to his former renunciation of the crown of France.

But the king did not ſucceed ſo well in his attempt to appeaſe the king of Sweden, who refuſed to hearken to any propoſals, until Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored. Theſe the king reſolved to keep as a fair purchaſe, and he took ſuch meaſures as might effectually enable him to preſerve the poſſeſſion of thoſe places.

The trade of England, in the interim, ſuffered much from the rupture between Sweden and Hanover, which had well nigh expoſed the kingdom to another invaſion, much more formidable than that, which had ſo lately been defeated. The Swediſh miniſters at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correſpondence with the jacobites of Great-Britain. A ſcheme was laid for Charles's landing on this iſland with a body of twelve thouſand men, where he was to be joined by the malecontents of the united kingdom. The Swede reliſhed the project, which flattered his vanity and revenge; nor was it diſagreeable to the Czar of Muſcovy, who was provoked at king George's offer to join Charles againſt the Ruſſians, provided he would renounce all pretenſions to the dutchies of Bremen and Verden.

*A. D.* 1717. The king being informed of theſe intrigues, returned to England about the latter end of January; and ordered colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of foot guards, to ſecure count Gyllenburgh, the Swediſh ambaſſador with all his papers. At the ſame time, Sir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, and Charles Cæſar, late treaſurer of the navy, were taken into cuſtody.

The ſeizure of the Swediſh ambaſſador alarmed the other foreign miniſters, who complained to the miniſtry of this outrage committed againſt the law of nations. The two ſecretaries, Methuen and Stanhope, wrote circular letters to them, importing, that, in a day or two, they ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons of this extraordinary proceeding. They were generally ſatisfied with this intimation; but the the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, replied, that he was extremely ſorry, that no other way could be found to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, than that of arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing all his papers, which were the ſacred repoſitories of his maſter's ſecrets; and that, in whatever light theſe two facts might ſeem to be underſtood, they very ſenſibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was a mere cavil: the law of nations can never authorize any miniſter to plot an invaſion or inſurrection in that kingdom where he reſides; in ſuch a caſe, the grand principle of ſelf-preſervation muſt overrule every other conſideration.

Baron Gortz, the Swediſh reſidentiary in Holland, was, about the ſame time, ſeized, together with his papers at Arnheim, at the requeſt of king George, ſignified to the ſtates general by Mr. Leathes, his miniſter at the Hague. The baron owned, and even boaſted, that he had planned the invaſion: a deſign, he pretended, which was juſtified by the conduct of king George, who had aided the princes in confederacy, againſt the king of Sweden; who had aſſiſted the king of Denmark to reduce Bremen and Verden, and then purchaſed theſe dutchies of the conqueror; and who had, in the courſe of this very ſummer, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Ruſſians againſt the Swediſh fleet.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament on the twentieth of February, told them, that he flattered himſelf the ſucceſs which it had pleaſed God to give him, in defeating the late rebellion, would have effectually ſecured the tranquillity of the kingdom: that, during the receſs of parliament, he had not been wanting in his endeavours to improve the happy proſpect, by entering into ſuch alliances as he judged moſt conducive to that deſireable end; and it was with pleaſure he could acquaint them, that many defects in the treaty of Utrecht, which were

prejudicial.

prejudicial to the commerce, and even dangerous to the ſecurity of Great-Britain, had been remedied by the ſubſequent conventions, the happy conſequences of which were already ſufficiently apparent in the flouriſhing ſtate of their trade and credit: that, by the alliances lately concluded with France and the ſtates general, they would ſoon be eaſed of all apprehenſions, from Dunkirk and Mardyke; that the pretender was removed beyond the Alps: his adherents deprived of all hopes of ſupport and countenance from France; and even the aſſiſtance of that crown was ſtipulated to England, in caſe of neceſſity: that it ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a ſituation of affairs at home and abroad, would have recovered from their deluſion, all ſuch of his ſubjects as had unhappily been ſeduced by the craft and wickedneſs of deſperate and ill-deſigning men, and thereby have afforded him the opportunity, which he ſo earneſtly deſired, of following the natural bent of his own inclinations to lenity, by opening the ſeſſion with an act of grace; but ſuch was the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of the jacobite faction, that they had again endeavoured to animate and ſtir up foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their native country; they would chooſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, and to riſk even the ſubjecting the kingdom to a foreign yoke, than relinquiſh their darling deſign of impoſing a popiſh pretender on the nation: that he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters, which had paſſed between the Swediſh miniſters on that ſubject, and which contained a full account of the projected invaſion: and that he promiſed himſelf, from their known zeal and affection to his perſon and government, that they would come to ſuch reſolutions, as would enable him to defeat all the deſigns of his and their enemies.

It was manifeſt from the letters of the Swediſh miniſters, that a deſign was formed for dethroning king George, and was conducted in ſuch a manner, as could hardly fail of ſucceſs. Artful papers were publiſhed to foment and increaſe the diſcontents of the people: the then preſent tranquillity, enjoyed in Britain, was to be uſed as a pretence for obtaining a reduction of the national troops, and the diſmiſſion of the foreign forces: ſhips, hired in different ports, were to be aſſembled at Gottenburgh by the end of March, when the eaſtern winds uſually blow: on board of theſe a body of eight thouſand Swediſh foot, and four thouſand horſe were to be embarked, with artillery, arms, and ammunition for fifteen thouſand more: money was advanced by the jacobites in Britain for defraying the expence of this armament: and the whole party held themſelves in readineſs to riſe on the firſt notice. But the timely diſcovery of the plot rendered theſe preparations ineffectual.

The two houſes of parliament, the convocation, the univerſity of Cambridge, and the diſſenting miniſters, preſented addreſſes to his majeſty. The lords congratulated the king on having, by his late treaty with France and the ſtates general, recovered, in a great meaſure, thoſe advantages, which might have been expected from a glorious and ſucceſsful war, but were baſely given up by a treacherous and diſhonourable peace; and expreſſed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of thoſe who had again endeavoured to embroil their country in blood and confuſion. The addreſs of the commons was conceived in terms of equal warmth and loyalty.

In the addreſs of the convocation, his majeſty was informed, that they had ſeen, in the late declarations of ſome of theſe men, (meaning the non-jurors) who, nevertheleſs, called them proteſtants, what they muſt look for, ſhould ever a popiſh prince be placed upon the throne of Great-Britain: that, while theſe men allowed to the eſtabliſhed clergy no better a character than that of ſchiſmatics and heretics, of men cut off from the communion of Chriſt's church, and all hopes of ſalvation; what could be expected from profeſſed papiſts, who whatever the non-jurors might imagine, intended to involve them in the common ruin, with the clergy of the church of England.

The diſſenters ſaid, they eſteemed themſelves

ſelves much honoured that their ſtrict adherence to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, before his majeſty's acceſſion, and their loyalty to it ever ſince, had drawn upon them ſo much of the fury and reſentment of their fellow-ſubjects: that they were not conſcious of any thing elſe that could expoſe them to this calamity; their principles being, as they apprehended, the moſt friendly to mankind, and amounting to no more than a general toleration to all peaceable ſubjects: that they neither expected nor deſired any thing, that might give the leaſt diſturbance to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church; they only wiſhed, that, under his majeſty, as the common father of all his loyal people, thoſe of their perſuaſion might not want the capacity, as, they hoped, his majeſty ſhould find, they never wanted the inclination to promote the intereſt of their country, and advance the proteſtant religion.

Among other expreſſions of their loyal attachment, the univerſity of Cambridge acknowledged the king to be their only rightful and lawful ſovereign. But the Oxonians, it ſhould ſeem, were of a different opinion. At a meeting of the vice-chancellor, and heads of that univerſity, a motion was made for an addreſs to the king on the ſuppreſſion of the late unnatural rebellion; his majeſty's ſafe return; and the favour lately ſhewn to the univerſity, in omitting, at their requeſt, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Mar, and others, on the anniverſary of his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown.

The motion was oppoſed by the high flying tories, who ſaid, that the rebellion had been long ſuppreſſed: that there would be no end of addreſſes, ſhould one be preſented every time his majeſty returned from his German dominions: that the late favour they had received, was overbalanced by a whole regiment of dragoons quartered upon them: and that there was no precedent for addreſſing a king upon his return from his German dominions. Weak and invidious as theſe arguments were, the motion was dropped on the ſtrength of their influence.

It was affirmed that no regard had been paid to their remonſtrance touching the riot raiſed in that city, by the ſoldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniverſary of the prince's birth day had not been celebrated with the uſual rejoicings. Affidavits had been ſent up to the council, both by the magiſtrates and the officers of the regiment. When the houſe of lords deliberated upon the ſtate of the army, ſome of the tory peers complained of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; and moved, that an inquiry ſhould be made into the late riot. The more ſenſible noblemen of that party oppoſed the motion, conſcious that ſuch a ſcrutiny would turn out very little to the honour of the univerſity. But the whig lords inſiſted on the matter's being examined; and an addreſs was accordingly preſented to the king, deſiring, that the papers relating to the tumult might be laid before the houſe. Upon peruſal, they appeared to be only recriminations between the officers of the regiment and the Oxonians.

The lord chancellor, the duke of Kingſton, the earl of Sunderland and other peers refuted the allegations, affirming that the conduct of the univerſity had been very different from what it had been repreſented: that, in the reigns of Charles the ſecond, and James the ſecond, they had expreſſed their loyalty in a moſt extraordinary manner, and had made ſuch large advances towards countenancing an unlimited power in the prince, that, if providence had not miraculouſly interpoſed, they would, as far as in them lay, have deſtroyed the liberties of their country: that the diſreſpect they had ſhewn to the prince regent was manifeſt, inaſmuch as the major of the regiment had, about ten in the morning, gone to the mayor, and complained of his not having paid any regard to the day, by ringing of the bells; to which complaint the mayor returned a ſhuffling anſwer, importing, that he did not know it to be the prince regent's birth-day: that, upon this, the major told him, that he would draw out the regiment, to celebrate the day with proper rejoicings, which he accordingly did; but that the mayor, inſtead of joining him

in the feſtivity, blocked up the ſtreets with a vaſt croud of people, ſome of whom inſulted the ſoldiers on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, exclaiming ſeveral times, "down with the roundheads:" that they proceeded ſo far in their inſults, as to throw dirt and ſtones at the ſoldiers, and even attempted to diſarm ſome of them: and, that the officers other allegations were well ſupported.

The earl of Abingdon, offered, during the debate, a petition from the vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and the mayor and magiſtrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. To this it was anſwered, that, as the houſe was in a grand committee, it was irregular to receive any petitions. In order to obviate this objection, a motion was made, that the chairman ſhould have the chair; but this was likewiſe carried in the negative.

Hereupon the debate was reſumed, and the houſe agreed to the following reſolutions: that the heads of the univerſity, and the mayor of the city neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birth-day: that the officers having met to celebrate the day, the houſe in which they were, was aſſaulted, and the windows broken by the rabble: that this aſſault was the beginning and occaſion of the riots which enſued: that the conduct of the major ſeemed well juſtified by the affidavits produced on his part: that the printing and publiſhing the depoſitions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committe of the council, was irregular, had a ſeditious tendency, and was highly diſreſpectful to his royal highneſs.

A bill was now paſſed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden; a branch of trade, which, however valuable to the Engliſh merchants, was willingly ſacrificed by the people in general, who were highly incenſed at the plot formed by the Swediſh miniſters. The houſe voted ten thouſand men for the ſervice of the enſuing year; granted near a million for the maintenance of guards, garriſons, and land forces; and paſſed the bill relating to mutiny and deſertion, by which the ſoldiers were exempted from arreſt for debts. They likewiſe voted twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munſter, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his ſervice, to ſupply the place of ſuch, as, during the rebellion, might be drawn from the garriſons of the ſtates-general, to the aſſiſtance of England. The tax on malt, and a land tax of three ſhillings in the pound were voted to raiſe the ſupplies.

The ſums given being deemed inſufficient for the ſervice of the current year, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope brought a meſſage from his majeſty, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be the better enabled to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a ſupply ſhould be granted to his majeſty for this purpoſe. This unexpected meſſage gave occaſion to a violent debate. Mr. Shippen ſaid, it was a great misfortune, that ſo wiſe and excellent a prince as his majeſty, was as little acquainted with the methods and forms of parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of the country: that, if he had known either, he would not have ſent ſuch a meſſage, which he was ſure, was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and appeared to have been penned by ſome foreign miniſter, and then tranſlatted into Engliſh: that, ſince the king's happy acceſſion to the throne, they had often been told, that his majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth, which manifeſtly appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade; but that the reaſons urged for granting this ſupply, ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with thoſe glorious advantages, which his majeſty had obtained for his people: and finally, that he could not help being of opinion, that, if the new alliances to be contracted, were ſuch, as could only be obtained by ſubſidies, the nation would never be ſecured by ſuch meaſures; for, whenever foreigners began to taſte the ſweets of Engliſh money, they would continue their aſſiſtance no longer than while they were paid for it.

Mr. Hungerford ſaid, that he could not underſtand

understand what occasion there was for new alliances, much less, that they should be purchased with money; and that it must needs be very surprising to the whole world, that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden; especially while we had not only a strong army, but a good fleet to protect us.

Mr. Stanhope expressed his grief that gentlemen should grow so warm upon a subject of this nature; said, that the king was a prince of such integrity and honour, and had already given such convincing proofs of his tender care for the true interest of the nation, that they might safely rely upon his wisdom in this matter; and therefore, he was of opinion, that the message would be opposed by none, but such as either doubted the honour of the ministers, or were themselves enemies to the king.

The reflection contained in this speech, greatly offended several members, particularly Mr. Lawson, who replied, that he was surprized to hear such unguarded expressions fall from that worthy and honourable gentleman, for whom, he was sure, the whole house had a very great regard; but that, since he had thought fit to express himself so openly, he hoped he might well be justified in saying, that, if every member of that house, who used freedom of speech on any subject of debate, and happened not to fall in with the views of the ministers, must be accounted an enemy to the king, he knew not any service they were capable of performing to their country in parliament; and therefore he conceived, they had nothing else to do, but to retire to their country seats, and leave the public money intirely at the discretion of the king and his ministers.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Horace Walpole and others, spoke in favour of the motion; but some of the whigs spoke against it, and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, observed, that though they were willing to grant a supply, they yet disapproved of this unparliamentary method of demanding it. The former proposed, that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money, thereby saved, applied towards making good such new engagements, as were deemed necessary to be contracted. But the danger and imprudence of such an expedient was sufficiently demonstrated by general Mordaunt and others. The resolution for a supply, was, at length, carried by only four voices, after many debates on the subject.

It appeared, from the earnestness with which this measure was opposed, that the ministry was divided within itself. Lord Townsend had been deprived of the office of secretary of state, by the intrigues of the earl of Sunderland; and he was now dismissed from the place of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had obtained upon his removal from the former. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Methuen, secretary of state, and Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, also resigned.

Mr. Stanhope, on the resumption of the affair of the supply, moved, that the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty for enabling him to make good such engagements as he might think proper to contract. Mr. Pulteney observed, that, if he had not yet said any thing upon this subject, the reason was, that he thought it inconsistent with decency to oppose a motion, which came from the court, while he had the honour to be his majesty's immediate servant; but that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman; that he disapproved of the manner of granting the supply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented; that he could not possibly persuade himself, that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not, but the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. He was seconded by the lord Finch, who alledged, that a quarrel with the Czar of Muscovy, was likely to be the consequence of the present measure.

Mr. Stanhope spoke in vindication of the king

king and his miniſters, both with regard to the Czar and the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the former, he obſerved, that the coldneſs which had of late appeared between the king and the Czar, proceeded from his majeſty's refuſing to guaranty that monarch's conqueſts, and from his preſſing him to withdraw his troops from the dutchy of Mecklenburg; that, with regard to the firſt particular, his majeſty's conduct deſerved the applauſe and thanks of a Britiſh parliament, inaſmuch as it ſhewed, that he was cautious not to engage the nation in foreign quarrels; that this, indeed, had been his principle care ever ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne; and he could now take upon him to aſſure them, that Great Britain was entirely free from any engagements, and at full liberty to follow ſuch meaſures, as might beſt ſuit her intereſt; that, with relation to the inſtances, which his majeſty had made to the Czar to procure a removal of the Ruſſian troops from the dutchy of Mecklenburg, he had acted in that matter, as an elector and prince of the empire; that he was perſuaded all the members of that honourable houſe would agree with him in admitting, that his majeſty's character, as king of Great Britain, was never underſtood to tie his hands up with reſpect to his intereſts in Germany; that, beſides, he muſt deſire them to remember, that long before his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, Great Britain was engaged in ſtrict union with the emperor and empire; and therefore, if by virtue of an ancient alliance, the emperor ſhould require Great Britain to make thoſe inſtances with the Czar, which the king had made only as elector of Hanover, the Engliſh could not refuſe to comply with his requeſt; that, with regard to Sweden, the king's conduct was not only blameleſs and irreproachable, but even worthy of the higheſt praiſe; that, in the reign of the late queen, Great Britain had interpoſed her mediation to procure a neutrality in the north, by which the king of Sweden might have preſerved his poſſeſſions in the empire; that the regency of Sweden agreed to this expedient, but his Swediſh majeſty rejected it with diſdain, declaring he would conſider all thoſe as his enemies, who ſhould pretend to reſtrict him to ſuch a neutrality; that, during the whole courſe of that negotiation, the king, then elector of Hanover, had employed all his good offices in favour of Sweden; but that theſe having been rendered ineffectual by the obſtinacy of his Swediſh majeſty, and the king of Denmark having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, had purchaſed theſe territories with his own money at a very high price; that although it was never his majeſty's intention to engage Great Britain in a war to ſupport theſe acquiſitions; yet, if gentlemen would take the trouble to caſt their eyes upon the map, and examine the ſituation of Bremen and Verden, he hoped they would not deem it a matter of indifference, who was poſſeſſor of thoſe two dutchies, but would agree with him in thinking, that their being in the hands of his majeſty was more conducive to the intereſt of Great Britain, than if they were in the hands either of the Czar, who already gave but too much jealouſy to the empire, or in thoſe of the king of Sweden, who at this time harboured the Engliſh rebels, and had lately endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Great Britain.

Moſt of the members appeared to be ſatisfied with this vindication of his majeſty's conduct. But Mr. Smith thought proper to make a reply. He ſaid, that as he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with the foreign concerns of the nation, he would not undertake to refute the allegations of the ſecretary; but that if an eſtimate of the conduct of the miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made by a compariſon of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether ſo faultleſs as they were repreſented. "Was it not a miſtake," added he, "not to preſerve the peace at home, "after the king had aſcended the throne "with the univerſal applauſe and joyful ac- "clamations of all his ſubjects? Was it "not a miſtake, upon the breaking out of "the rebellion, not to iſſue a proclamation "to offer pardon to ſuch as ſhould return "home peaceably, according to the cuſtom "on former occaſions of the ſame nature?

"Was

" Was it not a miſtake, after the ſuppreſ-
" ſion of the rebellion, and the trial and ex-
" ecution of the principal authors of it, to
" keep up animoſities and drive people to
" deſpair, by not paſſing an act of indem-
" nity; by keeping ſo many perſons in hard
" and tedious confinement; and by grant-
" ing freedom to ſome, without leaving
" them any means to ſubſiſt? Is it not a miſ-
" take, not to truſt to a vote of parliament
" for the making good ſuch engagements
" as his majeſty ſhall think proper to enter
" into; and, inſtead of that, to inſiſt on the
" granting this ſupply in ſuch an extraor-
" dinary manner? Is it not a miſtake, to
" take this opportunity to create diviſions,
" and render ſome of the king's beſt friends
" ſuſpected and obnoxious? Is it not a
" miſtake, in ſhort, to form parties and
" cabals, in order to bring in a bill to
" repeal the act againſt occaſional confor-
" mity?"

Mr. Barington Shute, in anſwer to this ſpeech, obſerved, that his majeſty, indeed, was received with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects; but that it was evident, from the ſucceeding events, that the joy expreſſed by ſome of them was by no means ſincere; that the rebellion, which afterwards broke out, was owing, not to the ill conduct of the miniſtry, but the inveterate prejudices of thoſe, who, rather than not impoſe a popiſh pretender on the nation, would willingly have ſacrificed the liberties, civil and religious, of their country; and that he was ſurprized to ſee a gentleman, who, he was ſure, condemned that rebellion as much as any member of the houſe, endeavour to vindicate the rebels, by throwing the blame upon thoſe who were entirely innocent; that his majeſty, it was owned, immediately after his acceſſion, had made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry; but in all theſe he had followed the rules of prudence, juſtice, and gratitude, inaſmuch as he had advanced thoſe, who in the worſt of times, had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his intereſt, in the room of ſuch, as had been preferred in the laſt reign, as the fitteſt inſtruments to deſtroy the proteſtant ſucceſſion, even before it took place, and had ſince been engaged in open rebellion againſt his majeſty; that as to the other miſtakes charged upon the miniſtry, they might be reduced to theſe two; the not paſſing an act of indemnity; and the deſign to repeal the bill againſt occaſional conformity; that, with reſpect to the firſt, men were divided in their ſentiments about it; and conſidering the reſtleſs ſpirit of the diſcontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an indemnity was the beſt way to reclaim them, inaſmuch as it was notorious, that the repeated inſtances of clemency, which his majeſty had ſhewn ſince his acceſſion, had been abuſed and deſpiſed; that touching the repeal of the act againſt the diſſenters, nothing in his opinion, was either more juſt or reaſonable; and he could not but wonder, that a gentleman who had been turned out of his employment in the laſt reign, and reſtored to it in the preſent, ſhould think it wrong to ſhew favour to his majeſty's beſt friends.

Private meetings had been held by ſome gentlemen, in order to concert meaſures for procuring a repeal of the occaſional bill; and it was to theſe meetings that Mr. Smith alluded, when he talked of parties and cabals. Mr. Shute was ſeconded by Mr. Stanhope, who obſerved, that though he had the honour to ſerve his majeſty ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne; yet, as there were ſeveral perſons, who had a greater ſhare than himſelf in the adminiſtration of affairs, he would leave it to them to juſtify their conduct; but that, nevertheleſs, he would clear up a principal point, by aſſuring the houſe, that he had, ſome time ago, received the king's orders to draw up an act of indemnity. The ſum demanded, was, at length, granted to his majeſty, after a long debate, by a conſiderable majority.

About this time there was an almoſt total change in the miniſtry. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Stanhope became firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs was declared ſecretary at war; the earl of Berkley was con-

ſtituted firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, in the room of the earl of Orford, who reſigned; the duke of Bolton obtained the government of Ireland; and was ſucceeded in the poſt of lord chamberlain by the duke of Newcaſtle; the duke of Devonſhire reſigned his place of preſident of the council.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſixth of May, and informed the parliament, in a ſhort ſpeech, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had ſailed to the Baltic to obſerve the motions of the Swedes, was ſafely arrived in the Sound; an event, which he hoped, would effectually ſecure the kingdom againſt any immediate danger of an invaſion; that this likewiſe afforded him an opportunity of making a conſiderable reduction in his land forces; an opportunity which he embraced with the greateſt pleaſure, having eſtabiſhed it as a rule with himſelf, to conſult, in every thing, the eaſe of his people, as far as was conſiſtent with their ſafety; and, for his own part, as he ſhould always place his greatneſs in the proſperity of his ſubjects, ſo ſhould he ever deſire that his power might be founded in their affections; that, for theſe reaſons, he had given orders for the ſpeedy diſbanding of ten thouſand men; that he had likewiſe given directions to prepare an act of grace, and, however this favour might be received by thoſe who were obſtinately bent upon the ruin of their country, he flattered himſelf it would raiſe a due ſenſe of gratitude in all ſuch as had been artfully miſled into treaſonable practices againſt his perſon and government, and preſerve them from ſtanding in need of the like mercy for the future, when ſuch an inſtance of clemency might not be ſo conſiſtent with the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to his own inclinations; that he hoped they would take proper meaſures for reducing the public debts, with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit, and compleat the public buſineſs with unanimity and diſpatch.

Proceedings had already been began with regard to a reduction of the national debt, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The firſt had been contracted with a redeemable intereſt; and theſe the public had a right to diſcharge; the others conſiſted of long and ſhort annuities, granted for a greater or leſſer number of years, which could not be altered without the conſent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole, when at the head of the treaſury, had projected a ſcheme for leſſening the intereſt, and paying the capital of theſe national debts. He propoſed, in the houſe of commons, to reduce the intereſt of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities.

Walpole's plan had met with approbation; but on his reſignation, the new miniſters thought proper to make ſome alterations in it, with which he was by no means ſatisfied. In the courſe of the debate on this ſubject, ſome warm altercation paſſed between him and Mr. Stanhope, from which it appeared, that they had made a practice of ſelling places and reverſions.

In conſequence of this diſcovery, Mr. Hungerford ſaid, he was ſorry to ſee two ſuch great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought ſtill to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and ſince they had, by miſchance, diſcovered their nakedneſs, the other members ought, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, to cover it, by turning their backs upon them. Mr. Boſcawen moved, that the houſe would lay their commands upon them, that no farther notice ſhould be taken of what had paſſed. He was ſeconded by Mr. Methuen; the houſe approved of the motion; and they gave their word and honour to the ſpeaker that their reſentment ſhould be carried no farther.

The South-ſea company and the Bank having agreed to provide money for ſuch creditors as ſhould be willing to receive their principal and intereſt, the houſe came to the following reſolutions: that all the public funds redeemable by law, which do not exceed five pounds per cent. per annum ſhould be redeemed, according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or (with the conſent of the proprietors) ſhould

be

be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding five pounds per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament: that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to borrow of any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as ſhould be requiſite to redeem the ſaid redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding five pounds per cent. per annum, or to ſecure the ſame upon the funds ſo to be redeemed: that the annuity of one hundred and ſix thouſand, five hundred and one pounds, thirteen ſhillings and five pence, payable to the governor and company of the Bank, out of the window-tax, by virtue of ſeveral acts of parliament in that behalf, for the principle ſum of one million, five hundred and ſeventy five thouſand, twenty ſeven pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ten pence half-penny, by them advanced, ſhould be redeemed, or (by conſent of the ſaid governor and company) be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding five pounds per cent. redeemable by parliament: that ſo much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate fund, ſettled by an act of parliament in the firſt year of his preſent majeſty, as is applicable to the intereſt, circulation, exchanging, or cancelling the preſent exchequer bills, ſhould alſo be redeemed: that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to authorize the high treaſurer, or the commiſſioners of the treaſury, for the time being, to treat and agree with any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating ſuch a number of exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding four pounds ten ſhillings per cent. per annum, for intereſt, exchange, and circulation, as might be charged and ſecured upon that part of the Aggregate fund ſo to be redeemed: that the annuities of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and eight thouſand pounds, payable to the governor and company of merchants of England, trading to the South ſea, ſhould likewiſe be redeemed: that the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of king William the third, to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and aſſigns, out of the weekly ſum of three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds charged on the exciſe, ſhould alſo be redeemed: that the ſeveral terms of years remaining on the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majeſty queen Anne, and by the two lottery acts, paſſed in the tenth year of her ſaid late majeſty, ſhould be made perpetual; that the ſaid duties comprehended in the ſaid four lottery acts, ſhould be made one fund for the future: that the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the ſaid lottery acts, ſhould, within a limited time make their election, either to accept annuities after the rate of five pounds per-cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, out of ſuch general fund, or to be paid ſo much as remained due to them upon their orders reſpectively: that in all caſes where the proprietors ſhould chooſe to have their principal, the five per cent. per annum thereby ſaved, ſhould be eſtabliſhed as another fund, towards anſwering ſuch ſums of money as ſhould be advanced (for diſcharging the principal) by loans, or ſuch other ſecurities as ſhould be thought proper: that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary ſubſcriptions from any perſon or perſons, intitled to any of the annuities iſſuing out of the public funds, for the reſidue of the reſpective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years formerly purchaſed therein, (not being ſubject to redemption,) who ſhould be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities redeemable by parliament, and to agree to ſome other regulations mentioned in the reſolution of the houſe: that all ſavings, which ſhould ariſe upon any of the preſent funds by the propoſed redemption, and reduction, ſhould, after all deficiencies that might happen upon any of the ſaid funds were made good, be reſerved and applied towards diſcharging and reducing the national debt: and that all the ſaid duties now in being, or to be continued, ſhould immediately ceaſe and determine, after the ſaid national debts ſhould be diſcharged and paid off. The three bills, called the South-ſea-act, the Bank-act, and the General-fund-act, were founded on theſe reſolutions.

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The original-ſtock of the South-ſea company did not exceed nine milions four hundred and ſeventy one thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but, as the funds granted were ſufficient to anſwer the intereſt of ten millions at ſix per cent. the company made up that ſum to the government, for which they received an intereſt or annuity of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and eight thouſand pounds a year for management. By this act, they declared themſelves willing to receive an annuity of five hundred thouſand, and eight thouſand pounds a year for management. It was enacted, that the company ſhould continue a corporation, until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not leſs than a million ſhould be paid at a time. They were likewiſe required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions towards diſcharging the principal and intereſt, due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of her late majeſty.

The ſubſtance of the bank act was as follows: the governor and company declared themſelves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one pounds, ſeven ſhillings and ten pence half-penny, or the principal of one million, ſeven hundred, and ſeventy-five thouſand, twenty-ſeven pounds, thirteen ſhillings and ten pence half-penny, in lieu of the preſent annuity, amounting to one hundred and ſix thouſand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and five-pence. They likewiſe declared themſelves willing to diſcharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thouſand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent, redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate as many of the remaining exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thouſand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent, redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, that the former allowances ſhould be continued to the enſuing Chriſtmas; after which, the bank ſhould have for circulating the two millions five hundred and ſixty-one thouſand twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen ſhillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent, till redeemed, over and above the one penny per day for intereſt. By the ſame act the bank was required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, towards diſcharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they ſhould have five pounds per cent. for as much as they ſhould advance, redeemable by parliament.

The general fund act recited the ſeveral acts of parliament, for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late queen, mentioned the terms of years for which theſe revenues were granted, and ſtated the annual produce of the ſeveral funds, amounting in all to ſeven hundred twenty-four thouſand eight hundred forty nine pounds, ſix ſhillings and ten pence halfpenny. This was the general-fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the firſt aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all ſuch annuities as ſhould be made payable by this act, it was ordained, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein, ſhould continue for ever; with the proviſoe, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual, ſhould be ſubject to redemption. This act contained a clauſe, by which the ſinking fund was eſtabliſhed. The reduction of intereſt to five per cent. producing a ſurplus or exceſs upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted that all the monies ariſing from time to time, as well from the ſurplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-ſea company, as alſo from the ſurplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, and the overplus monies of the ſaid general fund, ſhould be appropriated and employed for the diſcharging the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts as were incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceeding year,

year, in ſuch manner as ſhould be ordered or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be diſcharged out of the ſame, and for none other uſe, intent, or purpoſe whatſoever.

A petition was now preſented to the houſe of lords, from the earl of Oxford, who had been confined in the tower almoſt two years, praying that his impriſonment might not be indefinite. Some of the tory lords affirmed, that the impeachment was determined and deſtroyed by the prorogation of parliament, which ſuperſeded the whole proceeding; but the contrary was voted by a great majority.

The houſe of commons were informed that the thirteenth of June was fixed for his lordſhip's trial. The commons appointed a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the earl's impeachment; and, in conſequence of their report, ſent a meſſage to the lords, demanding longer time to prepare for the trial. Accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth day of June; and the commons appointed a committee, with four other members, to make good the articles.

On the twenty-fourth the peers repaired to the court in Weſtminſter-hall, the earl of Oxford was brought from the tower, preceded by the gentleman-jailor, who carried the axe, and ſtood with it at the bar on the left hand of the priſoner, with the edge turned from him.

After the articles of impeachment were read, with the earl's anſwer, and the replication of the commons, Mr. Hampden made a long ſpeech by way of introduction. Then Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſtood up to make good the firſt article of the charge, when lord Harcourt ſignified to their lordſhips, that he had a motion to make, and they accordingly adjourned to the houſe of peers.

His lordſhip there obſerved, that much time would be unneceſſarily conſumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that, if the commons could make good the two articles for high treaſon, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas, to proceed in the method propoſed by the commons, would draw out the trial to a prodigious length; and, that it would be a great hardſhip upon a peer, who had already undergone ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at the bar, like a traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of high crimes and miſdemeanours. He therefore moved, that judgment ſhould be given as to the articles of high treaſon, before the commons were permitted to proceed any farther.

The peers having agreed to this motion, and the commons being acquainted with it, they delivered a paper, importing, that they conceived it to be their undoubted right to impeach a peer, either for high treaſon, or for high crimes and miſdemeanours; or ſhould they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation; that the impeachment againſt the earl of Oxford, was one continued accuſation, conſiſting of high crimes and miſdemeanours; that the facts on which the articles preceding thoſe of high treaſon were grounded, were laid together in the order of time, and followed each other ſucceſſively, in the ſame manner in which they were committed; that, as the commons thought this the moſt natural method of exhibiting the ſeveral articles againſt the ſaid earl, they were of opinion, that they ought to proceed in proof of theſe articles in the ſame manner; ſince it was manifeſt, that, in laying open the courſe of ſuch a wicked adminiſtration, the preceding parts threw light upon thoſe which followed; and that the proof of the ſeveral articles of high crimes and miſdemeanours, naturally led to the proof of thoſe for high treaſon; that, as the commons alone were maſters of the evidence, and on that account, were beſt able to judge what to charge firſt, and what next, ſo they were moſt able to determine, in what method to proceed for the advantage of the proſecution, in the event of which, all the commons of Great Britain were ſo highly concerned; that for their own part, they could ſee no reaſon why their lordſhips might not as well invert the whole order of the impeachment, as to preſcribe to the commons thoſe particular articles, on which they were firſt to proceed; a reſtriction which would produce an inextricable perplexity, both in the facts

and evidence, and was by no means conſiſtent with that clearneſs and perſpicuity, in which this affair ought certainly to be placed; that the commons, upon examining the records of parliament, found divers precedents of impeachments for high treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours, in the ſame accuſation; and could not obſerve that ever the lords made any objection to ſuch manner of proceeding; and that, therefore, the commons were bound in duty to inſiſt upon their right of proceeding in the method in which they had begun.

The lords, in anſwer to this remonſtrance, ſaid, that they judged it to be a right inherent in every court of juſtice, to order and direct ſuch methods of proceeding, as it ſhould think moſt fit to be obſerved in all cauſes, that fell under its cognizance: that the power of judicature in all impeachments, was a right, which inconteſtably belonged to their lordſhips, nor was it determined, by any poſitive rule, in what manner the houſe of commons ought to proceed in ſuch accuſations; that there was no precedent, where the commons, in the proſecution of any impeachment, attempted, in the firſt place, to make good the articles for high crimes and miſdemeanours, and afterwards thoſe for high treaſon; that the circumſtances attending a peer, who was impeached of high treaſon, were ſo very different from, and ſo much more ignominious than thoſe, which accompanied one who was only charged with high crimes and miſdemeanours, that it would be equally cruel and unjuſt, to ſubject a nobleman to the former indignities, when his proſecutors were conſcious, that he could only be found guilty of the latter crime; and therefore they were reſolved to abide by their former reſolution.

The commons hereupon demanded a free conference with the lords, which was refuſed. The diſpute grew more and more warm. The lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that they intended preſently to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third of July. The lords, repairing to Weſtminſter-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accuſers to appear. Having waited for a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own houſe, where, after ſome debate, the earl was acquitted, upon a diviſion: then, returning to the hall, they voted, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty.

The ſafety of the earl of Oxford was owing partly to the diſpute between the two houſes, and partly to the late change in the adminiſtration, without which he would never have numbered among his friends, as he did on this occaſion, the dukes of Devonſhire and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and the lord Townſend. The commons were enraged at the eſcape of this nobleman, whom they actually believed guilty of having betrayed the intereſt of his country: and they at firſt propoſed to proceed againſt him by way of attainder; but a motion, which was made for that purpoſe, was carried in the negative. Nevertheleſs, in order to expreſs their reſentment at his conduct, they preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and the earl's appearing at court, in the interim, was forbid.

The earl of Sunderland delivered the act of grace, in the houſe of peers, on the fifteenth of July, and it paſſed through both houſes without any difficulty. From this indemnity were excepted, the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moor, Criſp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thompſon, the aſſaſſinators in Newgate, confined ſince the reign of king William, and the clan of Mac Gregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwarth, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately diſcharged; but the lord Duffus was continued in priſon, with an allowance of three pounds per week. All the perſons who lay under ſentence of death in Newgate were diſmiſſed, as were thoſe that were detained, on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, and other priſons of the kingdom.

As the act of grace was ready for the royal aſſent, the very day on which it was preſented,

ſented, the king went to the houſe of peers, in the afternoon, and, having given his ſanction to all the bills that were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the vigour and diſpatch, with which they had conducted the public buſineſs; and expreſſed his hope, that ſuch of his ſubjects, as ſhould, by the preſent indemnity, be reſtored to the enjoyment of their former liberty, would uſe that liberty to the future advantage of themſelves and the public.

In the interim the negotiations of the North were continued againſt the king of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and was advancing towards Chriſtianſtadt, the capital of that kingdom. The Czar had ſent ſix thouſand Ruſſians to aſſiſt the allied army, conſiſting of Danes, Pruſſians, and Hanoverians, in the reduction of Wiſmar, which he intended to procure for his niece, the princeſs Catharina, lately married to the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin: but before his troops arrived, the place had ſurrendered, and the Ruſſians were not admitted into the garriſon; a circumſtance, by which the breach between him and the king of England was widened; but he, nevertheleſs, conſented to a propoſal of making a deſcent upon Schonen, and actually aſſumed the command of the combined fleets of England, Holland, Denmark, and Ruſſia; though he was by no means pleaſed to ſee Sir John Norris in the Baltic, becauſe he had formed deſigns againſt Denmark, which, he knew, the Britiſh admiral would protect. He ſuddenly laid aſide the expedition againſt Schonen, on pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced; and the king of Denmark publiſhed a long manifeſto remonſtrating againſt his conduct on this occaſion.

Baron Gortz, had, by his time, planned a pacification between his maſter and the Czar, who was diſcontented with all his German allies, becauſe they oppoſed his getting any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amſterdam in December, whither he was followed by the Czarina in January; and he actually reſided at the Hague, when king George paſſed through it, in his way to England; but he declined an interview with his Britannic majeſty. During the Czar's abode in Holland, count Gyllenburg's letters were publiſhed at London; and from ſeveral paſſages it appeared, that the monarch was privy to the conſpiracy. His miniſter at the Engliſh court preſented a memorial, complaining that the king had cauſed to be printed the malicious inſinuations of his enemies. He pretended an entire ignorance of the deſigns of the Swediſh king. He accuſed the court of England of having privately treated of a ſeparate peace with Charles, and even of having promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Czar, provided he would relinquiſh his pretenſions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheleſs, he expreſſed an inclination to re-eſtabliſh the ancient good underſtanding between England and Ruſſia, and to proſecute the war againſt the common enemy, in the moſt vigorous manner.

The king of England anſwered the memorial, pretended to believe the innocence of the Czar, convinced him of the neceſſity of publiſhing the letters at length for the information of the parliament, and aſſured him he ſhould have reaſon to be fully ſatisfied, if he would remove the only obſtacle to their mutual good underſtanding; in other words, withdraw the Ruſſian troops from the empire. Notwithſtanding theſe friendly profeſſions, a perfect reconciliation between the two monarchs was never effected.

In an excurſion to the court of France, the Czar concluded a treaty of friendſhip with the regent, at whoſe earneſt requeſt he promiſed that his troops in the dutchy of Mecklenburg ſhould be recalled.

When his Czariſh majeſty returned to Amſterdam, he had an interview with baron Gortz, who undertook to compromiſe all differences between him and the king of Sweden within three months; and Peter agreed to ſuſpend all operations againſt Sweden, until that term ſhould be expired. A congreſs was opened at Abo; but the conferences were afterwards transferred to Aland. The articles were ſoon adjuſted. The Czar engaged to aſſiſt Charles in the conqueſt of Norway: and they promiſed to unite all their

forces

forces againſt the king of Great Britain, ſhould he endeavour to oppoſe their deſigns. Both were enraged againſt that monarch; and the advancing the pretender to the throne of Great-Britain, was a part of their plan.

Baron Gortz ſet out from Aland for Frederickſtadt in Norway, with the plan of peace; but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, while he viſited the trenches, on the thirtieth day of December. Gortz was arreſted on the road; and as he had incurred the hatred of the Swediſh nobility, by the inſolence of his behaviour, he was immediately brought to the ſcaffold, where he ſuffered with great reſolution, The death of Charles produced an entire change in the face of affairs. Sweden was obliged to ſubmit; while the Czar, the king of Denmark and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in poſſeſſion of what they had acquired.

As ſoon as peace was eſtabliſhed in the North, freſh diſturbances broke out in the Southern parts of Europe. The emperor had declared war againſt the Turks, who had attacked and driven his allies, the Venetians, from the Morea. The pope conſidered this as a religious war, and obtained repeated aſſurances from the king of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing againſt the emperor, while engaged in ſo laudable a quarrel. Philip had even ſent a ſquadron of ſix ſhips and five gallies to the aſſiſtance of the Venetians. In the courſe of this year, however, he equipped ſuch a ſtrong armament as gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that, inſtead of aſſiſting the Chriſtian powers againſt the infidels, he intended to invade ſome part of the emperor's dominions.

Agreeable to what had been expected it happened; for on the twentieth day of July, the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh fleet, ſet ſail from Barcelona, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to his imperial majeſty, reduced the whole iſland to ſubjection. At the ſame time, Philip pretended to juſtify theſe proceedings by a manifeſto, in which he alledged, that the archduke had, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the rebellion of his ſubjects in Catalonia, by frequent ſuccours from Naples and other places; and that the grand inquiſitor of Spain had been ſeized, though his holineſs had furniſhed him with a proper paſſport.

He, however, engaged to proceed no farther, but ſuſpend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for adjuſting all differences, and ſecuring the peace and balance of power in Italy; and he even agreed to refer the deciſion of this important affair to the king of Great Britain and the ſtates-general. Theſe powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the miniſters of the emperor, France, and Holland: and in conſequence thereof, the famous quadruple alliance took place in the courſe of the following year.

The princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince on the third of November, who was baptiſed on the twenty eighth day of the ſame month, and died in a ſhort time after. The baptiſm was unhappily productive of a difference between the king and the prince of Wales. The cuſtom, it ſeems, on ſuch an occaſion, was, that, when the child was a boy, and the king ſtood god-father, the place of ſecond god-father was ſupplied by one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord-chamberlain for the time being. The prince, who was ignorant of the cuſtom, intended, that his uncle, the duke of York and the biſhop of Oſnaburg, ſhould ſtand god-father. The king, who had been at the pains to inform himſelf of the matter, appointed the duke of Newcaſtle, then lord-chamberlain, to ſtand, not as repreſenting the duke of York, but in his own proper name and perſon. The prince, expreſſed his reſentment againſt the duke, in high terms, as ſoon as the ceremony was ended.

His majeſty commanded the prince to confine himſelf within his own apartments; and afterwards ſignified his pleaſure that he ſhould quit the palace of St. James's. He retired with the

the princeſs to a houſe belonging to the earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. Notice was given to all peers and peereſſes, and all privy counſellors and their wives, that in caſe they viſited the prince and princeſs, they ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence; and all who enjoyed poſts and places under both king and prince, were left to their choice which they choſe to relinquiſh.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, at the meeting of parliament on the twenty-firſt of November, obſerved, that he had reduced the army to very near one half ſince the beginning of laſt ſeſſion: that he could heartily wiſh, that at a time when the common enemies of the reformed religion were, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and abroad, all thoſe, who were friends to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt; of which, as the church of England was unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo would ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all proteſtants: and that as none could recommend themſelves more effectually to his favour and countenance, than by a ſincere zeal for the juſt rights of the crown and liberties of the people, he was firmly determined to encourage all thoſe, who acted agreeable to the principles on which his government was founded, and to the conſtitution of Great Britain.

Both houſes of parliament having preſented addreſſes of thanks, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice; and the ſum of two hundred and twenty-four thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds, fourteen ſhillings and eleven pence, was granted for defraying the expences of the navy.

When the commons came to take into conſideration the ſupply neceſſary for the army, high debates aroſe on the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole endeavoured to prove that twelve thouſand men were fully ſufficient. They were anſwered by Mr. Craggs, ſecretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple, who affirmed, that ſixteen thouſand were abſolutely neceſſary.

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Shippen obſerved, that the ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune, the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution. This inſolent expreſſion was highly reſented by ſeveral members, particularly by Mr. Lechmere, who urged, that it was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government; and moved, that the member who uſed it, ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Walpole obſerved, that if the words in queſtion were uttered by the perſon on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a puniſhment for his raſhneſs; but as his meaning might have been miſunderſtood in the heat of debate, he thought he ſhould be indulged with the liberty of explaining himſelf. Mr. Shippen refuſing to retract or excuſe what he had ſaid, was voted to the Tower by a great majority. The number of land forces was fixed at ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty ſeven effective men; and ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds was allotted for their maintenance.

One James Shepherd, apprentice to a coach maker, a lad of eighteen years of age, of high jacobitical principles, about this period ſent a letter to one Mr. Leathes, a non-juring clergyman, propoſing a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the king. He was immediately apprehended and brought to his trial. He ſaid he had imbibed theſe principles at the ſchool of Saliſbury, and had been confirmed in them by the writings of ſeveral of the non-juring clergy. He owned the deſign of which he was accuſed, declared he had harboured it for three years paſt, nor did he think there was any ſin in carrying it into execution.

He was accordingly condemned and hanged at Tyburn, upon his confeſſion.

The marquis of Paleotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the dutcheſs of Shrewſbury, underwent the ſame fate. He had in a tranſport of paſſion killed his own ſervant; and ſeemed, indeed, to be diſordered in his intellects. After ſentence of death had paſſed upon him, ſtrong applications were made to the king for a pardon, as well by his ſiſter the dutcheſs, as by many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction; but the common people became ſo clamourous for juſtice, that it was thought dangerous to ſave him, and he, therefore, ſuffered the penalties of the law.

Several changes in the miniſtry took place at this time. Lord chancellor Cowper, who had been advanced to the dignity of an earl, reſigned the great ſeal, which was at firſt put in commiſſion; but afterwards given to lord Parker, as high-chancellor. The earl of Sunderland was conſtitued preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The earl of Holderneſs was placed at the head of the board of trade. The lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; and the title of earl was ſoon afterwards given to lord Stanhope and lord Cadogan.

*A. D.* 1718. The behaviour of the king of Spain at this period, attracted the attention of all Europe. Notwithſtanding the promiſe he had made to ſuſpend his military operations, and refer the diſputes between him and the emperor, to the arbitration of England and Holland, he rejected, with haughtineſs, the propoſals of theſe potentates, and ſtill continued his warlike preparations. By the care and diligence of his prime miniſter, cardinal Alberoni, he equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, ſet ſail from Barcelona, towards Italy; but the deſtination of it was kept a ſecret.

Upon the fitting out a formidable ſquadron in England, the marquis de Monteleone, ambaſſador from Spain, repreſented, in a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, that ſo powerful an armament in time of peace, could not but give umbrage to the king his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that ſubſiſted between the two crowns. The king replied, that he had no intention to conceal the deſign of that armament; and that he propoſed to ſend admiral Byng with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, with a view to ſupport, againſt all diſturbers, the neutrality of Italy.

In the interim, the Engliſh and French miniſters, by their negotiations, brought about the quadruple alliance between Great Britain, France, the emperor, and the ſtates general. This famous treaty imported, that the king of Spain ſhould reſtore to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles, the kingdom of Sardinia, and renounce all right to that iſland: that he ſhould likewiſe renounce all right and claim to the dominions of the emperor in Italy and the Netherlands; conſent to the emperor's being put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and renounce the right of reverſion of that kingdom to the crown of Spain, as ſettled by the treaty of Utrecht, on condition, however, of having Sardinia in exchange: that the emperor ſhould renounce, for himſelf, heirs, and ſucceſſors, all right and pretenſion to any dominions, of which the king of Spain was acknowledged rightful poſſeſſor, by the treaty of Utrecht: that he ſhould own Philip as lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to that dignity: that the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, ſhould be accounted as male fiefs of the empire, and ſhould deſcend, in default of male heirs, to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon; but that none of theſe dutchies ſhould ever be poſſeſſed by a prince, who was at the ſame time king of Spain, nor ſhould the king of Spain ever take upon him the guardianſhip of that prince: that the king of Sicily ſhould reſtore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles: that in return, the emperor ſhould give to the king of Sicily, the iſland of Sardinia, which he ſhould enjoy, with the title of king, but the right of reverſion, in default of heirs male, ſhould be reſerved to the crown of Spain: that the kings of Spain and Sicily ſhould be allowed three months to conſider, whether they would accept or reject the terms propoſed; and if, contrary to the wiſhes of all Europe,

rope, they ſhould continue refractory, the mediators ſhould join their forces, and compel them to ſubmit: that, if any of the mediators ſhould be attacked on account of the ſuccours lent to the emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the aggreſſor, and not lay down their arms till the emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and eſtabliſhed in the firm enjoyment of his Italian dominions: that, if either of the kings ſhould acccept the terms propoſed by the allies, he ſhould join his forces with thoſe of the mediators, in order to oblige the other to comply; and finally, to ſhew that nothing but juſtice and peace was intended, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that as ſoon as the emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip acceded or not, inaſmuch as the guaranty of the mediators would be to his Imperial majeſty, a ſecurity, for Sicily, the Netherlands, and the Italian dominions, equal to the renunciations of the king of Spain.

Theſe are the chief articles of the quadruple alliance, by which king George and the duke of Orleans hoped to preſerve and maintain the tranquillity of Europe; but, contrary to their expectations, it proved the cauſe of all the diſputes, which have ariſen between England and Spain in the ſequel. The ſtates general did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures, and on various pretences delayed their conſent; but at length they acceded to the treaty, which the mediating powers reſolved to render effectual in the moſt expeditious manner.

The king of Great Britain, having in vain uſed all the arts of intreaty and perſuaſion, to induce the king of Spain to agree to the terms, reſolved, at laſt, to enforce this remonſtrance by more powerful arguments. Sir George Byng ſailed from Spithead, on the fourth day of June, with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire ſhips, two bomb veſſels, and ample inſtructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, when he diſpatched his ſecretary, Mr. Allix, to Cadiz, with a letter to colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring him to acquaint his moſt Catholic majeſty with the admirals arrival in thoſe parts, and ſubmit the following articles of his inſtructions to his inſpection.

"As a ſuſpenſion of arms is abſolutely "neceſſary for opening conferences and con-"ducting the negotiations, you are to make "inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from "uſing any further acts of hoſtility: but, "in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt, with "their ſhips of war and forces, to attack "the kingdom of Naples, or other the ter-"ritories of the emperor in Italy, or to land "in any part of Italy, which can only be "with a deſign to invade the emperor's do-"minions, againſt whom they have declared "war by invading Sardinia; or, if they "ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſ-"ters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt "be with a deſign to invade the kingdom "of Naples; in ſuch a caſe, you are, with "all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the "ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen, that, at "your arrival, with the fleet under your "command, in the Mediterranean, the Spani-"ards ſhould already have landed any troops "in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's "territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably "to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch "an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance "to help them to withdraw their troops and "put an end to all farther acts of hoſtility. "But, in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours "ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by "keeping company with, or intercepting "their ſhips or convoy, or, if it be neceſſary, "by openly oppoſing them, defend the em-"peror's territories from any further at-"tempt."

On the peruſal of theſe inſtructions, cardinal Alberoni told colonel Stanhope, with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms. He ſaid, the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced, that the fleet would do their duty, that, in caſe of their being attacked, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs. Mr. Stanhope having put into his hands a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, the cardinal

cardinal, with evident emotion, threw it on the ground.

Mr. Stanhope intreated Alberoni to conſider the ſincere regard, which the king his maſter had always ſhewn for the honour and intereſt of his Catholic majeſty, of which it was impoſſible to give ſtronger proofs than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negociation, to procure for Spain the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible; and that in theſe endeavours he had ſucceeded beyond the expectations of any reaſonable, unprejudiced perſon: that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, concluded at the requeſt of the king of Spain himſelf, as alſo by that of Weſtminſter, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of May, 1716, his majeſty was obliged to defend the emperor's dominions, when attacked, he had hitherto acted only as a mediator, though, ever ſince the enterprize againſt Sardinia, he became, by his treaties, a party in the war, and had, for a year and upwards, been ſtrongly importuned by the emperor to fulfil his engagements: that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterrenean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's inſtructions, which he had communicated to his eminence, and by the orders which he himſelf had received, that his majeſty had nothing more at heart than that the fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain: and therefore he hoped his Catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, put it out of his power to give him ample proof of the undoubted ſincerity of his friendſhip.

The cardinal, at length, promiſed that he would lay the admiral's letter before the king, and let the envoy know his majeſty's reſolution. This, however, he thought proper to delay for more than a week, probably with a view of giving the Spaniſh forces time to ſecure a firm footing in Sicily. At laſt he ſent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note, importing, that the chevalier Byng might if he pleaſed, proceed agreeable to his inſtructions.

Vice admiral Cornwall joined Sir George Byng, as he paſſed Gibraltar with the Argyle and Charles Galley. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garriſon of Port-Mahon. Then he ſailed for Naples, where he arrived on the firſt day of Auguſt, and was received as a deliverer: for the dread of a Spaniſh invaſion had alarmed the Neapolitans in the higheſt degree.

Admiral Byng had here an interview with the vice-roy, count Daun, by whom he was treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and from whom he received intelligence, that the Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and was then employed in the ſiege of the citadel belonging to this laſt city: that the Piedmonteſe garriſon would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved: and that an alliance was on the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which laſt had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Meſſina.

The admiral, hereupon, came to an immediate reſolution of ſailing thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thouſand Germans for the citadel, under the command of general Wetzel. He forthwith departed from Naples, and on the ninth day of Auguſt, came in ſight of the Faro, off Meſſina. He diſpatched his own captain with a polite meſſage to the marquis de Lede, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert meaſures for reſtoring a laſting peace; and declaring, that, ſhould this propoſal be rejected, he would, in purſuance of his inſtructions, uſe all his force to prevent further attempts to diſturb the dominions, which his maſter had engaged to defend. The marquis replied, that as he had no powers to treat, he could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, but ſhould endeavour to bring Sicily under the ſubjection of Spain, agreeable to his orders.

The day before the arrival of the Engliſh ſquadron, the Spaniſh fleet had ſailed from the harbour of Meſſina. Byng ſuppoſing they had

had retired to Malta, directed his courſe towards Meſſina, in order to encourage the garriſon in the citadel. But, in doubling the Faro, he diſcovered two Spaniſh ſcouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian ſhore, that they had ſeen from the hills, the Spaniſh fleet lying to in order of battle.

General Wetzel was hereupon detached by the the admiral, with the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ſhips of war. Then he proceeded through the Faro after the Spaniſh ſcouts that led him to the main fleet, which before noon he diſcerned in line of battle, amounting to twenty-ſeven ſail large and ſmall, beſides two fire ſhips, four bomb veſſels, and ſeven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, under whom were the four rear admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but ſtill in order of battle; and Byng gave chace all the reſt of the day.

On the eleventh of Auguſt in the morning, being the following day, rear admiral Mari, with ſix ſhips of war, the gallies, fire ſhips, bomb ketches, and ſtore ſhips, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore. The Engliſh admiral detached captain Walton, with ſix ſhips, in purſuit of them; and they were ſoon engaged. He himſelf continued to chace their main fleet; and, about ten o'clock, the battle began. The Spaniards ſeemed to be diſtracted in their councils, and acted in confuſion. They made a running fight, and the admirals behaved with courage and reſolution, in ſpite of which they were all taken except Cammock, who, with three ſhips of war, and three frigates, eſcaped to Malta.

Captain Haddock of the Grafton, gave great proofs of his courage in this engagement. As his ſhip was a good ſailer, he always attacked the headmoſt of the enemy; and, after having diſabled them one by one, continued his courſe in purſuit of others, leaving ſuch as he had damaged to be picked up by thoſe that followed. On the eighteenth, a letter was brought to the admiral from captain Walton, importing, that he had taken four Spaniſh ſhips of war, together with a bomb ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ſhips of war, a fire ſhip, and a bomb veſſel.

Previous to his Brittannic majeſty's receiving the particulars of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldeſt ſon arrived in England, with a circumſtantial account of the action, he was graciouſly received, gratified with a handſome preſent, and ſent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy, as he ſhould ſee occaſion. He likewiſe carried the king's royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all the prizes they had taken.

The Spaniards, however, continued the ſiege of Meſſina, notwithſtanding this victory, with ſuch vigour, that the governor ſurrendered the place by capitulation, on the twenty-ninth day of September; and the garriſon was tranſported to Syracuſe and Reggio. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna, between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conqueſt of Sardinia, in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that iſland, he conſented that they ſhould cooperate againſt the common enemy, with the German forces.

During the greateſt part of the winter, Sir George Byng continued to aſſiſt the Imperial forces in Sicily, by clearing the ſeas of the Spaniards, and preſerving a free communication between the German forces and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial general, about the operations of the enſuing campaign; and count Hamilton was diſpatched to Vienna, to acquaint the emperor with the reſult of their deliberations. Then the admiral ſet ſail for Mahon, that his ſhips might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the ſea in the ſpring, while his ſon remained at Naples to manage his affairs with the viceroy, and communicate to the court of England any thing remarkable that might happen.

All the politicians in Europe were engaged in diſcuſſing the ſubject of the defeat of the Spaniſh fleet. Spain exclaimed againſt the conduct of England, as inconſiſtent with the rules of good faith, for the obſervance of which ſhe had always been ſo famous. The marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. ſecretary Craggs, in which he expoſtulated with him on ſuch a violent and unprovoked outrage.

Monteleone had received a letter from cardinal Alberoni, in which he inveighed againſt it as a baſe, unworthy action. He obſerved, that the Engliſh admiral only profeſſed to act as a peaceful mediator, and never threatened to proceed to hoſtilities. He ſaid, the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, ſince every body knew that neutrality had been long at an end; and that the princes, guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht, were entirely diſcharged from their engagements, not only by the ſcandalous infringements committed by the Auſtrians, in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but alſo, becauſe the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was concluded with France. He reproached the Engliſh miniſtry with having revived and ſupported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abuſing the confidence and ſecurity of the Spaniards. He alledged the proceeding was ſo unjuſtifiable, that even admiral Byng, ſtruck with remorſe for his late conduct, was obliged to have recourſe to falſehood, by pretending that the Engliſh received the firſt fire of the Spaniſh ſhips which were drawn up in order of battle.

In reply to the marquis de Monteleone, Mr. Cragg's affirmed, that hoſtilities were actually begun by the Spaniards. He ſaid his Catholic majeſty had all the reaſon in the world to expect the action, inaſmuch as he had been previouſly informed of admiral Byng's inſtructions, to which he thought proper to return a haughty anſwer, importing that he might execute the orders of the king of England.

Whatever irregularity there might be in the proceedings, or whoever commenced hoſtilities, the action was not only beneficial to the common cauſe, but abſolutely neceſſary to diſappoint the deſigns of the cardinal, who aimed at nothing leſs than exciting a general war in Europe, which had been ſo lately delivered from that dreadful calamity.

His majeſty at the meeting of parliament, on the eleventh of November, made a very elaborate ſpeech to both houſes. He was no ſooner withdrawn, than lord Carteret moved for an addreſs of thanks and congratulation to his majeſty, which motion met with a ſtrong oppoſition, but was at laſt carried by a great majority, and preſented accordingly.

The commons voted thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors, and twelve thouſand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land ſervice. The whole eſtimate amounted to two millions, two hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen ſhillings. The money was raiſed by a land tax of three ſhillings in the pound, the malt tax, and a lottery for half a million. The bills for the land and malt tax were, both of them, preſented and paſſed in one day; an inſtance of diſpatch, which no other parliament ſince the revolution has equalled.

It appeared, from the ſubſtance of his majeſty's ſpeech, that a rupture with Spain was unavoidable. On the ſeventeenth day of December, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes, intimating, that it became neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain, as his endeavours to procure redreſs for the injuries his ſubjects had received, were ineffectual.

A motion was hereupon made, for an addreſs to aſſure his majeſty, that they would cheerfully ſupport him in the proſecution of the war, till Spain ſhould be obliged to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce, as the Engliſh were entitled to expect by virtue of their ſeveral treaties. This was oppoſed by Mr. Shippen, and ſome other members, who ſaid, that they did not ſee the neceſſity of involving the nation in a war, on account of ſome grievances, of which the merchants complained, as theſe might be amicably redreſſed. Mr. Stanhope aſſured the

the houſe, that he had preſented five and twenty memorials to the miniſtry of Spain on that ſubject, without ſucceſs. Mr. Methuen endeavoured to account for the dilatorineſs of the court of Spain, in commercial affairs, which, he ſaid, happened in conſequence of the ſeveral provinces and ports of that kingdom being under different regulations.

The members in the oppoſition urged, that the miniſtry had paid very little regard to the trade and intereſt of the nation; inaſmuch as it appeared by the anſwer of a ſecretary of ſtate to the letter of the marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaty of commerce, provided Spain would have accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance: that his majeſty did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſitions, but was rather willing to ſacrifice ſomething of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe: that no body could tell how far that ſacrifice would have extended; but certainly it was a very uncommon ſtretch of condeſcenſion. This alluded to a report which was then current, that the regent of France had offered Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance.

It was obſerved by Mr. Horatio Walpole, that the diſpoſition of Sicily in favour of the emperor, was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of attacking a Spaniſh fleet before a declaration of war. This was anſwered by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, who obſerved, that, when this affair was firſt mentioned in the houſe, he had been backward in giving his opinion, becauſe he had not then had leiſure to examine the ſeveral ſteps which had been taken in it; but that he was now fully convinced, that, if there was any injuſtice, it was on the ſide of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majeſty and his miniſters was entirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of juſtice and equity. "Was it juſt," added he, "in the king of "Spain, to attack, without any formal de-"claration, the dominions of our ally, the "emperor, while engaged in a war with the "Turks? Was it juſt, in the ſame prince, "to invade the dominions of another of our "allies, the king of Sicily, without the leaſt "provocation? And was it not juſt in his "majeſty to vindicate the faith of his trea-"ties, and to defend and protect the trade "of his ſubjects, which had been violently "oppreſſed?" The opinion of this gentleman had a great influence on the members in general; the addreſs was agreed to by a great majority, and the houſe of peers were unanimous for another of the ſame kind.

The declaration of war againſt Spain was accordingly publiſhed, with the uſual ſolemnities: but it did not ſeem to be extremely well reliſhed by the people in general.

Alberoni, in the interim, uſed his beſt endeavours to provide againſt the impending ſtorm. He cauſed new ſhips to be built, the ſea ports to be put in a poſture of defence, ſuccours to be ſent to Sicily, and the proper meaſures to be taken for the ſecurity of Sardinia. Conſcious, however, that, with all his preparations, he ſhould be utterly incapable to reſiſt the united efforts of the three greateſt princes of Europe, he reſolved to have recourſe to ſtratagem and intrigue. He, by means of the prince de Cellamare, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, caballed with the malecontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A ſcheme was actually laid for ſecuring the perſon of the young king, and ſeizing the regent while on a party of pleaſure.

The king of England firſt informed the duke of Orleans that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his perſon and government. This notice, though only general, was of great uſe. The regent immediately took meaſures for watching the conduct of all ſuſpected perſons; and, in a little time, mere accident brought the whole affair to light.

In order the more effectually to ſecure his diſpatches, the prince de Cellamare entruſted them to the care of the abbé Portocarrero, and to a ſon of the marquis de Monteleone. They ſet out from Paris in a poſt chaiſe, and were overturned on the road. The poſtilion obſerved,

obſerved, that Portocarrero was extremely anxious for the ſafety of his portmanteau, and heard him ſay, he would not have loſt it for a hundred thouſand piſtoles.

When the poſtillion returned to Paris, he acquainted the government of theſe circumſtances. The Spaniards being purſued, were overtaken and ſeized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the duke of Orleans found two letters that made him acquainted with the whole conſpiracy. The prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom: the duke and dutcheſs of Main, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were committed to different priſons. The regent declared war againſt Spain on the twenty-ninth day of December, and an army of thirty thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Berwick, marched towards that kingdom, in the month of January.

Alberoni had likewiſe projected an invaſion of Great Britain. The duke of Ormond, repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence, and meaſures were concerted for raiſing another rebellion in England.

The chevalier de St. George left Rome in a private manner, and embarking at Netuno, landed at Cagliari in the beginning of March. From thence he took his paſſage to Roſes in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great expreſſions of friendſhip, and treated as king of Great Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ſhips of war, and a good number of tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand regular tróops, and arms for twelve thouſand men.

The duke of Ormond took the command of this fleet, with the title of captain-general of his moſt Catholic majeſty's forces. He was furniſhed with a declaration in the name of that king, importing, that, for many good reaſons, he had ſent part of his land and ſea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James; that what had induced him to take this ſtep, was the certain intelligence he had received, that many inhabitants of the two kingdoms, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe, that had either the will or power to aſſiſt him; that, in order to remove this difficulty, he declared he was determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours for his reſtoration to the throne of a kingdom, which, he ſaid, belonged to him by undoubted right: that he hoped providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe; but that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not deter any perſon from openly eſpouſing his intereſt, he promiſed a ſafe retreat in his dominions, to all ſuch, as by their concern in this affair, might be obliged to leave their native country.

*A. D.* 1719. The regent of France gave the king of England timely notice of the intended invaſion; and he began to take meaſures for defeating the project. He iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward to thoſe, who ſhould apprehend the duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in the expedition. He ordered troops to aſſemble in the north and in the weſt of England: he demanded two thouſand men of the ſtates-general: and he fitted out a ſtrong fleet to oppoſe that of Spain.

The king having acquainted his parliament with the repeated advices he had received touching the projected deſcent, they promiſed to ſupport him againſt all his enemies. They deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land; and aſſured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thouſand men were landed from Holland, and ſix battalions of Imperialiſts from the Auſtrian Netherlands. The regent of France made an offer of twenty battalions; but theſe it was not thought proper to accept; and indeed, as it fortunately happened, there was but little occaſion for thoſe already arrived.

The duke of Ormond ſailed from Cadiz, and proceeded with a fair wind as far as Cape Fineſtre, where his fleet was diſperſed and diſabled by a violent ſtorm, which entirely defeated the purpoſed expedition. Two frigates, however, which had ſailed from Port-Paſſage, arrived on the coaſt of Scotland, with

with the earls of Mariſchal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, ſome field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thouſand men. They took poſſeſſion of Donan caſtle, being joined by about ſixteen hundred highlanders.

General Wightman, with a ſmall body of regular troops, marched againſt them from Inverneſs. They had made themſelves maſters of the paſs of Glenſhiel; but at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the paſs at Strachell, which they reſolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the rebels diſperſed; and next day the Spaniards ſurrendered priſoners of war. Mariſchal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with ſome other officers, retired to one of the weſtern iſles, with a view to eſcape to the continent on the firſt opportunity.

The extraordinary promotion of peers in the late reign ſo greatly offended the lords, that they had long been exerciſing their invention, in order to find out ſome effectual remedy againſt the like evil for the future; though the expedient they adopted, ſeems rather to have been of too ſelfiſh and monopolizing a nature.

The duke of Somerſet repreſented in the houſe of peers, on the laſt day of February, that the number of peers being very much encreaſed, eſpecially ſince the union of the two kingdoms, it was abſolutley neceſſary to take ſome ſteps for preſerving the dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconveniences which might attend the creation of a great number of peers to anſwer a preſent purpoſe; a meaſure which had been actually embraced by her late majeſty. He therefore moved, that a bill might be brought in to ſettle and limit the peerage in ſuch a manner, that the number of Engliſh peers ſhould not be enlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which, upon failure of male iſſue, might be ſupplied by new creations; and that, inſtead of the ſixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary, on the part of that kingdom; and that this number ſhould be made good from the other members of the Scottiſh peerage, on the failure of male iſſue.

One end intended to be anſwered by this bill was, to put a reſtraint upon the prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the preſent miniſtry. The motion was ſupported by the duke of Argyle, now lord ſteward of the houſhold, and the earls of Carliſle and Sunderland. It was oppoſed by the earl of Oxford, who ſaid, that as it tended to take away the brighteſt gem from the crown, it was matter of wonder to ſee it ſupported by thoſe, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, ſeemed under the ſtricteſt obligation to take care of the royal prerogative: that he therefore apprehended there muſt be ſome ſecret meaning in this motion; but, for his own part, though he expected nothing from the crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off ſo valuable a branch of the prerogative, as ſuch a reſtriction would prevent the king from rewarding merit in a proper manner.

On the ſecond of March, to which day the debate had been adjourned, earl Stanhope delivered a meſſage from the king, importing, that as they had under conſideration the ſtate of the Britiſh peerage, his majeſty had ſo much at heart the ſettling it upon ſuch a foundation as might ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he deſired the conſideration of his prerogative might not be ſuffered to have any weight in the debate.

But the debates now ran higher than before. Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottiſh peerage, was a manifeſt violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injuſtice, as it would deprive perſons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part. He urged, that the Scottiſh peers, excluded from the number of twenty-five, would be in a worſe condition than any other ſubjects in the kingdom: for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither repreſenting nor repreſented: a ſpecies of oppreſſion, which muſt certainly inflame them with the higheſt reſentment and indignation,

and, perhaps, might prove the occaſion of ſome dangerous commotion. Theſe objections were over-ruled: reſolutions were taken agreeable to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill.

The generality of the Scottiſh peers were greatly alarmed by this proceeding, as well as many Engliſh commoners, who ſaw themſelves precluded from the hopes of ever arriving at dignity and title; and they did not fail to exclaim againſt it, as a violent encroachment upon the conſtitution of the kingdom. Pamphlets were writ and publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion; and a national clamour began to ariſe, when earl Stanhope obſerved in the houſe, that as the bill had raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions, he thought it adviſeable to delay the farther conſideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued to the eighteenth day of April, when his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, thanking them for every inſtance of their loyalty, zeal and affection.

His majeſty having appointed lords juſtices to govern the kingdom in his abſence, embarked on the eleventh of May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden ceded for ever to the royal and electoral houſe of Hanover, the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: king George engaged to preſerve to his new ſubjects, their rights, privileges, property, and religion, and to diſcharge the incumbrances of the Swediſh crown in thoſe dutchies. He likewiſe obliged himſelf to pay a million of rixdollars to the queen of Sweden, and to renew, as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly ſubſiſting between his predeceſſors and that kingdom. At the ſame time he mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes, the Ruſſians, and the Poles.

But his majeſty's mediation was rejected by the Czar, who determined to purſue his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batſes of Sweden, where his troops landed to the number of fifteen thouſand men, and committed dreadful ravages; But Sir John Norris, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, having orders to ſupport the negotiations, and oppoſe any hoſtilities that might be committed, the Czar, recalled his fleet, in fear of the fate that had befel the Spaniſh navy.

Sir George Byng continued in the Mediterranean, diligently aſſiſting the Imperialiſts in finiſhing the conqueſt of Sicily. The court of Vienna had reſolved to ſend a ſtrong body of forces to compleat the reduction of that iſland; and the command of this army was entruſted to the count de Merci, an experienced and gallant officer, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. The admiral ſupplied them with ammunition and artillery, from the Spaniſh prizes; he took the whole reinforcement amounting to three thouſand five hundred horſe, and ten thouſand infantry, under his convoy, and ſaw them ſafely landed in the bay of Patti.

The Spaniſh forces under the command of the marquis de Lede, were attacked in their camp at Villa Franca by count Merci, who was repulſed with the loſs of eight hundred men killed, and two thouſand four hundred wounded, himſelf having received a muſquet ball in the reins. Here his army was reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſion, and, but for the aſſiſtance they received from the Engliſh navy, muſt have periſhed with hunger.

As ſoon as admiral Byng was apprized of the misfortune at Villa Franca, he embarked two battalions from the garriſon of Mellazzo, and about a thouſand recruits, whom he ſent under a convoy through the Faro to Schiſo-bay, to reinforce the Imperial army. He afterwards aſſiſted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in conſequence of his advice, laid ſiege to the town of Meſſina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he repreſented to count Gallas, the new viceroy, that, as the attempting the reduction of Sicily and Sardinia at one and the ſame time would probably be attended with the miſcarriage of both enterprizes, the troops deſtined for the conqueſt

conqueſt of Sardinia ought firſt to be landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conqueſt of that iſland. The court of Vienna had immediate notice ſent them of this propoſal.

Sir George Byng, in the interim, went back to Sicily, and aſſiſted at the ſiege of Meſſina. The town ſurrendered on the eighth day of Auguſt, the garriſon retired into the citadel, and the remains of the Spaniſh navy, which had eſcaped at Paſſaro, were now deſtroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the ſcheme propoſed by the Engliſh admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, acknowledging, with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, the important ſervices he had performed to the Imperial family and the common cauſe, and acquainting him that he had diſpatched orders to the governor of Milan, to ſend the troops deſigned for Sardinia, to Vado, in order to be tranſported into Sicily.

The admiral determined to conduct this important affair in perſon. Having furniſhed the Imperial army before Meſſina with another ſupply of ammunition, he ſet ſail for Vado, where he overcame numberleſs difficulties ſtarted by the jealouſy of count Bonneval, who had been appointed commander in chief of the forces deſtined for Sardinia, and was unwilling to ſee them diverted to another expedition, where he could only act in a ſubordinate capacity. At length, admiral Byng ſaw the troops embarked, and convoyed them to Meſſina, the citadel of which ſurrendered about ten days after their arrival; but the Germans paid dearly for this conqueſt in the loſs of five thouſand of their men.

The marquis de Lede, had, by this time, fortified a ſtrong poſt at Caſtro Giovanne, in the center of the iſland. The Imperialiſts could not, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, attack him in this ſituation; and proviſions were ſo ſcarce, that they could not poſſibly remain near Meſſina.

The admiral, therefore, to prevent their leaving the iſland during the winter, undertook to convey them by ſea to Trapani, where they could enlarge their quarters in a plentiful country, and be better able to annoy the enemy. He alſo ſupplied them with corn from Tunis at his own expence, as the harveſts of Sicily had been gathered into the Spaniſh magazines. It was the ſecond day of March before the laſt embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani. The whole army being brought together, amounted to fourteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides the garriſons of Meſſina, Melazzo, Syracuſe, and the adjacent towns.

The approach of the Germans alarmed the marquis de Lede, who retreated to Alcamo, from whence he ſent his mareſchal du camp to the count de Merci and the Engliſh admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The propoſal was not diſagreeable to the Germans, who would thereby have gained their main point; but Sir George Byng declared, that not a Spaniard ſhould quit the iſland till the concluſion of a general peace, as he foreſaw that theſe forces would be employed againſt England or France, as they were the prime of the Spaniſh troops.

The admiral joined count Merci in offering to the marquis de Lede a ceſſation of arms for ſix weeks, by which time the opinion of their reſpective courts might be known, on condition that he ſurrendered Palermo, and retired with his forces to the middle of the iſland. The marquis conſented to ſurrender Palermo, in conſideration of a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months; but, while this negociation was depending, he received an expreſs from Madrid, acquainting him, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheleſs, he broke off the treaty, in conſequence of a ſecret order for that purpoſe. The reaſon for this unuſual ſtep was, that the king of Spain hoped to procure in return for his evacuating Sicily, St. Sebaſtian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken during the war.

Sir George Byng, however, continued the hoſtilities till he received advice from the earl of Stair at Paris, that the marquis de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague, had ſigned the quadruple alliance. By the ſame courier packets were delivered to the count de Merci, and the marquis de Lede, which laſt ſent a meſſage to the admiral and the

the Imperial general, importing, that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and would treat about a ceſſation of hoſtilities as ſoon as they pleaſed.

In anſwer to this meſſage, they ſaid, that, as the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia were to be performed within two months, after the ſigning of the peace, they were ready to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, upon his delivering up the city and caſtle of Palermo, at which place tranſports would be beſt provided, and other neceſſary meaſures concerted for the tranſportation of the Spaniſh army to their own country. The marquis alledged, that, as their maſters were in treaty for ſettling the terms of evacuating thoſe iſlands, he did not think himſelf authorized to agree to a ceſſation on any other condition, than that each party ſhould remain on the ground they occupied, and wait the further orders of their ſuperiors.

The commanders having met at Caſſine de Roſſignole, and in vain attempted an agreement, the Imperial general reſolved to lay ſiege to Palermo. With this view he decamped from Alcamo on the ſixteenth day of April, and followed the marquis de Lede, who retreated before him and took poſſeſſion of the advantageous poſts that led into the plains of Palermo; but the count de Merci, with ſurprizing activity, marched over the mountains, while the admiral watched the motions of the army, by coaſting along the ſhore.

The marquis de Lede, obſerving the Germans deſcending into the plain, retired under the canon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with ſtrong intrenchments. On the ſecond day of May, the Imperialiſts took, by ſurprize, one of the enemy's redoubts, which commanded the whole line of their camp; and the marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification; both armies were in motion, and on the very point of engaging, when a courier arrived in a felucca with a packet to the marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the iſland, and the tranſportation of the army to Spain.

Hereupon, he withdrew his forces, and ſent a trumpet with letters to the general and admiral, acquainting them with the orders he had received. Commiſſioners were appointed on each ſide, the negotiations begun, and the convention ſigned in leſs than a week. The Germans were put in poſſeſſion of Palermo on the tenth of May; and the Spaniſh army marched to Termini, a town on the ſea coaſt, from whence they were tranſported to Barcelona.

Sir George Byng continued in the Mediterranean until he had ſeen the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the emperor eſtabliſhed in the ſecure poſſeſſion of the former, and the duke of Savoy in that of the latter; for which purpoſe four battalions of Piedmonteſe troops were embarked at Palermo, and ſent under a convoy to Cagliari in Sardinia.

Upon the whole, the admiral's conduct during the war in Sicily was ſuch, that the fate of the iſland depended entirely on him, the one party acknowledging, that they could not have conquered, and the other, that they could not have been ſubdued without his aſſiſtance. When he waited on his majeſty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The king told him, that he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned, with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, his fair and friendly deportment in providing tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and protecting them from the hardſhips which they muſt otherwiſe have ſuffered.

In reward for theſe ſervices, Sir George was appointed to the treaſurerſhip of the navy, and made rear-admiral of Great-Britain: in a little time he was ennobled by the title of viſcount Torrington; he was declared a privy counſellor, and afterwards made knight of the bath, on the revival of that order.

While affairs in the Mediterranean were in the above ſituation, the duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort Paſſage, and deſtroyed ſix Spaniſh ſhips of war that were upon the ſtocks. Then he formed the ſiege of Fontarabia, which he reduced in June, together

together with St. Sebaſtian's and Port-Antonio, in the bottom of the bay of Biſcay. In this exploit the French were aſſiſted by two hundred Engliſh ſeamen, who burned two ſixty gun ſhips unfiniſhed, and a great quantity of naval ſtores.

His Britannic majeſty to revenge himſelf for the deſigns formed againſt his crown and dignity, and indemnify his ſubjects for the expence of the war, projected the conqueſt of Corunna in the bay of Biſcay, and of Peru in South America. Four thouſand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Iſle of Wight, and ſailed on the twenty-firſt day of September, under the convoy of five ſhips of war, conducted by admiral Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruizing off Fontarabia.

But inſtead of attacking Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty: Ponta-Vedra ſubmitted without reſiſtance: and Redondella was abandoned by the inhabitants. Here they found a great quantity of braſs artillery, ſmall arms, and military ſtores, which had been intended for the invaſion of England, and the very troops that garriſoned theſe places were a part of thoſe to have made the deſcent.

Johnſon, in the interim, who had not had an opportunity of joining the admiral, entered the port of Ribadeo to the eaſtward of Ortegas, where he deſtroyed two Spaniſh ſhips of war, and made prize of a merchantman; ſo that the naval power of Spain was entirely ruined. The expedition to the Weſt Indies was long delayed by contrary winds, and at length, the concluſion of the peace prevented its being carried into execution.

The ill ſucceſs which every where attended the Spaniards, compelled them to think of acceding to the terms of peace. Philip was, at length, convinced of the madneſs of Alberoni's projects. That miniſter had rendered himſelf odious to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, who unanimouſly declared they would liſten to no propoſals, while he ſhould be continued in office.

He was, therefore, diveſted of his employments, the king forbade him to appear any more in his preſence, ordered him to depart from Madrid in eight days, and to quit the kingdom in the ſpace of three months. The marquis de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh miniſter at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the ſtates; but it was rejected by the allies, and Philip was at laſt obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance. The war with Spain, though drawn out to a greater length than is here ſpecified, it was thought proper to comprehend in one general view, that the reader might be able to form an idea of the whole, and that his attention to the hiſtory of his own country might not be interrupted by the recital of foreign affairs.

His majeſty returned to England on the fourteenth of November, and on the twenty-third opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was upon the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of the Britiſh arms and councils; that he hoped the commons would concert proper meaſures for leſſening the debts of the nation: that he believed they were all ſenſible of the many undeſerved and unnatural attempts which had been formed againſt his perſon and government, ſince his acceſſion to the throne: that our diviſions at home had been magnified abroad; and, by inſpiring into ſome foreign powers a falſe opinion of our force, had encouraged them to treat us in a manner, which the crown of Great Britain ſhould never endure, while he wore it: that if the neceſſities of his government had ſometimes engaged them, from motives of duty and affection, to truſt him with powers of which they had always, with good reaſon, been jealous, the whole world muſt acknowledge, that theſe powers had been ſo uſed, as to juſtify the confidence they had repoſed in him; and, as he could truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous to encreaſe his own authority, than he was to maintain the liberty of his people, he hoped they would think of ſome effectual method to preſerve and tranſmit to poſterity, the freedom of our happy conſtitution, and particularly to ſecure that part of it, which was moſt liable to abuſe: that, as far as human pru-

dence could foreſee, the unanimity of this ſeſſion of parliament muſt eſtabliſh, together with the peace of all Europe, the trade and commerce of theſe kingdoms, on a laſting foundation: he thought every man might now find an end of all his labours: all he had to aſk of them was, that they would make him a happy king, by becoming themſelves, a great people.

Addreſſes being made in the moſt grateful, and received in the moſt affectionate terms, his majeſty concluded the ſeſſion on the eleventh of June, with a ſpeech in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions.

The king of England and the queen of Sweden had by this time concluded at Stockholm, an alliance offenſive and defenſive, by which his majeſty obliged himſelf to ſend a fleet into the Baltic, to act againſt the Czar of Muſcovy, in order to compel him to agree to reaſonable terms of peace. The Czar loudly complained of this interpoſition of king George, alledging, that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover, and king of Great Britain. His reſident at London preſented a memorial on this ſubject, which was anſwered and refuted by the Britiſh and Hanoverian miniſtry. Theſe recriminations ſerved only to exaſperate the two princes more violently againſt each other. The Czar continued to proſecute the war; and, at length, concluded a peace without a mediator.

But the king of England and the regent of France, by their mediation, procured a treaty of peace to be ſigned between the queen of Sweden and the king of Pruſſia, to whom that princeſs ceded the city of Stetin, the diſtrict between the rivers Older and Pehnne, with the iſles of Wallin and Uſedom, to be held and enjoyed in the ſame manner as theſe provinces had been transferred by the emperor and empire to the crown of Sweden, by the treaty of Weſtphalia in 1648.

The king of Pruſſia alſo engaged to join the king of Great Britain in his endeavours to effectuate a peace between Sweden and Denmark, and to perſuade the Daniſh king to reſtore to queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania, which he had ſeized; he likewiſe obliged himſelf, in return for the ceſſions ſhe had made to him, to pay her majeſty two millions of rixdollars.

On the twenty ſecond of June, the treaty between Denmark and Sweden was ſigned at Frederickſtadt, through the mediation of king George, who became guarantee for the Danes keeping poſſeſſion of Sleſwick; as the Swediſh queen, on account of the ſtrict alliance ſubſiſting between her and the duke of Sleſwick-Holſtein, could not, with any decency, give up that dutchy in form. Nevertheleſs, the king of Denmark agreed to reſtore the Upper-Pomerania, the iſle of Rugen, the city of Wiſmar, the towns of Marſtrand and Stralſund, and whatever he had taken from Sweden in the courſe of the war, in conſideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound and the two Belts; and paying to Denmark, ſix hundred thouſand rixdollars, as ſoon as the ceſſions ſhould be executed.

To give proper weight to his majeſty's mediation, Sir John Norris had ſailed to the Baltic, with a ſtrong ſquadron, in the month of April. When he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote a letter to the prince Dalgorouki, the Ruſſian ambaſſador at the court of Denmark, importing, that the king, his maſter, had ordered him to come into thoſe ſeas with a Britiſh fleet, to procure a juſt and reaſonable peace between the crowns of Sweden and Ruſſia: and that he and the Engliſh envoy at Stockholm were veſted with full powers to act, jointly or ſeparately, in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect this agreement, by mediating the affair.

The prince replied, that the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and, in caſe his Britannic majeſty had any propoſals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuſe him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The Engliſh fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but the Ruſſian ſquadron taking ſhelter in the harbour of Revel, they had no opportunity of attacking them.

Although his majeſty failed in his attempt to

to effect an accommodation in the North, that event was ſoon brought about by other means. Ulrica queen of Sweden, ſiſter to Charles the twelfth, had married the prince of Heſſe, and was extremely deſirous that he ſhould be joined with her in the adminiſtration of the regal power. In order to accompliſh this purpoſe, ſhe wrote a letter to each of the four ſtates, repreſenting the advantage that would accrue to the public from having the aſſiſtance of his royal highneſs in the government; and that by conferring on her huſband the ſovereign authority, they would lay the higheſt obligation on herſelf.

Some oppoſition to this meaſure was at firſt made by the nobles, but their ſcruples being overcome, in conſequence of a ſecond letter from the queen, the prince was unanimouſly elected king of Sweden. The new ſovereign ſent one of his principal officers to notify his election to the Czar, who congratulated him upon his elevation; and this interchanging of civilities was the beginning of a negotiation, which ended in a peace, and re-eſtabliſhed the tranquility of the North.

His majeſty ſet out for his electoral dominions, on the fifteenth of June; but before his departure from Great Britain, he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, through the mediation of the duke of Devonſhire and others, who were taken into the miniſtry, and again ſhared his majeſty's favour.

*A. D.* 1720. During the king's reſidence at Hanover, the South-ſea ſcheme produced a kind of national phrenzy in England. The firſt hint of the plan ſeems to have been taken from the famous Miſſiſſipi ſcheme formed by Law, which, in the courſe of the preceding year, had raiſed ſuch a ferment in France, and involved many thouſand families of that kingdom in utter ruin and deſtruction. Law's ſcheme was built upon the grant of an excluſive trade to Louiſiana, and, had it been properly conducted, might have been attended with ſome advantage. The deſign of it was defeated by the eager avidity of the people, many of whom were reduced to abſolute beggary though the ſtate gained immenſe profits; no leſs than fifteen hundred millions of the public debts having been transferred from the government to the ſhoulders of the people.

The company flattered themſelves that their ſtock would riſe to a conſiderable height upon the bill's being paſſed; but finding themſelves diſappointed in their expectations, they propagated a report, that Gibraltar and and Portmahon would be exchanged for ſome places in Peru; by which means the Engliſh trade to the South-ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed with great induſtry, inſpired the people with the moſt ſanguine and extravagant hopes. In five days after the paſſing of the bill, the directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Perſons of all ranks crowded to the houſe in ſuch numbers, that the firſt ſubſcription amounted to above two millions of original ſtock. In a few days the ſtock advanced to three hundred and fifty pounds; and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payments.

To give a minute account of the proceedings, or explain the various and unwarrantable arts that were practiſed to enhance the value of the ſtock, and decoy the ignorant and unwary, would be altogether inconſiſtent with the deſign of a general hiſtory, and afford but very little entertainment to the reader: ſuffice it to ſay, that, by the promiſe of large dividends, and other illegal arts, the ſtock was raiſed to above a thouſand per cent. and the whole nation turned into ſtock-jobbers.

A prodigious number of ſchemes being ſet on foot, many hundred families were ruined, and the nation was ſo tranſported with a ſpirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the moſt impudent impoſtors.

His majeſty, before his departure, had publiſhed a proclamation againſt thoſe unlawful projects, and ordered them to be proſecuted as common nuſances; but, notwithſtanding this prohibition, they were ſtill carried on with uncommon vigour.

The epidemic madneſs occaſioned by this ſcheme

ſcheme continued to prevail till the eighth day of September, when the ſtock began to fall. Then did ſome of the adventurers awake from their golden dream. The number of ſellers daily encreaſed. On the twenty-ninth day of the month the ſtock ſunk to one hundred and fifty: ſeveral eminent goldſmiths and bankers, who had lent great ſums upon it, were obliged to ſhut up ſhop and abſcond: the ſword-blade company, who had hitherto been the principal caſh-keepers of the South-ſea ſtock, were forced to ſtop payment: and now the general ruin began to make its horrid approaches.

The deſtruction of a prodigious number of families, many of them till then very opulent, was the immediate conſequence of the ſudden fall of ſtock. Public credit received a terrible ſhock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, diſappointment and deſpair. Succeſſive expreſſes were diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting to the king the ſtate of affairs, and earneſtly preſſing him to haſten his return. He accordingly ſhortened his intended ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

When the parliament aſſembled on the eighth of December, his majeſty, after having acquainted them with his negotiations abroad, expreſſed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs which had ſo deeply affected the public credit at home; and he earneſtly deſired them to conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore and ſecure the credit of the nation.

While ſome of the members ſeverely felt their private, or ſincerely lamented the public calamities, others, diſſatisfied with the preſent adminiſtration, were glad of an opportunity to gratify their revenge under the ſpecious pretence of juſtice and equity; ſome imagined, that, by their vehement declamation, they ſhould attract the notice of the court, and, perhaps, force themſelves into places of truſt: others, concerned in the fraudulent practices of the South-ſea company, believed that an affected ſeverity was the moſt effectual means of preventing ſuſpicion of their guilt: and there were not a few, who, under the appearance of indignation againſt the delinquents, artfully concealed their devoted attachment to ſome of the principal managers, and endeavoured to procure their being admitted into the committees of enquiry, as the moſt effectual means to ſcreen theſe robbers of the public.

On cloſing the ſeſſion, on the tenth of Auguſt, his majeſty declared, that he entertained a moſt ſincere concern for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty, in the affair of the South-ſea ſcheme: that he had readily given his aſſent to ſuch bills as they had preſented to him, for puniſhing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe who had been injured by them in ſo notorious a manner: that they could not fail to have obſerved, that the diſcontents, occaſioned by this unhappy event, had been induſtriouſly fomented and inflamed by wicked and ſeditious libels; but he doubted not, but by their prudent conduct in their ſeveral counties, they would diſappoint the enemies of the government, in their ſeditious views and intentions.

*A.D.* 1722. When the new parliament met on the ninth of October, his majeſty told them, that he was extremely ſorry to find himſelf obliged, at the opening of the firſt ſeſſion, to acquaint them, that a dangerous conſpiracy had been for ſome time formed and was ſtill carrying on againſt his perſon and government, in favour of a popiſh pretender: that the diſcoveries he had made at home, and the informations he had received from abroad, had given him the moſt ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign: that the conſpirators had, by their emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for ſuccours from foreign powers, but were diſappointed in their expectations: that nevertheleſs, confiding in their numbers, and, not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they had reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of his government: that, with this view, they had provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themſelves ſo well prepared, that, had not the plot been timely diſcovered, the whole

whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confuſion: that, had he, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, made any innovation in the eſtabliſhed religion; had he, in any one inſtance, invaded the liberty and property of his ſubjects; he ſhould the leſs wonder at any endeavours to alienate the affections of his people, and draw them into meaſures, which could end in nothing but their own deſtruction: but to endeavour to perſuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that was dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for ſlavery, the proteſtant religion for popery, and to ſacrifice at once the price of ſo much blood and treaſure, as had been ſpent in defence of the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſeemed ſuch a degree of infatuation, as could hardly be reconciled with ſound reaſon or common ſenſe: that, how vain and unſucceſsful ſoever theſe deſperate projects might prove in the end, they had, at preſent, ſo far produced the deſired effect, as to create uneaſineſs and diffidence in the minds of his people; which his enemies endeavoured to improve to their own advantage: that, by forming plots, they firſt diminiſhed the value of all property that was lodged in the public funds, and then complained of the low ſtate of credit; they made an increaſe of the national expences neceſſary, and then clamoured at the burden of taxes, and endeavoured to impute to his government, as grievances, the miſchiefs and calamities of which themſelves alone were the occaſion: that there was nothing he more earneſtly deſired, than to ſee the public expences leſſened, and the great national debt put in a way of being gradually reduced and diſcharged, with a ſtrict regard to parliamentary faith; and a more favourable opportunity could never have been expected, than the preſent profound peace, which the nation now enjoyed with all its neighbours; but public credit would always languiſh under daily apprehenſions of danger; nor could it ever be fixed upon a ſolid and laſting foundation, till the cauſe of this national calamity was entirely removed: that he need not tell them of what infinite conſequence it was to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, that this parliament ſhould, upon the preſent occaſion, exert themſelves with more than ordinary zeal and vigour: that an entire union among all, who ſincerely wiſhed well to the preſent eſtabliſhment, was now become abſolutely neceſſary: that the enemies of the public had too long taken advantage of their differences and diſſentions: but he hoped, they would now let it be known, that the ſpirit of popery, which breathed nothing but deſtruction to the civil and religious rights of a proteſtant church and kingdom, had not ſo far poſſeſſed his people, as to make them ripe for ſuch a fatal change: he hoped they would let the world ſee, that the general diſpoſition of the nation was no temptation to foreign enemies to invade it, nor any diſcouragement to domeſtic enemies to kindle a civil war in the bowels of their country: that their own intereſt and welfare called upon them to defend themſelves: for his own part, he ſaid, he ſhould wholly rely upon the divine protection, the ſupport of his parliament, and the affections of his people, which he ſhould endeavour to preſerve, by ſteadily adhering to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and governing his people according to the laws of the land.

On this occaſion, both houſes preſented addreſſes expreſſive of their firm attachment to his majeſty, and their indignation againſt the authors of the preſent conſpiracy.

The parliament gave its attention to the concerting meaſures for defeating the intended conſpiracy. A bill was introduced into the upper houſe for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act for a whole year; and paſſed both houſes by a conſiderable majority, but not without violent oppoſition.

The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of high treaſon. As a further proof of the plot, the king ſent to the houſe of peers the original, and printed copy, of a declaration ſigned by the pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, 1722; and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates. In this paper

per the pretender, who thought proper to aſſume the title of king James, affected to talk of the late violations of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions; infamous informers; and and the ſtate of proſcription, in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be. He then very gravely propoſed, that, if king George would reſign to him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it. He likewiſe promiſed to ſecure the crown of England to king George or his deſcendants, whenever it ſhould come to them by hereditary right.

It was reſolved by the lords, that this declaration was a falſe, ſcandalous and traitorous libel; and they ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The commons concurred in theſe reſolutions. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the inſolence of the pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty, that with their lives and fortunes they would ſupport his title to the crown.

A bill was prepared by the commons for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all papiſts, or perſons educated in the popiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders. This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the friends of the papiſts, as a ſpecies of perſecution: but, notwithſtanding all their objections, it was carried by a conſiderable majority, and ſent up to the lords, together with another, obliging all perſons being papiſts, in Scotland, and all perſons in Great-Britain, refuſing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both bills paſſed through the upper houſe without amendment, and received the royal aſſent ſoon afterwards.

On the twenty-firſt of November, Mr. Layer was tried in the court of king's bench, and convicted of having enliſted men for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion, and received ſentence of death. He was reprieved for ſome time, and examined by a committee of the houſe of commons; but as he refuſed to make any diſcovery, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed upon Temple-bar.

A report was made to the houſe of commons by Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, that it appeared from the examination of Layer and others, that a deſign had been formed by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender upon the throne of theſe realms; that his firſt intention was to have procured a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conſpirators being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved to make an attempt at the time, when it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as could paſs into England unobſerved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe; at which time the Tower was to have been ſeized: that this ſcheme being alſo defeated by the wiſe and vigorous meaſures of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army: that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, were concerned in this conſpiracy: that their acting agents were Chriſtopher Layer, and John Plunket, who travelled with him to Rome, Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, a non-juring clergyman, Neynoe, the Iriſh prieſt, who, by this time, was drowned in the river Thames, in attempting to make his eſcape from the meſſenger's houſe, Mr. Spelman, alias Yallop, and John Simpel: and that theſe noblemen ſeemed to have employed perſons of the meaneſt rank to carry on their correſpondence, as the moſt effectual means to ſcreen them from all ſuſpicion of guilt; or, in caſe of being ſuſpected, to prevent a diſcovery.

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This report was no ſooner read, than the commons reſolved, that a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy had been formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion, ſeizing the Tower and city of London, laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, and to place a popiſh pretender on the throne, with a view to ſubvert the eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate.

Bills were brought in and paſſed, for inflicting pains and penalties upon John Plunket and George Kelly, who were, by theſe acts, to be kept in cloſe cuſtody, during his majeſty's pleaſure, in any priſon in Great-Britain; and if they attempted an eſcape were liable to ſuffer death.

A motion was made by Mr. Younge for a ſimilar bill againſt Dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter. This was immediately brought into the houſe, though oppoſed by Sir William Wyndham, who affirmed there was no other evidence againſt him, than conjectures and hearſays. The biſhop wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, intimating, that though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the houſe any trouble that day, contenting himſelf with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Council being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the ſixth day of April, when moſt of the Tory members choſe to withdraw from the houſe. It was then moved, that the biſhop ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without conſent of parliament; but that his effects ſhould nor be confiſcated.

The commons having paſſed the bill and ſent it up to the lords, the biſhop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth day of May. Himſelf and his council having been heard, the lords proceeded to examine the articles of the bill; and, when they had read it a third time, a motion was made to paſs it, which occaſioned long and warm debates. Earl Powlet ſaid, that the ſwerving in ſuch an extraordinary manner, from the fixed rules of evidence, and, therefore, from the maxims of juſtice, could not fail to be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to our excellent conſtitution. He was anſwered by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who affirmed, that, as extraordinary diſeaſes require extraordinary remedies, ſo, in caſes of extreme danger and neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate lay at ſtake, the legiſlature ought to exert itſelf againſt thoſe offenders which the common law could not reach.

The inſufficiency of the teſtimony appearing to the duke of Wharton, who ſummed up the evidence, he ſaid, that, let the conſequence be what it would, he hoped ſuch a helliſh ſtain would never ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe, as to condemn a man without the leaſt proof.

The duke was ſupported in his opinion by lord Bathurſt, who obſerved, that a Frenchman, having invented a machine which would not only kill more men at once than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable for ever any man who ſhould be wounded by it, applied himſelf, in expectation of a reward, to one of the French miniſters, who laid the project before his late French majeſty; but that monarch, conſidering that ſuch an engine might ſoon be turned againſt his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: that the inventor, diſappointed in this quarter, came over to England, and offered his ſervice to the Britiſh general, who likewiſe rejected the propoſal with indignation: that the uſe and application of the ſtory was obvious at firſt ſight; for, ſhould the method of proceeding, which was now propoſed, be adopted, it would certainly prove a very dangerous engine, and might be turned to the deſtruction of thoſe very perſons, by whom it was, at preſent, employed: that in ſuch a caſe, no man's life, liberty, or property would be ſecure; and, if the parliament was determined to go on at that rate, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire

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to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince their lives and liberties might be loſt by the interception of a ſingle letter in a literary correſpondence.

In ſupport of this argument he quoted a paſſage from De Retz's memoirs, relating to cardinal Mazarine, who boaſted, that, if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumſtances atteſted by witneſſes, cut off his head with pleaſure. Then, turning to the bench of biſhops, who had been unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he ſaid, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice, which ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome wild Indians, who believed, that they inherited the abilities as well as the effects of the enemy whom they deſtroyed.

The duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and lord Lechmere, ſpoke in ſupport of the bill, the laſt of whom, though he had on ſeveral other occaſions, expreſſed his diſlike of ſuch extraordinary proceedings, declared, that, he thought the evidence was ſufficient.

Neceſſity, earl Cowper obſerved, was the beſt argument that could be urged in behalf of the bill; but he ſaid, that he ſaw no neceſſity that could juſtify ſuch an unprecedented and dangerous proceeding, as the conſpiracy had, above twelve months before, been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it prevented: that, beſides the intrinſic weight and ſtrength of the government, the hands of thoſe at the helm had been ſtill further fortified by the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raiſed; ſo that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the ſtate, though Plunket and Kelly were not impriſoned for life, nor the biſhop of Rocheſter driven into baniſhment: that, on the contrary, if that prelate's talents and genius lay in contriving and carrying on ſtate intrigues, he thought him leſs dangerous at home than abroad: that the known rules of evidence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, were the birth right of every ſubject in the nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both houſes of parliament, till altered by the legiſlature: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the Poſt-office, was a very dangerous precedent: in former times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital caſes, a man ſhould be affected by a ſimilitude of hands; but here the caſe was much worſe, ſince it was allowed, that the clerks of the Poſt-office could carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. He commended the biſhop's noble deportment in declining to anſwer before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceedings in this unprecedented manner againſt a lord of parliament, was ſuch an encouragement on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if they ſubmitted to it, by paſſing this bill, they might be termed the laſt of Britiſh peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. After a violent debate, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty voices, though a proteſt was entered againſt the proceedings by ſeveral of the peers.

His lordſhip was hereby deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future; he was baniſhed the realm, and ſubjected to the pains of death, in caſe he ſhould return, as were all perſons that ſhould correſpond with him during his exile. Doctor Friend, who was a member of the houſe, and had exerted himſelf with great zeal in the biſhop's favour, being ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, was taken into cuſtody.

In conſideration of the ſervices of Mr. Robert Walpole, the king created his ſon a peer; he alſo made a good number of church promotions, admitted the impriſoned lords and gentlemen to bail, granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, ordered the biſhop of Rocheſter to be conveyed to the continent, and then ſet out for Hanover on the third day of June, leaving the government in the hands of a regency, from which the prince of Wales was ſtill excluded, though lord Harcourt, a warm friend of the late miniſtry, was one of the number.

The

The lords Townſend and Carteret, ſecretaries of ſtate, went abroad with his majeſty. The affairs of the continent had began to take a new turn. The different princes, whoſe intereſts were to have been determined at the congreſs of Cambray, piqued at the fruitleſs iſſue of that negotiation, reſolved to promote their ſeveral intereſts, by entering into ſeparate engagements.

Ireland being at this time deficient in copper coin, one William Wood obtained a patent for furniſhing the kingdom therewith; but when the money began to be circulated, a violent clamour was raiſed againſt it. The parliament of that kingdom, which met on the fifth day of September, reſolved, that the importing and uttering of copper halfpence and farthings by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented, in order to obtain the patent: that the halfpence wanted weight: that, even if the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of a hundred and fifty per cent: and that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would, at all times, be of dangerous conſequence.

Both the houſes having addreſſed his majeſty on the ſubject, the matter was referred to the lords of the privy council of England, who declared, that, from the report of Sir Iſaac Newton and others of the mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of the halfpence, the conduct of the patentee was altogether unblameable; and that the terms of the patent had been exactly fulfilled: that Wood's currency, in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of metal, exceeded all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of Charles the ſecond, James the ſecond, king William and queen Mary: that his majeſty's predeceſſors had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons: that none of thoſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in a clandeſtine or in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſollicitor-general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular: and finally, that the neceſſity for granting ſuch a patent was obvious, from the great ſcarcity of money in Ireland, which was proved by many witneſſes.

This determination had but little effect on the Iriſh, among whom the clamour was induſtriouſly kept up by papers, pamphlets, and lampoons written by dean Swift and others; but Wood having voluntarily reduced his coinage from one hundred thouſand to forty thouſand pounds, the noiſe was, in a great meaſure, ſilenced. The parliament of Ireland paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of Quakers inſtead of an oath: and granted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the national debt, which amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

*A. D.* 1723. Lord Cowper, who had been twice lord high chancellor of England, and was an ornament to that high office, died on the tenth of October. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who was carried off by an apoplexy in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon prime miniſter. Immediate aſſurances of the friendſhip of the court of France were ſent to his Britannic majeſty.

On the nineteenth of December his majeſty arrived in London, and the parliament meeting on the ninth of January, he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours during the laſt ſeſſion to promote the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented, ſo as to afford a proſpect of diſcharging the national debt.

Both houſes having addreſſed his majeſty, the commons proceeded to conſider the eſtimates for the enſuing year. They voted ten

thouſand ſeamen; and the majority, though not without violent oppoſition, agreed to maintain four thouſand additional troops, which had been raiſed in the courſe of the preceding ſummer; the whole number of effective men amounting to eighteen thouſand two hundred and ſixty-four. The malt tax and a land tax of two ſhillings in the pound, were appropriated to pay the expence of the above.

The injuſtice of protections granted by foreign miniſters, peers and members of parliament, being greatly complained of, the commons reſolved, that all protections granted by members of that houſe, ſhould be declared void, and immediately withdrawn; that none ſhould be granted for the future; and that if any member ſhould preſume to contravene this order, he ſhould make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the cenſure of the houſe. The lords made a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, with an exception of menial ſervants, and thoſe neceſſarily employed about the eſtates of peers.

*A. D.* 1724. The public buſineſs being finiſhed, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the twenty fourth day of April, and at the meeting of parliament on the twelfth of November, they continued the former eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea forces, and readily granted the neceſſary ſupplies.

The chief object, which engaged their attention during this ſeſſion, was the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman, by conniving at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places, and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the maſters of the chancery, had incurred ſuch a load of odium, that in the beginning of January he was deprived of the great ſeal.

*A. D.* 1725. A petition was preſented to the commons, by the lord Finch, on the twentieth of April, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viſcount Bolingbroke, praying, that the execution of the law might be ſuſpended with reſpect to his forfeitures, as a pardon had ſuſpended it with reſpect to his life. Mr. Walpole had acquainted the houſe, by his majeſty's command, that, ſeven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and ſubmiſſion to the king, with aſſurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity; that, from his behaviour ſince that time, his majeſty was convinced, of his being a fit object of his mercy; and therefore conſented to his petitioning the houſe.

When the petition had been read, Mr. Walpole ſaid, he was fully ſatisfied, that the petitioner had ſufficiently atoned for his paſt offences, and deſerved the favour of that houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, that was ſettled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the beſt lawyers, he could not do, by virtue of his majeſty's pardon, without an act of parliament.

After many debates on the ſubject, a bill was prepared, agreeable to the petition, paſſed both houſes, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

Several changes in the affairs of the continent had by this time taken place. Lewis, the young king of Spain, dying ſoon after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip, reſumed the reins of government, which he had quitted; and reſigned himſelf entirely into the hands of the queen, who was a princeſs of an intriguing and ambitious diſpoſition.

Lewis the fifteenth of France, who had married the infanta, took ſuch an averſion to his wife, that he could never be prevailed with to conſummate his nuptials; and, as the whole French nation was alarmed with the apprehenſion of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without male iſſue, he reſolved, with the advice of his council, to ſend her back to Madrid, whither ſhe was accordingly attended by the marquis de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs, the pretender's agent.

This inſult offered to her daughter, ſo exaſperated the queen of Spain, that ſhe diſmiſſed madamoiſelle de Beaujolouis, one of the regent's daughters, who had been contracted to her ſon, don Carlos. Not ſatisfied with this revenge, ſhe reſolved that the French ſhould have no farther concern with the affairs

fairs of Spain; and, as the congreſs of Cambray had proved ineffectual, ſhe offered to compromiſe her differences with the emperor under the ſole mediation of Great Britain.

His Britannic majeſty, however, declined this honour. He was unwilling to take any ſtep that might interrupt the harmony ſubſiſting between him and the court of Verſailles: he was deſirous of diſuniting for ever the two branches of the Bourbon family: and he plainly perceived, that the emperor was, by no means willing to abide by his determination.

On the king of England's refuſal, her Catholic majeſty propoſed a private negotiation to the court of Vienna, which readily accepted the offer. The conferences were immediately opened, and conducted under the direction of the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the Proteſtant religion, and engaged in the ſervice of the king of Spain.

By the treaty of peace, which was ſigned at Vienna on the thirteenth day of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions that were ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, 1722. Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the queen of Spain, failing heirs in the preſent poſſeſſors, as maſculine fiefs of the empire. Spain gurantied the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatic ſanction, by which the dominions of that houſe were ſettled on the emperor's heirs of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment to the primogeniture.

It is plain that no part of this treaty could give him umbrage to any of the powers of Europe. But the caſe was very different with the treaty of commerce. By this agreement the Auſtrian ſubjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which were not granted to any other nation. Philip propoſed to guaranty the Oſtend Eaſt India company, and to pay an annual ſubſidy of four millions, of pieces of eight to the emperor. Great ſums were remitted to Vienna, amounting nearly to one million ſterling: the Imperial forces were augmented with an additional body of ſixty thouſand men: and other powers were ſollicited to engage in this alliance, which was embraced by the court of Ruſſia only.

Beſides theſe public engagements, which of themſelves, were ſufficient to alarm the jealouſy of the king of England, there were other articles of a private, and of a ſtill more dangerous nature. By theſe laſt the contracting parties were ſaid to have bound themſelves to procure to Spain the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Portmahon; to effect a double marriage between the two infants of Spain, and the two arch dutcheſſes of Auſtria; and to employ their joint endeavours, in order to place the pretender on the Engliſh throne.

The king of England, to fruſtrate the deſigns of theſe new allies, projected a defenſive treaty between England, France, and Pruſſia. This alliance, to continue for the term of fifteen years, was negotiated and concluded at Hanover in the September following.

Guy's Hoſpital in Southwark was built at this time at the ſole expence of Mr. Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller in London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left a benefaction of two hundred thouſand pounds, for its ſupport.

On the fifth day of December, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a princeſs, chriſtened by the name of Louiſa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark.

The order of the knights of the Bath was at this time revived; who are thirty eight in number, including the ſovereign. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viſcount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the bath, was now honoured with the order of the garter.

The

The famous duke of Wharton having, by his extravagancies, ruined his fortune, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the pretender, where he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was ſent by the pretender, with credentials to the court of Madrid, where king George was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter under the privy ſeal, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, as he rode through the ſtreets in a coach, he loudly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a Britiſh officer of juſtice, in executing a ſummons upon him within ſight of his Catholic majeſty's palace. He even threatened to preſent a memorial on the ſubject to the court of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the Engliſh meſſenger; but Philip, being privately acquainted with the matter, abſolutely refuſed to interpoſe his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the proteſtant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bedchamber, and was made a lieutenant colonel in the army of his Catholic majeſty.

*A. D.* 1726. His majeſty embarked at Helvoetſluys on his return to England, on the firſt of January; and after having encountered a moſt furious and dreadful ſtorm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament being aſſembled on the twentieth day of the ſame month, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to have laid the foundations of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert, with other powers, ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious view of thoſe, who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable; and put a ſtop to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns; that, with this view, he had entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of France and Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the ſtates-general, had been invited to accede; and he had no reaſon to doubt, but they would readily give their concurrence: that, by theſe means, and by their ſupport and aſſiſtance, he hoped he ſhould be able, not only to ſecure to his own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the balance of power in Europe, the only end of all his endeavours: that he queſtioned not, but the jacobites flattered themſelves with the hopes of deriving, from the proſpect of freſh troubles and commotions, ſome favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts againſt his perſon and government: that they were already very buſy, by their inſtruments and emiſſaries, in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeemed moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſolliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender; but he perſuaded himſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expect to receive, that the proviſion made by his parliament for the ſafety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually ſecure them from all danger of foreign invaſion, or domeſtic inſurrection: that, when the world ſhould ſee, that they would not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be inſulted with impunity, thoſe, who moſt envied the tranquillity and happineſs of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it ſubſervient to their ambitious projects, would have ſome regard to their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they preſumed to make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by powerful alliances, and, however deſirous of peace, able and ready to defend themſelves againſt all aggreſſors: that ſuch reſolutions, and ſuch meaſures, if timely taken, would, he was ſatisfied, be the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and ſecuring to his people all the bleſſings of peace.

When

When the houſe of commons came to take into conſideration the treaties of Vienna and Hanover, Horatio Walpole opened the debate with a long and ſtudied ſpeech, in which he gave a detail of the affairs of Europe ſince the treaty of Utrecht. He recapitulated the ſubſtance of the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defenſive alliance with the emperor, another with the moſt Chriſtian king and the ſtates general, a ſubſequent convention, the quadruple alliance, the congreſs at Cambray, and the treaties of Hanover and Vienna.

He ſaid, that jealouſies were excited in the ſeveral courts of Europe, by a ſudden concluſion of a peace between the emperor and the king of Spain; jealouſies, which appeared to be the better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was ſoon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main ſcope and deſign of which was, to ſupport and countenance the Eaſt India company eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which interfered ſo eſſentially with the Eaſt India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force; that his majeſty, ever watchful for the intereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects, had cauſed ſtrong repreſentations to be made on that ſubject, both to the emperor and the king of Spain: that, at the court of Madrid theſe complaints were received with coldneſs; at that of Vienna, with haughtineſs and contempt: that the Imperial miniſters even went ſo far as to inſinuate, that, if his Britannic majeſty perſiſted to oppoſe the treaty of Vienna, the emperor would not only think himſelf diſengaged from the guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, but muſt likewiſe be provoked to take ſome diſagreeable ſteps in relation to his majeſty's German dominions: that theſe inſulting menaces made no impreſſion upon his majeſty, nor deterred him from his fixed reſolution of concerting, with other powers, ſuch meaſures, as might diſappoint the ambitious deſigns of thoſe, who endeavoured to render themſelves formidable to their neighbours: that theſe meaſures ſeemed to be the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe, that the unexpected reconciliation of the emperor and the king of Spain, was owing to the conſtant view of the houſe of Auſtria, to render the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family; that, for the accompliſhing this end, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a match between the emperor's eldeſt daughter, and the infant Don Carlos: that it was eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a marriage, by which they might, in time, be poſſeſſed, not only of all the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the Imperial dignity, but alſo of all the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy; an extent of power, which could not fail to overturn the balance of Europe, and endanger the liberties of all the other ſtates of Chriſtendom: that this ſuppoſition would appear the more probable, when it was conſidered, that there was hardly any other way of accounting, either for the king of Spain's breaking through the moſt ſolemn treaties with Great Britain, in favour of the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperor's ſo far forgetting the obligations he had to Great Britain and Holland, as to enter into engagements to aſſiſt Spain towards the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and to perſiſt in ſupporting and countenancing the Oſtend company, eſtabliſhed evidently with no other view, than to deprive the ſubjects of the maritime powers of ſeveral of the moſt valuable branches of their trade: that, in order to prevent the farther progreſs, and final execution of theſe dangerous and deſtructive deſigns, the king had concluded the treaty of Hanover, the nature of which had been already laid before them: and that, from a candid compariſon of all circumſtances, his majeſty's conſummate wiſdom and good policy was abundantly evident.

It was aſſerted by the members of the oppoſite party, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made in the act of limitation. They were anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who obſerved, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not, wholly and for ever, to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this

nation (for ſhould that be the caſe, his majeſty would, in this reſpect, be in a worſe condition after than before his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne) but only to reſtrain the ſovereign for the future, from engaging the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, without the conſent of parliament: that to this ſupreme court it was left to determine, whether or not ſuch a war was juſt and neceſſary: and that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that, if, in the preſent juncture and ſtate of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted, this nation would be bound in honour to defend them.

For theſe reaſons Mr. Pelham propoſed to addreſs his majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain; and promiſing to ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. The addreſs was accordingly voted and preſented; and the lords in a body addreſſed his majeſty to the ſame purpoſe.

A bill in favour of Mr. Richard Hampden late treaſurer of the navy, was brought in, empowering the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with him for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to forty eight thouſand pounds. This deficiency was occaſioned by his engaging in the South-ſea ſcheme. The king recommended his petition; and the houſe complied with his requeſt, in conſideration of his great grandfather, the famous John Hampden, who made ſuch a noble ſtand againſt the arbitrary impoſition of ſhip money in the commencement of the civil war, and fell a victim to his zealous endeavours for the public ſervice.

When the tax upon malt in Scotland was firſt laid, it had been apprehended that the collection of it would be attended with ſome difficulty; and it ſoon appeared that theſe apprehenſions were but too well founded. The exciſemen at Edinburgh, indeed, were ſuffered to take an account of the ſtock of the malſters: but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of exciſe for protection and aſſiſtance, the malſters threatening their lives if they preſumed to enter their houſes.

Major general Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, being applied to by the commiſſioners, ordered captain Buſhel with two companies of foot to march to Glaſgow, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth day of June. At their entrance into the town, they were met by a great mob of men, women, and boys, who loaded them with the moſt opprobrious epithets, and ſaluted them with repeated vollies of ſtones, exclaiming all the while, "no malt tax, no malt tax." The rabble having locked the guard room, and carried off the key, the captain was obliged to hire a public houſe by the way of guard room.

The captain being informed about eleven at night, that a great crowd of people, amounting to ſeveral thouſand, had ſurrounded the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, member of parliament for Glaſgow, and threatened to plunder and raze it to the ground; immediately acquainted the provoſt, and offered his aſſiſtance to quell the rioters.

In anſwer hereto, the provoſt alledged that his men were too few in number, and that he could not think of employing them with any regard either to their own ſafety or that of the citizens. The rabble, meeting with no reſiſtance, nor even the leaſt appearance of oppoſition, forced open the doors, broke into the houſe, turned out the ſervants, (the gentleman and his lady having the day before retired into the country) and totally deſtroyed and carried off whatever they could find.

The mob now remained quiet till next day about four in the afternoon, when they began to re-aſſemble. The captain ſuſpecting their intention, ordered the ſoldiers to keep near the guard-room, of which he had now taken poſſeſſion; and he ſoon found that this was a prudent and neceſſary precaution. In a little time the rabble began to advance againſt the ſoldiers, exclaiming all the way, "drive

"drive the dogs out of town: we will cut "them to pieces."

The captain now requeſted them to abſtain from violence; for if they continued to act in that manner, he ſhould not be able to reſtrain his men from firing upon them. Perceiving, however, that his advice was diſregarded, and that the rabble ſtill continued to preſs forward on the ſoldiers, ſeveral of whom were deſperately wounded, he ordered his men to fire over the crowd, hoping to terrify them ſo as to make them deſiſt.

But the mob paying no regard to the firing, but ſtill perſiſting to attack the guard-room, and repeating their vollies of ſtones with redoubled violence, the ſoldiers were tempted to fire among them, in conſequence of which three or four were killed and ſeveral others wounded. The populace, incenſed by the death of their companions, began to collect all the arms that could be found in the place; and the captain, conſcious of his own inability to reſiſt ſuch a numerous and enraged multitude, thought proper to retreat to Dunbarton, the rabble purſuing him ſix miles towards that place.

As ſoon as general Wade was acquainted with theſe proceedings, he got together a conſiderable body of forces, and, being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow. The magiſtrates were apprehended and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh, where the lords-juſticiary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent. Some of the rabble, however, were puniſhed for the riot, and ſentence of whipping and tranſportation paſſed againſt four of them.

A petition being preſented to the commons by Mr. Daniel Campbell, praying that he might be indemnified for the damage he had ſuſtained from the mob, a bill paſſed in his favour, granting him a certain ſum to be raiſed by an impoſition of two pennies Scotch upon all beer and ale brewed within the city of Glaſgow. Nevertheleſs, the malt-tax was ſo ſenſibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs preſented an addreſs by the hands of John Campbell, member for Edinburgh, wherein, though they diſavowed the conduct of the Glaſgow rioters, they ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt that tax, as a heavy burthen which the country could not bear: and the ſeveral ſhires throughout the kingdom, preſented petitions of the like kind.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe, on the twenty-fourth of March, importing, that as he had nothing more at heart than to ſecure to his ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and to prevent and fruſtrate the deſigns that had been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, he had found it neceſſary, not only to augment his maritime force, but alſo to concert ſuch other meaſures, as might moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends; and as theſe ſervices would require ſome extraordinary expence, his majeſty hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to diſcharge the obligations he had already incurred, and to enter into ſuch other engagements as might be requiſite in the preſent conjuncture. The demand was, at length, allowed by a majority, but not till after conſiderable debates.

Though his majeſty had mentioned "the "aſſiſtance of his parliament," yet this affair was not communicated to the lords, an omiſſion that greatly offended ſeveral of the peers. The earl of Strafford aſſerted, that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the ancient privileges of the peers, who are the grand ſtanding council of the ſovereign, the hereditary guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to the ſovereign, the principal part of the legiſlature, and therefore ought to be conſulted in all matters of public concern. He therefore moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring to know, who adviſed him to ſend ſuch a meſſage to the commons, without acquainting the peers with it at the ſame time.

Lord Trevor, who had lately obtained the privy ſeal, oppoſed the motion for an addreſs, and moved, that the further conſideration of the matter ought to be adjourned for a month. The lord Lechmere repreſented, that, as the

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ſubject of the preſent debate was of the utmoſt conſequence to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the ancient conſtitution of parliament and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom, it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time as amounted to a total omiſſion: that it muſt be for the ſervice and the ſupport of the crown, to have, upon all occaſions, the advice of both houſes of parliament; and, as the meſſage in queſtion though of the higheſt importance, was only ſent to the commons, without being intimated to the lords, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom: that the rights of the people of England were, in ſome meaſure, invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of that houſe of parliament, without which no aid could be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubject; that it was the inherent, and fundamental right of the houſe of peers, to alter and amend all money-bills that came from the commons; and though, in ſome late inſtances, the commons had diſputed this right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it: that, according to ancient uſage, all demands of ſupply from the crown, ſhould be made to the houſe of peers; and, therefore, any other method of aſking money was new, dangerous, and unconſtitutional.

It was obſerved by lord Bathurſt, that the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, excluſively of the lords, was certainly a new and unprecedented ſtile, and far from being the language of former times: that though the commons had, of late, taken upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the lords for that purpoſe, and deſire them to provide for the public ſervice: that if the lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked and neglected in this inſtance, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as had formerly been the caſe; and, therefore, leſt any conſequence of this kind ſhould enſue, he was of opinion, that the affair in hand ſhould be immediately conſidered, and by no means be put off to a future day.

In anſwer to lord Bathurſt, the earl of Scarborough ſaid, that he did not deny, that the peers had a right to be conſulted in all matters of imporance, and to give their conſent to money-bills; but in the preſent caſe, it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to the houſe of lords, becauſe their lordſhips had actually given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, in which that augmentation was plainly inſinuated: that with regard to the circumſtance of the commons having formerly applied to the lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of that peculiarity was well known; all the money, and indeed all the property of the kingdom was, at that time, in the hands of the lords; but ſince the reign of the two laſt Henry's the caſe was very much altered: the commons were now poſſeſſed of a proportionable ſhare both of the monied and the landed property: and their lordſhips ought to be determined by the preſent, not the former ſituation of affairs.

This affair, however, was, after many debates, adjourned for a month, and at length entirely laid aſide. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers, and after giving his aſſent to the bills that were ready, diſmiſſed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

Catherine, empreſs of Ruſſia, ſucceeded her huſband Peter, who died in January. This princeſs had begun to aſſemble forces in the neighbourhood of Peterſburgh, and prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George ſuſpecting that her deſign was againſt Sweden, ſent a ſquadron of twenty-one ſhips of war into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to diſappoint her views upon the dominions of his allies.

A Daniſh ſquadron having joined the Engliſh fleet at Copenhagen, the court of Ruſſia intermitted its military preparations, and gave orders for reinforcing the garriſons of Wibourgh, Cronſlot, Revel, and Riga. The Britiſh admiral, having had an audience of his Swediſh majeſty, directed his courſe towards Revel, and ſent a lieutenant to Cronſlot with a letter to the empreſs from the king of Great Britain.

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His majeſty, in this letter, ſaid, that he could not fail being alarmed at her great preparations, both by ſea and land, in a time of profound peace. He complained, that his repeated inſtances to eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip with the crown of Ruſſia had been treated with neglect; that, while he was negotiating in an amicable manner, and had not given the leaſt provocation, meaſures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender: and he finally told her, that if ſhe perſiſted in her deſigns, his admiral had orders to block up her ſhips in their harbours.

His majeſty, however, declared his intention of living in harmony and friendſhip with Ruſſia; he heartily wiſhed that her majeſty, reflecting on the true intereſt of her ſubjects, would permit them to enjoy the bleſſings of that peace, which they had purchaſed at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, under the conduct of the late Czar; and that, rather than enter into meaſures, which muſt inevitably plunge Ruſſia into a war, and involve the whole north in confuſion, ſhe would pleaſe to give her people and all mankind, convincing proofs of her quiet and peaceable inclinations.

Catherine, in her anſwer, expreſſed her ſurprize, that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter, until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her and the crown of Great Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armament, and expect her anſwer, before he had proceeded to ſuch a violent and offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him, that nothing was further from her thoughts, than to diſturb the repoſe of the north; that, on the contrary, all her care and attention was employed in its ſecurity and preſervation; and that with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and ſtale accuſation, which had frequently been uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps lately taken againſt the Ruſſian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his ſtation till October, when, having received intelligence that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter harbours, he ſet ſail for the coaſt of Denmark: and in the month of November arrived in England.

The affairs of the north did not engage his majeſty's whole attention: he had already equipped two other ſquadrons. One of theſe, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, and furniſhed with a body of land forces, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, who ſailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the Mediterranean, viſited the coaſts of Spain, over-awed the court of Madrid, cruized for ſome time between Cadiz and cape St. Vincent; but carefully abſtained from committing any act of hoſtility.

Another ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of war, was commanded by rear-admiral Hoſier, who ſailed in April for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, ſhould they preſume to come out, ſeize and bring them to England. He arrived at the Baſtimentos, near Porto Bello, in the the beginning of June; but, before he reached that place, an advice boat having given notice of his deſtination, the treaſure, amounting to twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama.

Theſe proceedings againſt Spain were occaſioned by the engagements which that court had contracted with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great Britain, and the deſigns formed in favour of the pretender, at the inſtigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and earl Mariſchal, who were then at Madrid. Philip, however, abſolutely denied, that any ſuch deſigns had been formed. He even diſmiſſed from his ſervice, though with a penſion of three thouſand piſtoles, the duke de Ripperda, who had dropped ſome expreſſions, that ſeemed to imply ſuch an intention. The duke, dreading the reſentment of the miniſtry, took refuge in the houſe of Vandermeer, the Dutch ambaſſador; but not thinking himſelf ſafe in that retreat, he fled to the houſe of colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter, under whoſe protection he was readily taken.

A ſtrong guard immediately ſurrounded and broke into the houſe, and dragging the duke from thence by force, committed him priſoner to the caſtle of Segovia. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spaniſh miniſters endeavoured to excuſe. Memorials and letters paſſed between the two courts on the ſubject; and every thing ſeemed to portend an immediate rupture. The king of Spain purchaſed ſhips of war; began to make preparations for ſome important undertaking; and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the caſtle of old Gibraltar. Mean while, the king of Sweden and the ſtates general acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the emperor, promiſing to ſupport the king of Pruſſia's pretenſions to the dutchies of Bergues and Juliers, prevented his joining in the treaty.

*A. D.* 1727. His majeſty in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, which met on the ſeventeenth of January, took notice of the diſagreeable ſituation of affairs at this juncture; and that however difficult and deſperate the enterprizes formed againſt them might appear, their being aſſured, that they were really projected, would, he was perſuaded, be ſufficient to induce them to put themſelves in a condition to reſiſt and defeat ſuch daring attempts: that, if preſerving a due ballance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce, againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a proteſtant people, were any longer conſiderations worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, he needed ſay no more to incite his loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert their beſt abilities in defence of them.

Addreſſes of thanks were preſented by both houſes, expreſſive of the utmoſt reſentment at the inſolent deſigns of his majeſty's enemies, and the moſt entire approbation of the meaſures he had taken in order to defeat and diſappoint them. The commons voted twenty thouſand ſeamen, and twenty-ſix thouſand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land ſervice; and a land tax of four ſhillings in the pound to defray the expence.

The debates this ſeſſion ran very high in the houſe of lords, concerning the letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the treaty of Hanover. When theſe papers were peruſed by the houſe, the lord Bathurſt obſerved, that the ſtates general had acted with remarkable caution and circumſpection in this whole affair: that they had not fully and entirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, ſince they had formally and expreſsly excuſed themſelves from the "general "guaranty of the treaties of Weſtphalia and "Olivia, in which, they ſaid, they were ne-"ver engaged;" and as to the buſineſs of Thorn, they had only promiſed to employ their friendly offices for obtaining reaſonable ſatisfaction; ſo that they had acceded only on account of the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Munſter for preſerving and maintaining their rights with reſpect to commerce; whereas, by the treaty of Hanover, Great Britain and France ſtood engaged to guaranty to the Dutch, not only the fifth and ſixth articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, but likewiſe the barrier treaty, and the treaty of Olivia, in favour of the proteſtants of Germany: that, in effect, the Dutch having bound themſelves to nothing, what they had done did not deſerve the name of acceſſion; the rather becauſe they had made it an expreſs condition, that their act of acceſſion ſhould be approved and ratified by the king of Great Britain, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia; that though this laſt potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet as no mention had been made of him, he could not tell what to ſay to that particular: that his miniſter, it ſeemed, had refuſed ſigning the act of acceſſion, probably on account of the Dutch excuſing themſelves from the general guaranty; but, let his reaſons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example

might

might be of dangerous conſequence; for, by a letter from the duke de Burnonville, the Spaniſh miniſter at Vienna, it appeared, that the Imperial court was not without hopes, that France might thereby think herſelf diſengaged from the Hanover alliance; in which event Great-Britain alone muſt bear the burden of an expenſive war againſt two of the greateſt potentates of Europe: that the Dutch receiving far greater advantages than Great-Britain, from the Eaſt-India trade, and conſequently being more concerned than her in the ſuppreſſion of the Oſtend company, they ought, at leaſt, to bear an equal ſhare with her in the expence of the war, and guaranty to her the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh guarantied to them their barrier: that, after all, he did not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with Spain: that the duke de Ripperda, indeed, might have dropped ſome indecent and indiſcreet expreſſions; but he was known to be a paſſionate man, and princes had a right to diſavow the indiſcretions of their miniſters, which the king of Spain had done in a moſt ſolemn manner, with relation to Ripperda: that it was univerſally acknowledged, that violent miniſters had done many unaccountable things; and if their idle talk and fooliſh expreſſions were a juſt foundation for war, nations would never be at peace: that, for ſome time paſt, the emperor had been treated very cavalierly by ſome perſons in this kingdom; and that, in the memorial, which the Spaniſh ambaſſador left behind him at his departure, it was ſtrongly inſinuated, that the violent ſtate, to which affairs were now reduced, was owing to the miniſters of England: that, in the ſame memorial, mention was made of a poſitive promiſe being given by the king of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar: that this, he apprehended, could not be ſaid without any foundation; and, therefore, it would be highly neceſſary to enquire, whether, in reality, ſuch a promiſe had ever been made; and whether any thing of that kind had been mentioned in the treaty concluded at Madrid: that, let that matter ſtand as it would, all poſſible methods of amicable accommodation ought, in his opinion, to be tried, before they engaged in a war, which, in their preſent circumſtances, might be attended with very dangerous conſequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of above fifty millions ſterling; and though they had been told of a ſinking fund applied to the gradual diſcharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wiſhed than expected, that the operation of that wiſe expedient ſhould not ſuffer any interruption by the exigencies inſeparable from a war: that one of the ableſt mathematicians in that kingdom had foretold, that, if ever England raiſed above five millions in a year, it would infallibly be exhauſted and ruined in a few years; but if, at this juncture, they ſhould engage in a war, and not meddle with the ſinking fund, according to the ſcheme propoſed by the miniſters, they muſt be obliged to raiſe, at leaſt, ſeven millions a year upon the people of England, the conſequence of which was equally obvious and alarming to any one, who admitted the principle of that great mathematician: that, in ſome of the papers laid before the houſe, mention had been made of great ſums of money diſtributed in divers places, in order to bring ſome meaſures to bear: that, for his own part, he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman; and as long, as he had the honour to ſet in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country: that, therefore, he would ſum up all he had ſaid, with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was one of the laſt conſequence to the nation. "What, ſaid he, can we get by "war, if it be ſucceſsful? I will ſay it in "one word, *Nothing*. What can we loſe, if "it be unproſperous? I will ſay it in a ſylla-"ble, *All*."

Lord Townſend, in anſwer to this ſpeech, ſaid, that as the treaty of Hanover was purely defenſive, it had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either between the contracting parties, or other ſtates and princes: that the ſole aim and intention of that alliance,

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was a reciprocal guaranty, for maintaining the dominions and countries, both in Europe and the Indies, of which each of the allies were actually poſſeſſed, at the ſigning of the treaty: that of conſequence, by acceding to this alliance, the crowns of Great-Britain and France became guarantees of the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Munſter, by which the Dutch were intitled to excluſive rights and privileges of trade in the Eaſt-Indies: but this guaranty was reciprocal between Great-Britain and the ſtates-general, ſince, by the treaty of 1677, Spain had granted to England the ſame rights and privileges, which the Dutch enjoyed by the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Weſtphalia; that, therefore, the ſuppreſſing of the Oſtend company, which manifeſtly invaded thoſe excluſive rights and privileges, was become a common cauſe between the Engliſh and the Dutch: that the concern of the former in that affair, was almoſt equal to that of the latter, ſince the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade brought about three hundred thouſand pounds a year into the cuſtoms; and as this was part of the general mortgage, if ſo conſiderable a branch ſhould be loſt, the ſinking fund would be deprived of that ſum yearly: that by former treaties, Great-Britain was guaranty to the Dutch for their barrier in the Netherlands, as, reciprocally, by the ſame treaties, the Dutch were guarantees for the proteſtant ſucceſſion; ſo that in theſe reſpects, the two nations were exactly upon a footing: that, indeed, by their act of acceſſion to the treaty of Hannover, the ſtates general had exempted themſelves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Olivia, to which they never ſtood engaged; but that nevertheleſs, by the ſame act, they bound themſelves to employ, jointly with Great-Britain and France, their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction and reparation with regard to the infractions which might have been committed in the treaty of Olivia: which was as much as the contracting powers had undertaken to perform, by the firſt ſecret article of the treaty of Hanover, and was, indeed, as little as the proteſtant potentates could do, in conſideration of the ſeverities lately exerciſed againſt the proteſtants of Thorn: that, with reſpect to the idle and indiſcreet expreſſions of the duke de Ripperda, they were not alledged as a juſt foundation for a rupture with Spain, but only as ſtrong and corroborating indications of an offenſive alliance between that prince and the emperor, of which there were, from other circumſtances, ſuch convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt of its reality: that with regard to the ſecret article of that alliance, in favour of the pretender, his majeſty had received, from ſeveral parts, ſuch poſitive and concurring informations, that if the public ſafety permitted him to lay thoſe advices before the houſe, they would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article, than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it; but he hoped that illuſtrious houſe would not think any of his majeſty's ſervants who had the honour to ſit among them, ſo audacious as to tell them downright untruths, or to preſume to impoſe upon their lordſhips, by alledging facts of ſo great importance, without ſufficient vouchers: that as to the other ſecret article of the offenſive alliance, relating to the ſupport of the Oſtend company, and the reſtitution of Gibraltar, the king of Spain and his miniſters were ſo far from denying it, that, on the contrary, they did not ſcruple publickly to avow and juſtify it: that, therefore, his majeſty could not, in prudence, omit to take early and proper meaſures to oppoſe an alliance ſo directly levelled againſt his crown and dignity, and ſo evaſive of the moſt valuable rights and privileges acquired to his ſubjects, by the moſt ſolemn treaties: that, at the ſame time, notwithſtanding theſe high provocations, his majeſty ſhewed his inclination and diſpoſition to an amicable accommodation; and with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; that, if the emperor would remove the Oſtend company to Trieſte, or any other place in his dominions, which did not formerly belong to the Spaniſh monarchy, Great-Britain would quietly acquieſce; but, inſtead of agreeing to this propoſal, thoſe two courts not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the Oſtend trade, but Spain, in the memorial preſented by

by their ambaſſador, inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended promiſe, that no where exiſted: and that, from all theſe circumſtances, he hoped it would evidently appear, that his majeſty was under an abſolute neceſſity of purſuing the reſolutions he had already adopted.

After conſiderable debates it was reſolved, that the meaſures, which his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain by ſolemn treaties; particularly of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. A proteſt againſt this reſolution was entered by ſeveral of the peers.

In the houſe of commons, the oppoſition conſiſted chiefly in making motions for addreſſes on ſeveral ſubjects: one, for a copy of the memorial preſented by Mr. Poyntz to the king of Sweden, and for the ſecret offenſive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; another, for the declaration, letters, and engagements relating to the reſtitution of Gibraltar, for which the court of Spain pretended a poſitive promiſe had been given; a third, for copies of ſuch memorials and repreſentations to his majeſty, as had induced him, in the courſe of the preceeding year, to to ſend a ſquadron into the Baltic; a fourth, for an account of the diſtribution of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds charged, in the ſtate of the money granted for the ſervice of the laſt year, in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. But all theſe motions were rejected by the majority; and the houſe concurred in an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, in which they approved of the ſteps he had already taken, and promiſed to ſupport him in all his meaſures to promote the welfare of his ſubjects.

His majeſty's ſpeech was much criticiſed and cenſured, both at home and abroad. The court of Vienna was ſo incenſed at ſome expreſſions, which his majeſty had uſed, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial reſident at London, was ordered to preſent a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people from their ſovereign. In this daring remonſtrance, the king was charged with having declared, from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, many things, the meaning of which was miſrepreſented, or which were wholly falſe in themſelves.

It was aſſerted by the memorialiſt, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance, and therefore could not, with any ſhew of reaſon, give umbrage to the king or people of Great-Britain: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of both parties, agreeable to the law of nations, and, in no reſpect, prejudical to the Britiſh nation; that there was no offenſive alliance concluded between the two crowns: and, that the ſuppoſed article, relating to the pretender, was a downright falſhood. He ſaid, that the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Weſt-Indies and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeemed to furniſh a very juſt pretence for that prince's undertaking the ſiege of Gibraltar; but, with regard to the inſinuation, as if his maſter had agreed to aſſiſt him, it was abſolutely without the leaſt foundation, the emperor having made no other engagements with the king of Spain, than what were ſpecified in the treaty communicated to the king of Great-Britain. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, that ſuitable reparation might be made to his honour, for the injury theſe groundleſs imputations had done it.

Every body was incenſed at this inſolent memorial. The two houſes of parliament joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation, at the arrogance of Mr. Palms, and aſſuring his majeſty, that this audacious manner of appealing to his people, and turning a memorial into a libel, was a proceeding that

filled them with the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. "The endeavouring," ſaid they, in their addreſs, "to inſtil into the minds of "any of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the "leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence of your majeſty's "moſt ſacred royal word, or to make a diſ-"tinction between your majeſty and your "people, is an attempt as vain, as it is pre-"ſumptuous. If time has not effaced the "memory of the glorious exploits, confeſſed "to have been performed by Britons, in "ſupport of the emperor, gratitude, eſteem, "and affection for this nation, will be beſt "manifeſted by doing honour to the king, "whom the people honour, and juſtice to "the people, whoſe rights and privileges "the beſt of kings is now defending againſt "the invaſions and incroachments that have "been made upon them."

Mr. Palms was commanded immediately to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were preſented by the miniſters of the emperor and the kings of Great-Britain and France to the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon; and ſuch perſonal reflections retorted between theſe potentates, that there appeared to be no proſpect of a reconciliation.

His majeſty now engaged more ſtrictly with the French king, in order to fortify himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm. He prevailed on the king of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover; to furniſh, as a member of that alliance, a body of five thouſand; and to hold in readineſs an additional body of ten thouſand troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds for three years, to be remitted in half yearly payments. He concluded a freſh treaty with the king of Denmark, who undertook to provide twenty-four thouſand auxiliaries, on account of a ſubſidy of three hundred and fifty thouſand rix-dollars for four years, to be paid by the French king.

The number and proportions of troops to take the field in caſe of a rupture, were aſcertained and determined. His Britannic majeſty engaged for four and twenty thouſand men, and a ſtrong fleet to be ſent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who promiſed to furniſh eight thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, in conſideration of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds to be paid by Great Britain immediately towards levying and equipping theſe forces, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe they ſhould be ſo required, excluſive of money for their pay and maintenance.

Mr. Scroope, ſecretary to the treaſury, made a motion in the houſe of commons, in order to ſupport theſe expenſive treaties, that in the malt tax bill, they ſhould inſert a clauſe of approbation, empowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements, which had been or ſhould be made before the twenty-fifth day of December next, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the public peace.

Violent debates enſued upon this motion. It was alledged on the one hand, that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expence, that he had aſked no more ſupplies in this ſeſſion than what he judged neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; but, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties, which his majeſty had thought fit to conclude, were not yet fully completed: that, therefore, they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies: that the houſe had frequently repoſed in him ſuch a confidence, which he had never abuſed: and that the time was very ſhort to which the preſent demand was limited.

The enemies to the motion inſiſted, that it was an unparliamentary proceeding, to aſk or grant ſupplies without an eſtimate: that ſuch a clauſe, as was now propoſed, was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbade iſſuing the ſupplies granted to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that approbation of the public money, which the wiſdom of all parliaments thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt miſapplication: that this embezzlement was

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the more to be feared, as no proviſion was made to call any perſon to account for the money that ſhould be diſpoſed of by virtue of this clauſe: that the parliament had already granted vaſt ſums, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could extend; and, if there ſhould happen any unexpected emergency, which might demand a farther ſupply, it might be provided in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required: that this might be done with leſs inconvenience, and with leſs danger of miſapplication, than by ſuch a delegation of an almoſt dictatorial power to the miniſtry: that this parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the intereſt and advantage of his people: that ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power, as this clauſe conferred, ought never to be given in a free government, but in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate was in danger: that the repoſing a confidence in the crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as, by the advice of profuſe miniſters may be ſquandered away, might be attended with great prejudice to the property of the ſubject and great danger to the conſtitution, which could not be preſerved, but by a ſtrict adherence to thoſe eſſential and parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating theſe ſupplies to purpoſes and occaſions publicly avowed and judged neceſſary: that the departing from this excellent method would, by degrees, render parliaments altogether uſeleſs: that the precedents alledged to juſtify the clauſe, were far from being pertinent and ſatisfactory; and, if they were, ought not to be followed: that clauſes of the ſame nature might become ſo frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and the miniſters an abſolute and uncontroulable power of raiſing money upon the people, which by the conſtitution is, and with ſafety can only be lodged in the whole legiſlature. The motion was, however, carried, and the bill, though vigorouſly oppoſed, paſſed the upper houſe alſo.

Sir William Younge, on the day following, moved, that towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, ſhould be raiſed by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged to the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament.

Sir Joſeph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney, in oppoſition to this motion, repreſented, that, by ſeveral votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſſes of public funds were to be applied towards diſcharging the public debts or encreaſing the ſinking fund: that this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extremely low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but weaken the ſecurity of the debt: that it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons who had the honour of being in the adminiſtration, and who could not have forgot, what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne at the opening of the ſeſſion; "that the produce "of the ſinking fund might be immediately "applied to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely "contrived, and to which it ſtood at preſent "appropriated:" and finally, that this motion was ſtill the more ſurprizing after the large and unlimited power, which his majeſty had lately received from the parliament.

To this it was replied, that the ſurplus of the duty on coals could not be conſidered as a part of the ſinking fund, ſince it had never been appropriated, but was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament. This reaſon was deemed ſatisfactory, and the motion was accordingly carried without any farther oppoſition.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion on the fifteenth of May, with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the zeal, liberality and diſpatch, with which they had furniſhed the neceſſary ſupplies; and acquainted them that the ſiege of Gibraltar was actually begun, by the Conde de las Torres, who, at the head of twenty thouſand men, had opened the trenches on the eleventh of February.

Gibraltar

Gibraltar was extremely well provided for defence; and the old earl of Portmore, the governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. At the ſame time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca; ſo that the garriſon amounted to ſix thouſand, who, being plentifully ſupplied with freſh proviſions from the coaſt of Barbary, rendered the efforts of the beſiegers ineffectual.

The ſtates general, being apprehenſive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, deſired the king to hold in readineſs, in caſe of neceſſity, the ten thouſand auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty. They were immediately prepared for embarkation; and the forces of Great Britain were augmented with thirty new raiſed companies. Sir John Norris ſet ſail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, where he was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron; but the court of Peterſburgh laid aſide their armament, on account of the death of the Czarina, which happened on the ſeventeenth of May.

The treaty of Hanover, being merely defenſive, did not deprive the powers who had engaged in it, of the liberty of uſing their utmoſt endeavours in order to effect an amicable accommodation. Accordingly, the king of France undertook this friendly office, which was conducted by the duke of Richlieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were mutually propoſed by the members of the Hanover alliance, and by the emperor and the king of Spain.

Twelve preliminary articles being at length agreed to, were ſigned in May at Paris by the miniſters of the allies, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. They imported in ſubſtance, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe: that the ſeveral powers ſhould continue in the full enjoyment of all rights and poſſeſſions ſecured to them by former treaties: and that a congreſs ſhould be opened in four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe.

The place of meeting was afterwards changed to Soiſſons for the conveniency of the French miniſters, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at court. The ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed after it had laſted four months, during which, about one half of the Spaniſh army was deſtroyed by ſlaughter or ſickneſs; while the loſs of the garriſon did not amount to four hundred men. The court of Madrid, however, ſtarted ſome new difficulties, and for ſome time refuſed to conſent to the reſtitution of the prince Frederic, the Engliſh South-ſea ſhip, which had been detained at la Vera Cruz, in the Weſt-Indies; ſo that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coaſt of Spain after raiſing the ſiege of Gibraltar. But theſe obſtructions were at length removed.

His majeſty, who had not been abroad for two years, reſolved to viſit his German dominions. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the ſeventh, ſet out on his journey to Hanover. On the ninth he arrived in apparent good health, between ten and eleven at night, at Delden.

His majeſty ſupped heartily, reſted well, and proceeded on his journey about four in the morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, and perceiving one of his hands to ſtand motionleſs, ſaid, "I can-"not move this hand." Mr. Fabrice, who attended him in the coach, rubbed it carefully, but without producing any good effect. He therefore called the ſurgeon, who followed on horſeback, and who began to rub it with ſpirits. In the mean time, the king's eyes began to ſtare, his mouth to be diſtorted, and his tongue to ſwell, ſo that he was deprived of the faculty of ſpeech. He was inſtantly ſeized with a fit of the palſy; and though recovered a little by opening a vein, he ſoon after became lethargic, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnaburg, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign; he died in his brother's

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Engravd for Clarendon's
History of England.

GEORGE II.

ther's palace, and was interred at Hanover, among his anceſtors.

George the firſt married Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his ſon and ſucceſſor George the ſecond, and the late queen of Pruſſia. She died on the ſecond of November of the preceding year, at the caſtle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunſwick, where ſhe had been confined for ſeveral years.

His majeſty was in his perſon, plain, in his addreſs, ſimple; of a compoſed and grave deportment, but in his hours of relaxation familiar and facetious. He was a wiſe politician, a couragious, yet cautious general, a juſt and merciful monarch. He loved his people, and, as far as his knowledge of the Engliſh conſtitution permitted him, made their happineſs the rule of his actions. If he appeared ſome times to ſwerve from the maxims of good government, his errors ought in juſtice to be attributed to thoſe miniſters, who ſometimes rather conſulted their own emolument, than their ſovereign's honour.

The chief among the political writers during this and the preceding reigns, were Swift, Steel, Addiſon, Bolingbroke and Trenchard: Atterbury, Clarke, Hoadley and others were eminent in divinity, while Prior, Row, Garth, Addiſon, Philips, Gay and Pope held the foremoſt rank as poets.

# GEORGE II.

A. D. 1727. GEORGE the ſecond was in the forty-fourth year of his age, when he ſucceeded his father on the throne. He had the ſatisfaction to find his ſubjects in general greatly prepoſſeſſed in his favour. Although when prince of Wales he had been, through an unhappy miſunderſtanding between the late king and him, in a great meaſure excluded from having any concern in the government, yet this defect in his education was in a great meaſure ſupplied by the ſtrength of his natural talents, which he was determined to exert in the moſt vigorous manner for the benefit of his ſubjects.

His majeſty declared in council on the fourteenth of June, that he was firmly reſolved to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to adhere to the alliances, which his father had contracted, and which had contributed, in a great meaſure, to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Next day the parliament met, in purſuance of the act of the fourth of queen Anne; but was prorogued, by commiſſion, to the twenty-ſeventh of the month. His majeſty's ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave an early omen of that paternal care, which he ever after exerted for the happineſs and welfare of his people, and of his tender regard for their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions. It appeared, however, that his plan of internal government would be the ſame with that of his father, and that with regard to foreign connections he was reſolved to purſue the ſame meaſures.

The commons having preſented their addreſſes of condoleance and congratulation, took into conſideration, a motion for the eſtabliſhment of the civil liſt. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year; that the houſe had been obliged to make up the deficiencies; and that his preſent majeſty's expences were likely to encreaſe, by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family. He therefore moved, to ſettle on the king, during life, the entire revenues of the civil liſt, producing about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

Great oppoſition was made to this motion

by the anti-courtiers in general, particularly by Mr. Shippen, who had made it a maxim for ſeveral years, to ſpeak indiſcriminately againſt all miniſterial meaſures. He launched out into high encomiums on the frugality and diſintereſtedneſs of queen Anne's adminiſtration, and drew a diſagreeable parallel between it and the preſent government.

The houſe, however, agreed to the motion; and a bill for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold was brought in. A meſſage being ſent to the commons from the king, deſiring them to make farther proviſion for the queen; they reſolved, that, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil liſt, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands of Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed agreeable to this reſolution, which, as well as the other, paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the ſeventeenth day of July; when the king, in a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with their conduct; thanked them for the proviſion they had made for the ſupport of his family and houſhold; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which it had acquired ſuch weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of Auguſt: but, on the ſeventh of that month, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs for calling a new parliament were iſſued.

His majeſty, in the interim, ſettled his miniſtry, his council, and his houſhold; and his manner of filling up the places in theſe ſeveral departments, plainly ſhewed he was reſolved to give the preference to the friends of his family and of public liberty. The duke of Newcaſtle, and the lord Townſend were declared ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Pelham, the duke's brother, was made ſecretary at war. The duke of Rutland was conſtituted chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter. Sir Robert Walpole retained the offices of chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury; and, by the union of theſe two great poſts in his perſon, was conſidered as prime miniſter of ſtate. The other lords of the treaſury were Sir Charles Turner, Sir George Oxenden, Mr. Doddington, and Mr. Clayton. Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the board of admiralty, the other members of which were, the lord Malpas, Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Cockburn, and Mr. Molyneux. The earl of Cheſterfield was nominated ambaſſador to the ſtates general, and the lord Carteret obtained the place of lord lieutenant of Ireland. The king and queen were crowned at Weſtminſter, with great ſolemnity, on the eleventh of October.

In the interim, the miniſtry greatly influenced the elections throughout the kingdom; and the new parliament meeting on the twenty-third of January, the commons choſe for their ſpeaker, Arthur Onſlow, Eſquire, knight of the ſhire for Surry, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and unblemiſhed integrity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that honourable and important office.

His majeſty, in his firſt ſpeech to the new parliament, obſerved, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and had been greatly concerned to ſee many of the inconveniences of a war attending his ſubjects, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained, or gaining in return, any of thoſe advantages which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them; that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and, though there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, yet was it abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the Engliſh nation many advantages, which would be entirely loſt through a diſcontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to ſet about this neceſſary and important work, as ſoon as the

intereſt

intereſt of his people would permit: that he begged leave to recommend to their conſideration, the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration, he ſaid, well worthy the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce: he hoped, they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital; and proceed in all their deliberations, with ſuch unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch, as to convince the world, that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or to fruſtrate their expectations from abroad, by exciting and fomenting jealouſies and diviſions at home.

The houſes ſeemed to rival each other in the loyalty of their addreſſes. They extolled their new ſovereign to the ſkies, and promiſed to ſupport him in all his undertakings. The commons voted twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-five men for the land ſervice, and fifteen thouſand ſeamen. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand, nine hundred and twenty three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the king of Sweden; and another of half that ſum to the duke of Wolfenbuttle. The expence of the year amounted to three millions, ſeven hundred and ninety-nine thouſand four hundred and fifty four pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, raiſed by the land tax, the malt tax, and by a loan from the bank, of one million, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for which annuities to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, were granted to the city of London, to be raiſed by the duty on coals.

Conſiderable oppoſition, however, preceded the grant of theſe large ſums. The number of land forces occaſioned a debate on the danger ariſing from the military eſtabliſhment; and the Heſſian auxiliaries were not allowed without a violent conteſt. When the loan of the bank came under conſideration, Mr. William Pulteney alledged, that the ſhifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; and that the ſinking fund, of which ſuch mighty expectations had been formed, was no other than a pompous project, which had increaſed the national debt from its firſt beginning.

A petition was preſented by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coal and culm imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, and an hardſhip upon the trading inhabitants; and praying the houſe would give them ſuch relief, as, in their wiſdom, they ſhould think proper. As a compliance with this requeſt would have entirely defeated the loan, the petititon was rejected, and the tax impoſed.

An account of the diſtribution of the money that had been granted the preceding year, was laid before the commons, in conſequence of an addreſs which they preſented to the king; but two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds being charged in general terms, as iſſued for the ſecurity of trade and navigation, they preſented a ſecond addreſs, deſiring a more diſtinct and exact account.

Sir Paul Methuen, by the king's command, in anſwer to the ſecond addreſs, acquainted the houſe, that the late king, his majeſty's royal father, having, on the like occaſion, received, from the laſt parliament, the moſt dutiful acknowledgements, of his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements, as he thought would moſt conduce to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their future ſupport, in all ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould find neceſſary for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majeſty, for iſſuing and applying ſuch ſums of money, as he ſhould find neceſſary for defraying ſuch expences, and fulfilling ſuch engagements, as had been, or ſhould be made for theſe great and neceſſary purpoſes; ſome part of the money, mentioned in the addreſs, had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty; and the remaining part had

been

been applied by his preſent majeſty, for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, for ſtrengthening his alliances, and performing engagements of the utmoſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and to the general tranquillity of Europe, and ſuch at the ſame time as required the greateſt ſecrecy. His majeſty, therefore, hoped, that the houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and reſt aſſured, that the money had been faithfully and neceſſarily expended, purſuant to the power given him by act of parliament, and for the uſes and purpoſes thereby directed; but that it would injure the public to give a particular and diſtinct account of it.

The gentlemen in the oppoſition took all poſſible advantages of this circumſtance. They affirmed, that the anſwer was vague, frivolous, and altogether unparliamentary, and might be made with equal propriety to every inquiry into the diſpoſal of public money: that, if ſuch anſwers were accepted, the parliament in reality reſigned the moſt valuable privilege, that of inquiring into the diſtribution of public money and the conduct of corrupted miniſters, into the hands of thoſe very miniſters themſelves.

On the part of the miniſtry it was urged, that the anſwer was conformable to another returned in the late reign to a like addreſs: that there was no more reaſon for diſtruſting his preſent majeſty, than there was for diſtruſting his royal father: that the commons were ſo well ſatisfied on that occaſion, that inſtead of expreſſing any ſymptoms of diſguſt, they returned the king an addreſs of thanks for his gracious anſwer: and that conſidering the various complications of intereſts on the continent, it was abſolutely impoſſible, that the public ſervice could be carried on, if every ſhilling of the money, expended for the benefit of the common cauſe and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, ſhould be publiſhed to the world. His majeſty's anſwer was hereupon accepted, by a great majority.

A committee of the whole houſe of commons having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, examined the accounts and interrogated the proper officers; a motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts, incurred before Chriſtmas, 1716, together with the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds to be iſſued at Lady-day next, amounted to ſix millions, ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty two pounds, five ſhillings, one penny, one farthing.

This motion was made with a view to expoſe the injuſtice of the clamour, which the oppoſition had raiſed, that the public debts had increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund: As this was the moſt plauſible topic of declamation againſt the miniſtry, and the point in which the public were moſt deeply intereſted, the anti-courtiers attempted to defeat the motion by the utmoſt exertion of their abilities.

They aſſerted that there was a fallacy and deceit in the very nature of the propoſal: that the public money had been expended with the moſt ſcandalous prodigality and profuſion: that, notwithſtanding the liberal grants which had been made by parliament, during the laſt and preſent reign; notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, the national debt was annually increaſing, even in a time of profound peace and tranquillity: that ſuch a circumſtance yielded but a very melancholy proſpect, inaſmuch as, at this rate, the public debts muſt increaſe ſtill faſter, in caſe of a foreign war or domeſtic commotion; ſo that the heavy and numerous taxes, with which the people were burthened, would be continued down to future times.

In ſupport of this argument, they agreed, that the better to ſwell the ſum ſaid to have been iſſued and applied towards the diſcharge of the public debts, incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, there were added to it about three millions, for the advanced price given in 1720, in order to convert the irredeemable debts into redeemable; that this, however, could not, with any propriety, be called a payment of thoſe debts: that, on the other hand, in the account of the preſent national debt, or of the encreaſe of that debt ſince Chriſtmas

Chriſtmas 1716, ſeveral large ſums were omitted, particularly one million, raiſed upon the credit of the civil liſt, and ſeveral deficiencies in the land-tax, malt-tax, and other funds, which certainly ſtill remained a public debt.

So good a defence was, however, made in behalf of the motion, by facts and figures, that, when a ſecond motion was made, by the oppoſition, for the ſpeaker to reſume the chair, the queſtion was carried in the negative by a majority of two hundred and fifty againſt ninety-ſeven; in conſequence of which the firſt motion was approved without any farther diviſion.

The next buſineſs of the committee was to draw up a repreſentation of the ſubject. They begun with ſome ſevere but juſt reflections againſt the inſidious arts that had been practiſed in order to miſlead the people in this important point. They ſaid, that this prevailing miſchief called for an immediate remedy, and made it neceſſary to enter into a ſtrict diſquiſition of the truth and certainty of theſe matters, that his majeſty might be thoroughly informed of the real ſtate of affairs, and his faithful and loyal ſubjects have the ſatisfaction to ſee how groſly the world had been deceived by the artful miſrepreſentations of ill-deſigning men; and that his enemies might be convinced, that the wealth and power of Great-Britain were not ſo exhauſted, as to render the nation, under his majeſty's happy government, leſs conſiderable and leſs formidable, than in the time of any of his royal predeceſſors. Then having ſtated the whole of the national debt, they inconteſtibly proved, that, ſince the twenty-fifth day of December, 1716, two millions, ſix hundred and ninety-eight thouſand, four hundred, and ſixteen pounds, nine ſhillings, ſeven pence three farthings of theſe debts had been actually diſcharged.

An addreſs being preſented to his majeſty on this occaſion, repreſenting the facts, he told them by way of reply, that he was highly pleaſed with this repreſentation, which could not fail to give general ſatisfaction to all his people, by removing thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions, which had been propagated and diſperſed throughout the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit were too ſenſibly felt and ſeen, not to be confeſſed, and acknowledged by every impartial perſon: that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing but ſome unforſeen event could altar or diminiſh it; a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged without the neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances: and that they might be well aſſured, that it ſhould ever be his particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, to be cautious of laying new burdens upon his people, and to increaſe the ſinking fund.

A meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe, was delivered on the fourth of May, by Sir Paul Methuen, deſiring they would advance him a ſum of money, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements he had contracted, with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament. This meſſage was productive of a long and violent debate, but notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſition, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty ſeven againſt one hundred and one, that his majeſty's requeſt ſhould be granted, and they accordingly paſſed a vote of credit.

The houſe of lords was chiefly buſied during this ſeſſion in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances, which the king had laid before them: they likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which, however, miſcarried in the ſequel. They paſſed the mutiny bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe having received the royal aſſent, the king cloſed the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighth day of April, when he thanked the members for their zeal, unanimity, and diſpatch.

*A. D.* 1728. By the death of Erneſt Auguſtus, biſhop of Oſnaburg, and only ſurviving brother of George the firſt, the proteſtant intereſt in Germany was conſiderably weakened. He was a prince of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, and, though reigning over a country inhabited almoſt equally by Papiſts

and proteſtants, he approved himſelf, during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, the common father of all his people. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his revenue, and the ſplendor of his court, which was always ſuitable to his rank and quality, he was ſo good an œconomiſt, as to leave behind him, at his death, no leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie. He was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologn, according to the pactum by which Oſnaburgh is alternately poſſeſſed by the houſe of Brunſwick, and that elector.

Prince Frederic, eldeſt ſon to his majeſty, who had hitherto lived at Hanover, arriving in England in the beginning of December, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, reſident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, becauſe his maſter had paid the honours due to the king of Great-Britain to the pretender, whom he had invited into his dominions.

The congreſs opened at Soiſſons for adjuſting all differences among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties and objections were ſtarted by the ſeveral plenipotentiaries, particularly by thoſe of Spain, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover, propoſed a proviſional treaty, concerning which no definitive anſwer was as yet given by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in ſuſpence: the Engliſh fleet lay inactive in the Weſt-Indies: the ſailors periſhed miſerably, without daring to revenge their country's wrongs; for the miniſtry were unwilling to engage in a war: and, in the mean time, cruel depredations on the trade of Great-Britain were made by the Spaniſh guarda coſtas.

Her Spaniſh majeſty, who was anxious to recover Gibraltar, and Portmahon, and procure a ſettlement for her ſon in Italy, ſeemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England; ſhe had renewed a good underſtanding with France, and now ſtrengthened her intereſt by a double marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this houſe was betrothed to the prince of the Auſturias, while the Spaniſh infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now beſtowed upon the prince of Brazil, eldeſt ſon of the king of Portugal.

The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, on the twenty-firſt of January, acquainted both houſes, that the plan of a proviſional treaty, had already been approved by him and his allies: but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, could have prevailed upon him, rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniences, with the daily proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into ſtill greater and more enormous expences: that he was ſorry to find, that the ſtate of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had, all of them, reſolved to make the ſame preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had ſome reaſon to believe, that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings, by the hopes, which were given them from hence, of creating diſcontents and diviſions among his ſubjects; but he was perſuaded, that their known affection for him, and a juſt regard for their own honour, and for the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation, would determine them effectually to diſcourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of ſome few, who did all in their power to diſtreſs their native country, and then magnified the very diſtreſſes which themſelves had brought about.

Theſe were the contents of a ſpeech which ſome conſidered as a compoſition of miniſterial craft, while others looked upon it as a plain declaration of the true ſtate of Europe, as far

far as Great Britain was concerned. The lords unanimouſly agreed to an addreſs: and the party among the commons, who were for pacific meaſures, extolled the wiſdom and prudence of his majeſty in induſtriouſly avoiding all occaſion of a war, of which the iſſue was, at the beſt, but precarious.

All parties, however, joined to cenſure the inſolence of Spain in attacking Gibraltar; and, as ſomething deciſive muſt happen very ſoon, and the nation had already waited ſo long, it was thought more adviſeable to wait a little longer before they ſhould reſolve to commence hoſtilities, Such were the political maxims which the miniſtry ſeem at that time to have adopted; but, however prudent they might be in themſelves, they afforded their enemies an excellent handle for declaiming againſt their conduct. The Spaniſh depredations in America were as diſgraceful as they were diſcouraging: and the nation was on fire to retort the injury. The oppoſition was ſenſible of this prevailing humour; nor did they fail to take every opportunity of expoſing the government, and dropping inſinuations, as if the people were compelled to ſacrifice the intereſt of their country to the caprice of one man.

To obviate ſuſpicions and remove prejudices of this nature, a motion was made in the houſe of commons for an addreſs to his majeſty, acknowledging his great goodneſs and wiſdom, in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the moſt expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soiſſons to a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion: expreſſing their grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's watchful care for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expenſive war, as long as there was any proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace; and finally aſſuring him, that the houſe, in an entire confidence of his majeſty's tender regard for his own honour, and that of the nation, reſted fully ſatified, that, as ſoon as neceſſity required, he would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of doing juſtice to himſelf and the nation, and of ſecuring the trade and commerce, on a ſolid and ſure footing.

Decent, proper, and loyal, as theſe expreſſions were, yet the oppoſition, in order to expoſe the conduct of the miniſtry, raiſed a debate upon a meer quibble. They moved, that his majeſty ſhould be addreſſed not to ſecure, but to reſtore the commerce of the kingdom. This cavil was evidently below the notice of criticiſm, yet it gave the anti-courtiers an excellent handle for declaiming on the depredations of the Spaniards, a circumſtance which the miniſtry could neither excuſe nor palliate.

Sir William Younge, in anſwer to their arguments, endeavoured to prove, that the diſcrimination between reſtoring and ſecuring commerce was a diſtinction without a difference; becauſe ſuppoſing, which he did not admit, that the Britiſh commerce was ruined, it muſt be reſtored before it could be ſecured. He ſaid, that what ever was juſt in the outcry againſt the Spaniſh depredations, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the intolerable avarice of ſome Engliſh interlopers, who carried on unlawful traffic with the ſubjects of Spian in America, to the great injury of the fair Britiſh trader, and in defiance of treaties, and the law of nations.

About this time, a pamphlet was publiſhed in behalf of the miniſter, and under his immediate countenance and inſpection; and was ſuppoſed to be the work of a prelate who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his political tracts againſt the tory miniſtry towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign. This pamphlet, though compoſed in a genteel and ſpirited ſtile, contained ſome capital inaccuracies, which the miniſter, who, in matters of that kind, was inexcuſably careleſs, had ſuffered to paſs uncorrected.

As it was, however, well known from what quarter it came, Mr. Thomſon and ſome others of the court members ventured to quote it in defence of the adminiſtration: in particular they mentioned ſome paſſages, tending to vindicate the miniſtry in that unpopular part of their conduct, the keeping admiral Hoſier's fleet ſo long on the coaſts of America in a ſtate of inactivity.

This impolitic proceeding gave great advantage to the gentlemen of the oppoſition. Mr. Pulteney,

Pulteney, by expoſing one palpable inconſiſtency in the pamphlet, that of confounding the Spaniſh flotilla with the galleons, turned the whole of the court writings into ridicule; and thereby weakened the influence, which they might otherwiſe have had upon the public. The abſtracts too, contained in the pamphlet, from admiral Hoſier's inſtructions, and thoſe of other ſea officers, were repreſented as unfair, becauſe the whole of their orders had not been exhibited. Captain, afterwards admiral Vernon, made a conſiderable figure in this debate. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the ſervice, and had few in the houſe, who could contradict him from their own experience, he endeavoured to prove, that the extracts from Hoſier's inſtructions were ſpurious, or if not ſpurious, that the inſtructions themſelves were abſolutely impracticable. The oppoſition were alſo aſſiſted in this diſpute by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls, of whoſe acceſſion to their party they were not a little vain. He was eſteemed an upright judge, and uncorrupt ſenator. His affection for the proteſtant ſucceſſion and the intereſt of his country, was never called in queſtion; and his knowledge both in law and equity was allowed to be great. With all theſe good qualities, he was but a weak politician, and a very indifferent ſpeaker. His prepoſſeſſions in favour of the old Whig principles were ſo ſtrong, that he could not bear the thoughts of England's detaching herſelf from the houſe of Auſtria, and joining her intereſt with that of Bourbon. This was a revolution in politics, which he could not comprehend, and which, in his opinion, endangered the conſtitution of the kingdom, the ſecurity of which, he ſaid, ought to be ſtill more dear to them than the ſecurity of commerce. In a word, the ableſt ſpeakers, on both ſides, exerted their utmoſt abilities in this trifling debate: but the queſtion being at laſt put, whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ninety-four againſt eighty-ſeven.

Though they had failed in this point, the oppoſition renewed their attacks with redoubled vigour, againſt the continuance of the ſame number of land forces which had been granted in the preceding year, amounting nearly to twenty three thouſand men. Had their arguments been as juſtly applied, as they were plauſibly urged, they muſt have been allowed to be altogether unanſwerable. But the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the ſtate of affairs in Europe, had received ſuch alterations ſince the times, from which their arguments were borrowed, that the reaſoning was abſurd, and the inferences inconcluſive. It was alledged, however, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that the court of Vienna, having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of the augmentation of the army, which the differences lately ſubſiſting between the houſe of Auſtria and the crown of Great Britain had occaſioned. It was obſerved, in reply, that, as no definitive reſolution had been taken by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, a reduction of the national troops, during ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, would only encourage the Imperialiſts and Spaniards to inſiſt upon higher terms, and make the latter, in particular, more inſolent and outrageous in the American ſeas. This argument was deemed ſatisfactory; and the houſe reſolved, to continue the former number of forces, *nemine contradicente*.

They now took into conſideration, the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops engaged in the ſervice of Great Britain. The anti-courtiers, after making the moſt ample profeſſions of their inviolable regard for his majeſty's honour, alledged, that the ſum demanded for the ſupport of thoſe troops, was too great, conſidering that the nation was, at that time, greatly burthened with taxes.

It was remarked by Mr. Pulteney, that as the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel uſually maintained a body of ſeven thouſand men, Great Britain ought only to pay for the five thouſand additional troops which he had raiſed, in conſequence of his convention with this kingdom: and that, with regard to the duke of Wolfenbuttle, the Engliſh, by paying him for four thouſand men, juſt enabled him to

to defray the expence of all the troops that he uſually maintained.

Sir Robert Walpole, in anſwer hereto, ſaid, that the meaſure of hiring German troops, had preſerved the peace of the empire, and the general tranquillity of Europe; and had induced the emperor to accept preliminaries for a general pacification, after having greatly augmented his own, and engaged the forces of three other electors in his ſervice.

Great oppoſition was made to this meaſure, even by ſome of the old Whig members, who thought it both diſgraceful and burthenſome to the nation. Notwithſtanding all their objections, the houſe reſolved, by a great majority, to continue the pay of the twelve thouſand Heſſians, as well as the ſubſidies to Sweden and Wolfenbuttle. The king, however, was requeſted, in an addreſs, that, whenever it ſhould be neceſſary to take into his ſervice any foreign troops, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his endeavours, that they might be cloathed with the manufactures of Great Britain.

As the Spaniards ſtill continued and increaſed their depredations, the anti-courtiers laboured to perſuade the people, that theſe outrages were entirely owing to the tame conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, who were afraid of coming to a rupture with Spain. The truth is, the miniſtry had been rather too averſe to violent meaſures. They believed, and not without reaſon, that moſt of the captures were of ſuch ſhips as had been concerned in an illicit trade; and therefore they were backward in engaging in a war, on account of theſe veſſels only.

But as it happened that ſome of the veſſels which the Spaniards had taken, were engaged in a lawful trade, the oppoſition laid hold of this circumſtance, and improved it ſo much to their own advantage, and the prejudice of the miniſters, that the people in general were filled with indignation. Petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade, for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the



Weſt Indies. Theſe being conſidered, the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the ſame kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congreſs at Soiſſons; and addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all the letters and inſtructions which had been ſent to admiral Hoſier, and thoſe who ſucceeded him in the command of the ſquadron in the Weſt Indies.

When the proper informations were obtained, they enquired into particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations; for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction; and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The king aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſo much importance; and in another addreſs, they returned their thanks to his majeſty for his reply to the former.

When the commons had proceeded farther in their enquiry, and the merchants had preſented freſh petitions to them, they agreed to the following reſolutions: that ſeveral ſhips, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the merchants of this kingdom trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had been taken by the Spaniards, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for which no reſtitution has as yet been made: and that the maſters and crews of ſeveral of the ſaid ſhips had been barbarouſly and inhumanly treated: that, in order to take the neceſſary care of the intereſts and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects, and thoſe of his allies, who were deeply concerned in the cargo and effects belonging to the flota and galleons; and to the end that the ſaid treaſure ſhould not be employed in carrying on and ſupporting dangerous meaſures and engagements againſt his majeſty and his allies; the orders and inſtructions given to vice admiral Hoſier, to block up the flota and galleons, and to endeavour to ſecure and detain them,

without embezzlement, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his majeſty and his allies, were juſt, prudent and neceſſary; tending very much to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Theſe reſolutions were communicated in an addreſs, to his majeſty, who was again requeſted to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction to the unhappy ſufferers; and he promiſed that no endeavours ſhould be wanting on his part.

A more private, but in its nature, a more important affair now engaged the attention of the commons. Mr. Oglethorp, having been informed of ſhocking cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed by goalers upon their priſoners, moved for an examination into the ſtate of the goals of the kingdom.

The firſt viſit was to the fleet priſon, whither they went in a body, and found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge, the Warden, to whom he had given ſome ſlight cauſe of offence. They made a diſcovery of many inhuman barbarities committed by that ruffian, and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of extortion villainy, and fraud of every kind.

The houſe reſolved, upon a report of the committee, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the fleet, had wilfully permitted ſeveral priſoners to eſcape; had been guilty of the moſt notorious breaches of truſt, great extortions, and the higheſt crimes and miſdemeanours in the execution of his office: that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and deſtroyed priſoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation of the laws of the kingdom.

A reſolution of the like kind, was paſſed againſt John Huggens, late warden of the Fleet priſon, alſo againſt James Barnes, William Pindar, John Everett, and Thomas King, who had been their accomplices in theſe barbarities. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he would order his attorney-general, to proſecute theſe delinquents, who were committed to Newgate. A bill was prepared for diſabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden: another for the better regulating the Fleet priſon; and for more effectually preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the ſaid priſon.

On a complaint of deficiencies in the civil liſt revenue, ſome members moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him to order an account of theſe revenues for one year to be laid before the houſe. The addreſs was preſented; the account produced; and the houſe, in a grand committee, took the affair into conſideration. The miniſtry affirmed, that they fell ſhort of the eight hundred thouſand pounds ſettled upon his majeſty; and therefore moved, that the deficiencies might be made good by a grant, to the king, of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds.

The members in the oppoſition were remarkably ſtrenuous againſt this motion. They ſaid it had never been inſinuated, that the duties and revenues, granted for the ſupport of the civil liſt, fell ſhort of eight huudred thouſand pounds a year, but on the contrary, were always ſuppoſed to exceed that ſum. The miniſtry on the other hand, appealed to facts, and to the examinations of the ſeveral officers of the revenue, which the houſe had taken. Theſe were ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that the motion was approved by a great majority.

The enemies of the miniſtry did not fail to impute to bribery and corruption that majority by which they carried every intereſting queſtion. This clamour, however ill founded, became at laſt ſo general, that the oppoſition reſolved to convert it to their own advantage. With this view, a bill was produced by Mr. Watkins William Wynn, for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections. As nothing could be more unexceptionable than the title of this bill, they imagined, that if the miniſter ſhould oppoſe it, he would encreaſe ſtill farther the popular clamour againſt him, and if he ſuffered it to paſs, he would thereby diminiſh his own influence. The miniſtry was too ſagatious not to perceive, and too wiſe to think of diſappointing their intention; and the bill accordingly paſſed through the houſe withour oppoſition.

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In the upper houſe, the oppoſition was equally violent, and equally weak. The court of Spain had ſtrongly inſiſted on the reſtitution of Gibraltar, in conſequence of a poſitive promiſe, which, they alledged, the late king had given in a letter to his Catholic majeſty. From a copy of this letter, which was now laid before the houſe, it plainly appeared, that nothing could be more abſurd and ridiculous than the pretenſions of the court of Madrid. His majeſty had only ſaid, that he would make uſe of the firſt favourable opportunity to regulate the article of the reſtitution of Gibraltar, with the conſent of his parliament. The promiſe, therefore, was no other than conditional; and, without conſent of parliament, could never be ſuppoſed to bind the king.

This letter, however, furniſhed the lords in the oppoſition with a pretence to declaim againſt the miniſtry, and to propoſe a motion, that, for the honour of his majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken in the preſent treaty, that the king of Spain ſhould fully renounce all claim and pretenſion to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca.

This motion was rejected by the lords on the beſt and moſt ſolid grounds. They thought, that Great-Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, to Gibraltar and Minorca, than ſhe poſſibly could have by any perſonal act or renunciation of his Catholic majeſty. The deſiring any ſuch act would imply a kind of invalidity of the right, by which theſe poſſeſſions were already held. The king and kingdom of Spain, no doubt, would readily embrace the firſt opportunity of endeavouring to recover theſe places; nor would any renunciation, however ſtrong and peremptory, prevent their laying hold of ſuch an occaſion, whenever it ſhould offer. Beſides, ſhould his Catholic majeſty, as there was reaſon to believe he would, refuſe to grant any ſuch renunciation, as was now propoſed, the title by which Great-Britain held her conqueſts, would be thought a very weak one, by all Europe.

For theſe reaſons, therefore, the motion was rejected, though a proteſt was entered by ſeventeen peers. Their lordſhips, however, agreed to a reſolution, in which they were joined by the commons, that they entirely relied upon his majeſty, that he would take eſpecial care to preſerve his right to Gibraltar and Minorca, for the ſake of the honour and trade of the kingdom.

When the papers relative to the Spaniſh depredations came to be examined, the lords in the oppoſition made a motion to reſolve, that the expence of the ſquadron ſent to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Hoſier, having been borne by this nation alone, though deſigned to prevent the Spaniards from ſeizing the effects belonging to his majeſty's allies, as well as his ſubjects, which were on board of the flota and galleons, and from applying the treaſure to diſturb the peace, and invade the liberties of Europe, had been an unreaſonable burden on this kingdom. This motion, after conſiderable debates, was likewiſe rejected, and a proteſt was entered by ſome of the peers.

This defeat, however, ſerved but to inſpirit the oppoſition, who renewed their attacks againſt the bill paſſed by the commons, granting to his majeſty one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds towards making good the arrears of the civil liſt revenue. They alledged, that the act eſtabliſhing that revenue, provided only, that, ſhould it fall ſhort of the whole ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, for any one year, the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied out of the next aids granted by parliament; but that no ſuch deficiency appearing to have happened within the year, the ſum now voted was, in fact, a new grant to the crown: and that, in any event, the grant was unparliamentary, as the method by which it was demanded by the crown and propoſed to the parliament, was irregular.

In anſwer hereto it was ſaid, that large arrears, not paid in time, to anſwer the immediate exigencies of government, were, in fact, deficiencies; ſo that the real arguments againſt the grant were only applicable to the miſapplication of the terms; eſpecially as

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care had been taken in drawing up the bill to make proviſion for repaying the money to the public, out of any ſum that might be in arrears at the time of the king's death.

This was the ſubſtance of the arguments on both ſides, though the oppoſition took occaſion to throw many invidious reflections on the miniſtry, whom they accuſed of weakneſs, prodigality and corruption. It muſt be owned indeed, that the meaſure itſelf, however juſt and reaſonable, was liable to exception, with regard to the manner of propoſing it to the parliament. Perhaps the great ſums which his majeſty was obliged to expend, in order to maintain the tranquillity of Europe, might have encouraged the miniſter, upon this occaſion, to hazard a ſmall ſtretch of his parliamentary intereſt. The bill, however, paſſed the houſe of lords by a conſiderable majority, but was proteſted againſt as uſual.

*A. D.* 1729. On the ſeventeenth of May the king went to the houſe of peers, when, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions, he ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament.

The queen being appointed regent, his majeſty ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the ſame month, in order to remove a ſlight miſunderſtanding, which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia; and the regency of Hanover had ſeized ſome Pruſſian officers in return.

Nothwithſtanding the ineffectuality of the congreſs at Soiſſons, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, importing, that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, ſhould be as amply confirmed, as if they had been expreſsly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties ſhould guaranty to each other their reſpective dominions; and, in caſe of either of them being attacked, the other ſhould furniſh to the party ſo invaded, a body of twelve thouſand men: that all ſuch engagements contracted by his Britannic majeſty in conſequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were inconſiſtent with the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, ſhould be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould be reſtored to its former footing; and orders ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched on all ſides for that purpoſe: that his Catholic majeſty ſhould make reparation for all the damages, that had been done by his ſubjects to thoſe of the other two parties: that commiſſaries ſhould be nominated with ſufficient powers on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhould aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the exchange of the ratifications, or ſooner if poſſible, to examine and decide whatever concerned the ſhips and effects taken on either ſide: that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe examine and decide, according to the treaties, the reſpective pretenſions, which relate to the abuſes that were ſuppoſed to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other reſpective pretenſions in America, founded on treaties, whether with reſpect to the limits, or otherwiſe: that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe diſcuſs and decide the pretenſions, which his Catholic majeſty might have, by the treaty of 1721, to the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in 1718: that the ſaid commiſſaries, after having examined, diſcuſſed, and decided the above mentioned claims and pretenſions, ſhould make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who, by the preſent treaty, promiſed, that, within the ſpace of ſix months after making the ſaid report, they would cauſe to be executed, punctually and exactly, what ſhould have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſaries: that ſix thouſand of his Catholic majeſty's troops ſhould, without loſs of time, be ſent to garriſon Leghorn, Porto-Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia; which troops ſhould ſerve for the better ſecuring and preſerving the ſucceſſion of the ſtates, in favour of the infant Don Carlos, and ſhould be ready to withſtand any enterprize or oppoſition that might

might be formed to the prejudice of what had been regulated touching the ſucceſſion: that the contracting powers ſhould take the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, to admit theſe garriſons upon their promiſing to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that ſhould not be contrary to the right of ſucceſſion, reſerved to the infant Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle, directly or indirectly, in the government of the places where they ſhould be garriſoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma all the honours that are due to ſovereigns in their own dominions: that his Catholic majeſty ſhould withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion of thoſe territories ſhould be quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don Carlos: that the contracting powers ſhould become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, after he had once obtained them: that the kings of Great Britain and France ſhould ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhould be concerted between his Catholic majeſty and the two dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, relating to the ſaid garriſons: and that the ſtates general of the United Provinces ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which ſhould not exceed ſix months.

This is the ſubſtance of the famous treaty of Seville, which, aided by other events that ſoon after happened, produced ſuch a conſiderable change in the ſtate of affairs in Europe.

His majeſty on the thirteenth of January, at the meeting of parliament, acquainted both houſes that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them, that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt: and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction both of his land and ſea forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of the public credit, and the hardſhips of the manufacturing and labouring poor.

The commons having taken into conſideration the treaty of Seville, the court party moved for a very particular and loyal addreſs of thanks, conceived almoſt in the very terms of his majeſty's ſpeech. The motion was violently oppoſed by the country party, who propoſed ſimply to aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government, and family; and of their readineſs to ſupport him in all meaſures which ſhould be neceſſary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the intereſt and welfare of his people.

To ſhew the propriety of this alteration, they reflected on the ſubſtance of the treaty, which had for ſome time been ſubmitted to the candour of the public. Sir John Hind Cotton, a ſharp, ſarcaſtic, but ſuperficial ſpeaker, was generally conſidered as one of the chief tories in the houſe, and was always eager to join any oppoſition to the government. He ſaid, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty, in calling the peace an abſolute one; in as much as the moſt important intereſts of Great Britain were left to a future diſcuſſion. The miniſter maintained that the peace was abſolute, and that no difficulties could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them, by the diſſentions that might happen in Great Britain. The queſtion being at laſt put, whether to draw up the addreſs in the original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-two againſt one hundred and twenty-nine.

A violent debate was alſo occaſioned in the houſe of lords, by the treaty of Seville. It was alledged by the oppoſition, that his Imperial majeſty would certainly detach himſelf from the intereſts of a people, whoſe miniſters had concluded a treaty ſo eſſentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was anſwered, that there neither was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the em-

peror was ſincerely and honeſtly reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion of the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; that introducing Spaniſh inſtead of neutral troops into the garriſons of thoſe dominions could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had, in the ſtrongeſt manner, ſtipulated the recalling thoſe troops as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the dutchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured: and finally, that, though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion and the quadruple alliance; yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatisfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations far more worthy notice, than what the emperor's pride or ambition might induce him to ſay or do on the ſubject,

Great complaints were alſo made againſt the ſixth article, obliging the merchants and others who had ſuffered by the Spaniſh depredations, to repair to the court of Madrid, in order to make proof of their loſſes. This, it was ſaid, was not only a hardſhip upon the ſufferers, but even derogatory to the honour of the nation. The objection, however, was altogether ridiculous and abſurd. It was neceſſary that the merchants ſhould apply where alone they could have redreſs. The commiſſaries were to meet at the court of Spain: they could not properly meet any where elſe, becauſe the validity or invalidity of the captures, which had been made, muſt be diſcuſſed in thoſe courts where the proofs were lodged; and the law of nations eſtabliſhes the ſentence of the admiralty of that nation by whom the capture is made, to be final in all caſes and in all countries. If the ſubjects of Great Britain had made prize of the Spaniſh ſhips, the matter muſt have been determined in England.

On this occaſion alſo, the anti-courtiers mentioned the miniſtry's having omitted to oblige the crown of Spain to make a formal renunciation of all claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, but that was anſwered by the very ſame arguments, that had formerly induced the houſe to reject the motion for inſiſting on ſuch a conceſſion.

The noblemen of the oppoſition failing in point of argument, had recourſe to the next expedient, that of making motions. They moved, that in the agreement of the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe. This motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt thirty one.

Their ſecond motion was that Great-Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca, was not aſcertained, ſo as to extinguiſh the claims and pretenſions which the Spaniards had ſet up, and which had been followed by an actual ſiege, ſince the ceſſion of thoſe valuable places by the treaty of Seville, for repairing the loſſes of the Britiſh merchants, were inſufficient and precarious; but this alſo was rejected by a majority.

It was now moved and carried in favour of the miniſtry, that the treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, concluded at Seville, did contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants.

Vandermeer, ambaſſador from the ſtates general to the court of Spain had, by this time acceded to the treaty; and the ratification of this act was laid before the parliament on the twenty third day of January. This acceſſion, however, was not obtained, till their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties had prevailed upon the king of Spain to join them in their endeavours to procure to the republic an entire ſatisfaction with regard to the trade and navigation of the Eaſt-India Oſtend company, and the ſettlement of the affairs of Eaſt-Friſeland. The ſtates were to furniſh, as their quota, a body of five thouſand men; and, in caſe they ſhould be attacked on account of their preſent acceſſion, the

the other acceding powers were to lend them their aſſiſtance.

The oppoſition in the houſe of commons took occaſion, from the negotiations, to ſay that the miniſtry were playing a hidden game; and therefore they moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him to communicate to the houſes any engagements he might have contracted for the payment of ſubſidies to foreign princes or the hire of foreign troops, which had not already been ſubmitted to their inſpection. This motion was conſidered as highly indecent, and implying a mean ſuſpicion of his majeſty: and accordingly it was thrown out upon a previous queſtion by a majority of two hundred againſt one hundred ſeven.

The kings of England and Spain had imagined that the court of Vienna might be perſuaded to acquieſce in the treaty of Seville; but they ſoon found they were diſappointed in their expectations. The emperor filled all Europe with reſcripts and remonſtrances againſt the indignity that had been offered to the Imperial court and the Germanic body by that negotiation. He was anſwered by the French miniſters, who denied ſome facts charged upon the allies of the Seville treaty; and affirmed in general, that nothing had been done, but what the emperor himſelf was ready to have performed, had certain conditions eſſential to the intereſts of his family, been granted. This recrimination ſerved rather to exaſperate than convince the court of Vienna. They began to prepare themſelves for war; and as they were in want of money a negotiation was carried on in England to borrow four hundred thouſand pounds for their uſe.

The miniſtry were alarmed, and began to conſider the probable conſequences of this loan; they imagined that the money was to be employed either againſt the tranquillity of England, or, at leaſt, in a war, which muſt certainly affect his majeſty's electoral dominions; in order to prevent theſe dangerous conſequences, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prevent any ſubjects of Great-Britain from advancing any ſums of money to foreign princes or ſtates, without having obtained licence from his majeſty, under his privy ſeal, or ſome greater authority. Subſcribing, however, to the public funds or trading companies of foreign nations was not to be prevented by this prohibition.

This bill was violently oppoſed on the ſecond reading. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who, in foreign affairs, was conſidered as the oracle of the party, ſpoke againſt it with great vehemence. He ſaid, that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: that the article of lending money was ſo advantageous, that the Dutch, when themſelves were engaged in war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms and ammunition to the enemy: that the bill would diſable the Britiſh merchants from lending money to his Portugueſe majeſty; a reſtriction that might be attended with very bad conſequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the miniſtry with too great and extenſive a power: and that the licenſing buſineſs might produce twenty, thirty, or forty thouſand pounds a year, to the miniſter.

In anſwer hereto, it was obſerved, that if the emperor could have borrowed money in Holland, where the people would have been glad to lend it him at three per cent, he never would have applied for it in England, where he muſt pay four: that, if the Dutch, when at war with the Spaniards, had actually furniſhed them with money, arms, and ammunition, it was a very bad, and a very impolitic meaſure: that ſome ſuch practices, perhaps, might, in the late war, have been carried on by a few private Dutch merchants; but that all England, all Europe, nay their own government, had blamed and cenſured them for ſuch a perfidious conduct: that, as to his Portugueſe majeſty, it was ſtill in the power of the crown to enable any ſubject to lend money to a friend; nor could the king be ſo much his own enemy, as to abuſe the power with which this bill would inveſt him, in denying any ſubject the liberty of placing out his money to the beſt advantage: that the licenſing trade, if ſuch it might be called, could

could not poſſibly be attended with ſuch exorbitant profits, as had been inſinuated: that, even allowing a million of money, a ſum double what could be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be borrowed by any foreign prince, were the crown to get forty-thouſand pounds, even ſuppoſing the money lent at five per cent. there would remain only one per cent. for the lender.

But the moſt weighty argument againſt this bill was that, while it reſtrained the merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the ſtock jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Mr. Pulteney, laying hold of this circumſtance, ſaid, that he well knew for whoſe benefit this compliance was intended; but jobbing abroad in the ſtocks of foreign nations was what the government ſhould leaſt encourage, and what they ought principally to prohibit; for the nation had ſuffered ſeverely by that means already; nor had the miniſtry ever given them any relief or aſſiſtance; that the Engliſh had been egregiouſly deceived by the French, in the affair of the Miſſiſſippi, by receiving paper inſtead of ſpecie: and the miniſtry had been inexcuſably negligent in that particular; for they had never even endeavoured to procure redreſs to the ſufferers.

This argument, good as it was, came with a very bad grace from thoſe who oppoſed the bill, and who endeavoured to maintain the abſolute neceſſity of leaving the trading part of the nation at entire liberty. The chief defect in the bill, and that of which the miniſtry were moſt apprehenſive, was, that it allowed of any dealings in the funds of foreign nations; becauſe, while ſuch dealings were ſuffered, it would be eaſy for any Engliſhman inclined to lend his money to the emperor, to elude the force of the act. The oppoſers of the bill, however, did not puſh this objection ſo far as it might have been carried; afraid, perhaps, leſt the miniſtry might have taken them at their word, a circumſtance which would have deſtroyed their popularity with the monied people.

The neceſſity of the meaſure at that particular time, was, therefore, the argument that Sir Robert Walpole conſtantly uſed in his ſpeeches in ſupport of this bill. An exception being propoſed, by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor ſolely, without extending to other powers, Sir Robert ſaid, that the circumſtance of any prince, ſtate, or potentate, being equally intended with the emperor, was no objection to the bill in queſtion: that the deſign of it, indeed, was to prevent a war with that prince; but to name him in the preſent caſe, diſtinctly from others, would amount to a full declaration of war; and, beſides one prince might borrow money for another, and elude the ſpirit of the law: that, with regard to the king of Portugal, or any other prince in alliance with Great Britain, his majeſty would readily grant his permiſſion for loans to his faithful allies: that after all, the law would not be put in execution, but in caſe of apparent neceſſity: if the emperor gave his majeſty reaſon to oppoſe his intentions, it might produce a future proclamation: this, however, was eventual: it might or it might not happen; and, if ever it ſhould happen, no ſubject of Great Britain, no Britiſh merchants abroad, could offend through ignorance of ſuch a proclamation: the bill was drawn with a blank, to be filled with a proper limitation of time, before the law ſhould take place; and that limitation might be ſo large and extenſive, that merchants abroad might be fully informed of the terms, which the law had preſcribed. He added, that, for his own part, he was not ſo converſant in the law as ſome other gentlemen, who could juſtly ſupport the bill in its proviſion for a proper diſcovery of evidence by precedents; he was a ſtranger to that particular; he himſelf remembered the act to prevent the ſubjects of Great Britain from trading in the Oſtend company: that there the ſame method of diſcovery was provided; and ſhould not the public detect ſuch a criminal commerce with a powerful and national enemy, when they were allowed to do ſo againſt a little interloping company? that the bill was far from ſetting up a court of inquiſition, or laying either hardſhips or ſeverities upon any man; it was only to prevent the fraudulent conducting of concealed tranſactions: it involved the party in no other penalty than one, which he

he could not incur but through conſcious guilt; and one, at the ſame, which he might eaſily avoid, by purging himſelf of the crime: that this penalty, beſides, was ſtill to be limited by the authority of the houſe; and had no other end than to be ſuch a tax upon loans as might make it unprofitable to advance them for the higheſt premiums or intereſt; that the proclamation provided in the bill was the ſame as by law had been uſual in the caſe of quarantine, in apprehenſions of a peſtilence, and as a prevention of any contagious diſtempers: that it was a reaſonable remedy on all ſuch appearances of danger: that nevertheleſs, it would not be employed, except the grievances that were dreaded rendered it neceſſary.

The next ſpeaker, a gentleman of the oppoſition, ſaid, that he had a point of order to debate: that the honourable gentleman had brought in the name of the king, to influence their deliberations, contrary to the ſtanding rule of the houſe: that it was an old and conſtitutional maxim, that the name of the king ſhould never be uſed upon any occaſion, to over-awe their proceedings, or to influence their debates: that, if the honourable gentleman had been properly careful of his majeſty's honour, he would not have mentioned his name in the preſent caſe; he would have informed the houſe of the evidence he had, and regularly have ſubmitted it to their conſideration: that whatever that evidence might be, he ſuppoſed it might come from foreign miniſters; and he thought the houſe ought to have it opened in a proper parliamentary manner: that, for his own part, he was againſt the bill; he thought it reſtrained commerce, which they might as juſtly prohibit in every inſtance, as in that before them.

In anſwer hereto, Sir Robert ſaid his meaning had been miſunderſtood: that what he had ſaid was ſtrictly conſiſtent with the rules of parliament: he well knew and duly obſerved the orders of the houſe: that he had not brought in the name of his majeſty to influence gentlemen, nor over-awe the debates: that he had mentioned the poſitive aſſurances, which had been received; not as a meſſage from the king, but by his majeſty's leave; not by his command, but only by his permiſſion; that the ſtation he was in obliged him to aſk that permiſſion; becauſe, by his oath, he was bound to keep the king's counſels ſecret: that he, therefore, had aſked this liberty from his majeſty yeſterday morning, apprehending the debate of this day would require him to mention it; and that the importance of the bill under conſideration, was all he endeavoured to prove.

Mr. Plummer, one of the moſt ſenſible ſpeakers in the oppoſition, declared, that he was far from diſapproving of the bill: he only thought it gave too much power to the miniſtry; and that it ought not to be carried into execution by a proclamation, a method which had an arbitrary look, and had, during the reign of the Stuarts, given great diſſatisfaction.

Mr. Pelham, the ſecretary at war, replied to this, that the friends to the bill had no intention to make the miniſtry judges in matters that could be decided by the houſe: that it was in tenderneſs to the people, that a proclamation was propoſed, as being a more expeditious method, than any other, to put them upon their guard: that it was to be hoped the affair might yet be adjuſted without a proclamation; and if the houſe, inſtead of making it eventual, would conſent to paſs it immediately, that method ſhould meet with no oppoſition from him.

It was ſtrongly urged by Mr. John Barnard, (afterwards Sir John, member for London) that paſſing the bill in its preſent form, would open a channel for the dutch to carry on a very lucrative branch of buſineſs, to the prejudice of England: that the emperor ought to be mentioned by name, as the power prohibited to borrow; otherwiſe all the ſtates of Europe would think themſelves equally injured by the act, which would give it an air as if England was at war with the whole world: that he could not approve of the expedient of making the exchequer a court of inquiſition: he conceived it to be an odious meaſure, and unknown to the Britiſh conſtitution, that perſons ſhould be obliged

to accuſe themſelves, and thereby incur the moſt ſevere penalties: that he knew, indeed, there were ſuch precedents already; but that was ſo much the worſe: precedents could not alter the nature of things; and he thought that precedents ſhould never be put in competition with the liberties of his country.

In anſwer to Mr. Barnard, Sir Philip Yorke, the attorney general, obſerved, that if the ſtates general ſhould act as good allies to England, and well wiſhers to the liberties of Europe, they would certainly come to ſome reſolution of the ſame nature with that of the bill in queſtion: that the miniſtry were ſufficiently juſtified in drawing the bill, not only from reaſon, and the fitneſs of things, but alſo from the common law of the kingdom: that his majeſty had a lawful prerogative to recall his ſubjects by proclamation from the ſervice of foreign ſtates; and ſhould he not likewiſe have a power to prohibit them from lending money to thoſe ſtates? the rather, as money might be more uſeful to the enemy, and more dangerous to their country, than even the ſervice of their perſons: that, in Ireland, the parliament had made it high treaſon to inliſt men for foreign ſervice, without licence obtained from the crown; and ſurely a reſtraint upon money, the ſinews of war, was highly expedient every where: that the law was deſigned only to avert an impending evil, and was not to be eſtabliſhed in perpetuity: that there was no other way, in the preſent caſe, of making the law effectual, than by diſcovering evidence by Engliſh bill in the court of exchequer; and that, without that clauſe, the bill would be uſeleſs, and ought to be thrown out: that he begged leave to remind the houſe of the memorial bill, among others, which puniſhed the South ſea directors, and which made it felony to refuſe anſwering, or to demur to a bill for diſcovery of concealments: that, nevertheleſs, if they did diſcover a concealment, the very anſwer was good evidence againſt them, and the concealment itſelf was felony: that in the preſent bill, there was a limited ſum; and no other penalty could be the conſequence of conſcious guilt upon ſuch a bill diſcovery: that, by conſtruction of a court of equity, ſuch a bill would have been allowed, if the clauſe for the diſcovery had not been inſerted: that the barons of the exchequer had maintained the legality of ſuits, to diſcover frauds and miſdemeanours relating to the revenue; nor could it be denied, that this was as juſt by parity of reaſoning, though, if the houſe ſhould throw out the clauſe, the judges might be unwilling to ſupply it by ſuch a conſtruction.

It was remarked by a member of the oppoſition, that as Sir Robert Walpole had mentioned the article of ſecret intelligence, he ought to inform the houſe what that intelligence was. He added, that the emperor having depoſited in Holland jewels, as pledges for four hundred thouſand pounds, which he wanted to borrow, he knew no reaſon why he and other Engliſhmen, who had money to lend, ſhould not, as well as their neighbours the Dutch, make an advantageous bargain. This laſt fact, however, was denied by other members; and the queſtion for the bill was carried by a conſiderable majority; having been ſupported throughout, by the whole weight of miniſterial influence.

The act itſelf was no doubt conſtitutional, and might have been rendered effectual, had the government been in earneſt in carrying it into execution. But the truth is, the bill was only intended to gratify the court of Spain, with which the miniſtry thought proper at that time to maintain a good underſtanding. The pretext, therefore, of any apprehenſions, which Great Britain could entertain, from the reſentment of the emperor, was merely a political contrivance to amuſe the populace. The miniſter affected great candour and openneſs in all his ſpeeches on this ſubject; and ſeemed readily to give up to the oppoſition every thing but the neceſſity of the meaſure at that particular juncture.

The eſtimates for the following year being examined, the commons voted ſeventeen thouſand, ſeven hundred and nine men for the land ſervice. They continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle; and granted

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two millions, two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, to defray theſe and other expences.

Great oppoſition was made to theſe meaſures by the anti-courtiers; but not being able to make any diviſion that would not have expoſed the weakneſs of their party, they were obliged to content themſelves with ſeveral invidious motions. Accordingly, when the land forces were voted, it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be delivered to his majeſty, humbly to repreſent, that that houſe having, in conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs, voted ſuch a number of land forces for the current ſervice of the year, aſſured themſelves, that his majeſty, from his juſt regard to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as well as his earneſt deſire to eaſe his people of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, would take the firſt opportunity to make a farther reduction of thoſe forces, if the ſtate of affairs would admit, before the concluſion of this or the beginning of next ſeſſion of parliament. This motion was conſidered as equally unneceſſary in itſelf, and diſreſpectful to his majeſty, whom the houſe had no reaſon to diſtruſt; and it was therefore unanimouſly rejected.

The oppoſition now made uſe of a moſt plauſible and popular expedition to diſtreſs the miniſtry. This was a motion to bring in a bill for making more effectual the laws in being for diſqualifying perſons from being choſen members of parliament, who had any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office, held in truſt for them, from the crown. The arguments, that may be urged on both ſides of this important queſtion, we have already had occaſion to mention. Suffice it at preſent to obſerve, that though the oppoſition had always pretended to condemn the practice of impoſing compulſive oaths upon perſons, in order to make them accuſe themſelves; yet, when it came to anſwer their own purpoſe, they had no objection againſt adopting it. The following oath was repreſented, as proper and neceſſary, to be taken by every member of the houſe.

"I do ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, that "I have not, directly, or indirectly, any "penſion during pleaſure, or for any num- "ber of years, or any office either in whole "or in part, from the crown, held for me, "or for my benefit, by any perſon whatever: "and I do ſolemnly and ſincerely promiſe and "ſwear, that I will not receive, accept, or "take, directly or indirectly, during the time "of my being a member of this preſent par- "liament, any penſion during pleaſure, or "for any number of years, or any gratuity "or reward whatſoever, or any office from "the crown, to be held for me, or for my "benefit, in whole or in part, by any perſon "whatſoever, without ſignifying the ſame to "this houſe, within fourteen days after I have "received or accepted the ſame, if the par- "liament be then ſitting, or within fourteen "days after the next meeting of parliament."

The violation of this oath was to be deemed and puniſhed as wilful and corrupt purjury; and the ſeats of all members refuſing to take it, were to be vacated, as if they had been actually dead. A penalty of thirty pounds was inflicted upon every member, for every day he ſhould ſit in the houſe, without taking the oath, beſides an incapacity ever after, to enjoy any place of profit or truſt under the king or his ſucceſſors, or to ſit in parliament, or ſerve the crown in any way whatſoever.

Theſe were the contents of this ſelf-denying bill, which has ſince been ſo often renewed, but never enacted into a law. The oppoſers of it, indeed, though they expreſſed as ſtrong a deteſtation of corruption as their enemies, had ſome difficulty in conceiving, how the bill, even if paſſed into an act, could poſſibly anſwer the purpoſe intended, without violating the firſt principles of the Engliſh conſtitution.

They aſked, that even if a member ſhould, within fourteen days declare his having accepted a penſion or gratuity from the crown, or that he has a place held for him in truſt, what, according to the tenour of this bill, is to be the conſequence? None is expreſſed in the bill; and if the miniſter, as is alledged by the friends of the bill, had ſuch an alarm-

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ing influence over the houſe of commons, as to render the bill neceſſary, they being the only judges of the conſequences of ſuch a declaration, it will be eaſy for him to obtain a vote, for diſpenſing with the member's holding what he has declared he enjoys under the crown. Thus it will always be in the power of a miniſter, not only to elude the purpoſes of the bill, but alſo to defeat the very purpoſes of the acts now in force againſt bribery, to render which more effectual, is the profeſſed purpoſe of this bill.

The oppoſers of the bill further urged, that even ſuppoſing the commons to be in good earneſt to expel the member, who thus declares he holds a place or a penſion in defiance of this act, yet ſtill, this would be highly unconſtitutional and indecent, becauſe it implies a power to be lodged in one houſe of parliament, to condemn the juſt and unqueſtionable prerogative of the crown, in making a gift which it has a power to make. This muſt be attended, ſaid they, with moſt unconſtitutional conſequences, as the houſe of commons would then take upon themſelves to ſit as an inquiſition upon the proceedings and prerogative of the crown; by which, as in the laſt century, the crown itſelf would be endangered.

But theſe are not all the ill effects of this bill. The member is obliged to ſwear, that he ſhall not, directly, or indirectly accept of any penſion, gratuity, or reward, or any place in truſt, from the crown. Now, may not the ſevere conſtruction of the word indirectly, by a future captious houſe of commons, make a member liable to the penalties of the bill, if the crown ſhould think proper to extend its favour to any of his family or relations?

Though by this bill the houſe appears to be left open to many great officers and placemen, who are not diſqualified by it; yet, who can ſay, that the houſe may not, ſome time or other, apply the word indirectly to a member, accepting a place of office, that does not diſqualify him according to the ſeeming purport and meaning of the bill.

Let it be alſo conſidered whether the exerciſe of any part of the prerogative, even the moſt ſalutary and neceſſary, ſuch as granting pardon for offences; the remitting fines and forfeitures; the granting patents, and the like, may not, ſome time or other, be conſtrued into an indirect influence. The crown has ſufficient powers which it can avow, and which are in no degree affected by the bill, to create as much influence in the houſe of commons, as a miniſter may have occaſion to employ; and, unleſs all great offices and places, as well as penſions, become diſqualifications, the end propoſed by the bill will never be effected.

So that although the enemies to the bill were as willing as its friends, to agree to any rational expedient that would reſtrain or extinguiſh corruption, yet they believed the preſent contrivance altogether unfit for the purpoſe. Beſides, they thought it as deſtitute of pobability, as it was inconſiſtent with the laws and ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, that the king and the peers ſhould give their aſſent to a bill, that inveſted the commons with powers, which, ſhould they be, as in former times, miſapplied, rendered them paramount to the other two branches of the legiſlature, and extended their judicial capacity to matters of which they could not, conſtitutionally, take cognizance.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of theſe arguments, they were wholly diſregarded. The cry of corruption was become ſo general, that many, who in their hearts diſapproved of the bill, were yet induced to vote for its paſſing; a conceſſion which they thought they might make with the greater ſafety, as they had no doubt but that the houſe of peers would reject it.

It is not unlikely but that the miniſter himſelf was of this opinion, as he did not exert himſelf on the preſent occaſion with his uſual activity; ſo that the motion in favour of the bill, being ſtrongly ſupported by one party, and but ſlightly oppoſed by the other, was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of ten voices; and Mr. Sandy's, Sir Edward Stanley, and Mr. Wyndham were ordered to bring it into the houſe, through which it paſſed with very little difficulty.

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The friends of the bill, on its being preſented to the lords, moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring a liſt of all penſions payable by the crown; but the motion was thrown out by a great majority. The bill having been once read, the queſtion was put whether it ſhould be rejected, and was carried in the affirmative; but twenty-ſix peers proteſted againſt the rejection.

The parliament, during this ſeſſion, made ſeveral acts, which, under a more popular miniſtry, would have met with great and deſerved applauſe. They appropriated one million of the ſurpluſſes, ariſing from the ſinking fund, towards the diſcharge of the national debt; and, by another act, extinguiſhed the duties upon ſalt, by which expedient the ſubject was eaſed of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but alſo from a conſiderable charge of ſallaries given to a great number of collecting officers.

An act was alſo made, allowing the inhabitants of the colony of Carolina to export rice directly to any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſtere, provided the trade was carried on in Britiſh bottoms; and they permitted ſalt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York.

As the term of the excluſive trade which the parliament had granted to the Eaſt India company, was nearly expired, many conſiderable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and veſted with the privilege of trading to thoſe countries, propoſing to lay open that branch of trade to all the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions; and, in conſideration of an act of parliament, could they obtain one for this purpoſe, they offered to redeem the fund and trade of the preſent Eaſt-India company, by the advance of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds.

Alderman Barnard, and others, ſupported this propoſal with all their ſtrength, but it was rejected by the parliament, who, for ſeveral ſolid and weighty reaſons, thought that the Eaſt India trade could not be carried on with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, nor, of conſequence, with ſo much national benefit, by the public in general, as by a private company.

The former privileges of the Eaſt-India company were, therefore, continued by act of parliament, to the year 1766, upon the following condition: that they ſhould pay into the exchequer the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, towards the ſupplies of the year, without intereſt or addition to their capital ſtock; that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſhould be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand: and that after the year 1766, their right to the excluſive trade ſhould be liable to be aboliſhed by parliament, upon their receiving three years notice and repayment of their capital.

However induſtrious the miniſters were in what they conceived to be the great art of governing, they were certainly unaccountably remiſs with regard to the interior police of the kingdom. This neglect was attended with a ſurpriſing profligacy of life and manners among the inferior orders of the people. The roads and highways were filled with robbers and aſſaſſins, who murdered the unſuſpecting traveller, and ſeized his property.

*A. D.* 1730. About this time alſo, ſtarted up a new ſpecies of villains, who made it a practice to circulate letters, demanding ſums of money from individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes: and ſometimes, upon their demands not being granted, they actually put their threats in execution. A higher ſort of ruffians were employed in libelling the moſt laudable meaſures of government; in which they were but too much encouraged by perſons of rank and eminence.

His majeſty was ſo well acquainted with theſe complicated evils, that, when he put an end to the ſeſſion on the fifteenth day of May, he concluded his ſpeech with the following remarkable words: "My lords and gentle-
"men, I am very glad, that, for the general
"ſatisfaction, you entered into a particular
"conſideration of the ſtate of the nation;
"and it is a great happineſs to ſee, after ſo
"many unjuſt and unreaſonable clamours,
"raiſed with all poſſible art, induſtry and ma-
"lice,

" lice, that, upon mature deliberation, and " the moſt ſolemn debates, you were ſo far " from finding any thing worthy of blame " or cenſure, that all matters that came " under your cognizance, met with your " approbation.

" This muſt inſpire all mankind with a " juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries, who, " from a ſpirit of envy and diſcontent, con- " tinually labour, by ſcandalous libels, to " alienate the affections of my people, and " to fill their minds with groundleſs jealou- " ſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour " of me and my government, and in defi- " ance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parlia- " ment.

" But I entirely rely on your prudence and " concern for the peace and happineſs of " your country, to diſcountenance all ſuch " ſeditious practices, and to make my people " ſenſible, that theſe wicked proceedings have " no other view and end than to create con- " fuſion and diſtraction amongſt us." The parliament was then prorogued to the fourteenth day of July.

The people of Ireland were ſtill happy under the government of their lord lieutenant, lord Carteret. Their parliament aſſembling in the month of September, employed themſelves with unwearied diligence, in promoting the intereſt and welfare of their country. They eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of their national debt, and for defraying the expence of government; they enacted wholeſome laws for the encouragement of trade and agriculture; and regulated their civil œconomy in the moſt effectual manner.

They followed the parliament of England in enquiring into the ſtate of their goals, and inflicting ſevere penalties on thoſe jailors, who had miſbehaved in their office. They had even the courage to examine into the conduct of ſome eminent juſtices of the peace and aldermen of Dublin, whom they committed to priſon for ſeveral malverſations, of which they had been guilty.

Several important incidents happened this year, which had a conſiderable effect upon the political ſyſtem of Europe. In the month of September, Victor Amadæus, king of Sardinia, reſigned his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. This ſtep was owing to his falling in love, in the ſixty fourth year of his age, with the counteſs Dowager of St. Sebaſtian, whom he married in her retirement.

Peter the ſecond grandſon of Peter the firſt, Czar of Muſcovy, died at Muſcow in the month of October, and was ſucceeded on the throne by the princeſs Anne Jvanowna, ſecond daughter of John Alexiowitz, elder brother of the firſt Peter, and widow of Frederick William duke of Courland.

The value of liberty began to be known among the nobility of Ruſſia, who obliged the new Czarina to ſign an inſtrument, by which ſhe, in fact, ſhared the ſovereign authority with her privy-council, and reſigned the moſt eſſential branches of her prerogative.

Some good effects might probably have ariſen from this proceeding but for the unpopularity of the Dolgorucki family, who had abuſed their power in the late reign, and were the chief inſtruments of the preſent change of government. The Czarina had no ſooner conſented to the partition of her power, than ſhe found means to aſſemble the privy-council in her palace, when ſhe ſurrounded them with her guards, and compelled them to reſtore the paper ſhe had ſigned, which they inſtantly tore in pieces. Having thus recovered her ſovereign authority, ſhe exerted it at once in ſending all the Dolgorucki family into baniſhment.

The utmoſt tranquillity reigned among the other northern powers. The new king of Denmark began his reign by making ſome repriſals upon the queen dowager, contrary to the expreſs commands of his father. The prince royal of Pruſſia, upon attempting to eſcape from his father, was brought back and confined, with ſome circumſtances of ſeverity, to the caſtle of Cuſtrin. The emperor interceded in his behalf; and the old king forgave him, upon his making his humble ſubmiſſion. Katt, however, his favourite, a lieutenant of the Gens d'Arms, was ordered to be beheaded.

Pope Benedict the thirteenth, who died in November,

November, was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Laurence Corſini, under the name of Clement the twelfth. About this period, the inhabitants of Corſica, galled by the yoke of their mercileſs ſovereigns, the Genoeſe, roſe in arms, and publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, that the aſſertion of their juſt rights and liberties was the ſole cauſe of that proceeding.

The Britiſh ambaſſador to the court of Conſtantinople, the earl of Kinnoul, was witneſs to a very extraordinary revolution which happened during his abode there. A few mean janiſſaries diſplayed a flag in the ſtreets, exclaiming that all true Muſſelmen ought to follow them, and aſſiſt in reforming the ſtate. They ſoon increaſed to the number of one hundred thouſand; marched to the Seraglio, and demanded the heads of the grand vizier, the kiaja, and the captain baſſa. Theſe unhappy miniſters were immediately ſtrangled. Their bodies being delivered to the inſurgents, were dragged through the ſtreets, and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this ſacrifice, the revolters depoſed the grand ſignior Achmet, who was confined to the ſame priſon from whence they brought his nephew, Mahomet, whom, after twenty-ſeven years confinement, they placed on the throne.

Differences in religion had at this time ſo diſtracted the people of France, that nothing but the profound veneration which the people of that country have for the perſon of their ſovereign, could have poſſibly prevented the flames of a civil war. Cardinal Fleury, who was himſelf a tool of the pope and the jeſuits, had prevailed on Lewis the fifteenth to compel his ſubjects to accept of the conſtitution Unigenitus. This divided the whole kingdom into Conſtitutioniſts and Anticonſtitutioniſts. The former conſiſted of the king, the cardinal, ſome bigotted prieſts and proſtituted courtiers; the latter of all the parliaments and men of ſenſe in the kingdom. The regal power, however, bore down all oppoſition; and the birth of the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the king of France, happening at the height of the diſpute; congratulation took the place of reſentment, and the popular fury ſubſided.

In the interim, the power of the Engliſh miniſter increaſed, in proportion to the clamour raiſed againſt him; and his friends ſucceeded daily to every vacancy that happened in the government. His brother Horatio Walpole was made cofferer of the houſhold, in the room of the late earl of Clinton: Mr. Pelham was appointed pay-maſter of the forces in the room of Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, who was entruſted with the cuſtody of the privy ſeal; the lord Trevor was preferred to be preſident of the council. The earl of Cheſterfield was conſtituted ſteward, lord Hervey vice chamberlain, and Sir Conyers D'Arcy comptroller of the houſhold. The duke of Dorſet ſucceeded lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland. The earl of Weſtmoreland was made firſt commiſſioner of trade and plantations, and lord Torrington firſt lord of the admiralty.

This partiality to the friends of one man, could not fail to diſguſt ſome old ſervants of the crown, who thought their importance eclipſed, or their merits under-valued. Of this number was Charles, lord Townſend, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities and uncorrupted integrity, who reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, together with the lieutenancy of the county of Norfolk. The laſt of theſe was beſtowed upon his ſon, who, at the ſame time, was made maſter of the jewel office. He was ſucceeded in the ſecretaryſhip by colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington, whoſe great knowledge and abilities rendered him a proper ſucceſſor to lord Townſend.

*A. D.* 1731. In this ſituation were public affairs at the meeting of the parliament, on the twenty-firſt day of January. The emperor's obſtinacy ſeemed daily to increaſe, and to threaten the continent with a new war. He ſtill continued to exclaim againſt the allies; and had ordered a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppoſe the introduction of the Spaniſh garriſons, ſtipulated by the treaty of Seville. The king, at the opening of the ſeſſion, took notice of theſe circumſtances in his ſpeech, in which he requeſted, that, if mild methods proved ineffectual, the parliament would enable him

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to compel the execution of the treaty.

As ſoon as the commons were returned to their houſe, a motion was made for a loyal addreſs to his majeſty; but the anti-courtiers inſiſted on reſtricting it to a ſimple promiſe to aſſiſt him only in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary for procuring ſatisfaction to his allies, and providing for the intereſts of his people; expreſſing, at the ſame time, their hopes, that his majeſty would take care to prevent the breaking out of a war upon the Rhine, or in the Auſtrian Netherlands, the preſervation of which in the hands that now held them, was of the greateſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and for the maintenance of which, ſo much blood and treaſure had been expended.

It was alledged, in ſupport of this alteration, that the power of France was dangerous to the liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe: that evidence could be produced of that people having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht: that they had made violent incroachments upon the Engliſh in the Weſt Indies, the natural conſequences of thoſe pernicious connections, which we had lately contracted with them: that for England to join with France, in any attempt againſt the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would be acting againſt the very intention of that glorious confederacy, which had humbled the power of France, under the duke of Marlborough: that it would deſtroy that balance of power, which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and had been the chief advantage that England or Europe had derived from that confederacy: that, in any event, it was extremely dangerous, and inexpedient to promiſe, the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, to ſupport all his majeſty's meaſures and engagements, before they knew what thoſe meaſures were: and that, in fact, after ſuch a promiſe, their future deliberations would be of no kind of conſequence.

Theſe arguments preſſed hard on the miniſter and his friends. As they were declared Whigs, they could not, with any conſiſtency, deny that it would be extremely prejudicial to public liberty, ſhould England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, againſt the emperor; and yet nothing could be more plain than that the amendment propoſed, was impolitic in itſelf, and diſreſpectful to the ſovereign.

The courtiers, therefore, confeſſing their difficulties on the firſt head, obſerved, that, if the amendment was approved, it would have the worſt of conſequences both at home and abroad, as if his majeſty had intended any thing but what was neceſſary for the intereſt of England, and agreeable to the principles of public liberty, that ſuch an inſinuation could only diſcourage the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and, therefore, they ought to truſt to his majeſty's wonted prudence: and finally, that the putting ſuch words in the addreſs, would look like an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, and directing his majeſty's future operations.

The gentlemen in the oppoſition demanded to know, that if the French ſhould be ſucceſsful in making acquiſitions from the emperor, in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, how was it poſſible for his majeſty, with all the power the parliament could give him, to prevent the dreadful conſequences that muſt enſue?

In anſwer hereto, lord Hervey ſaid, that the houſe of Auſtria, as well as the houſe of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, deſtroy that balance of power, which was ſo juſtly dear to England; that the preſent conduct of the French court could give no juſt umbrage: that pulling down the houſe of Bourbon, only to enable the houſe of Auſtria to play the ſame game in which the other had miſcarried, was highly abſurd: that, in fact, he did not doubt, but his majeſty had intereſt enough with his allies, to concert meaſures that ſhould prevent all the bad conſequences which gentlemen ſeemed ſo much to apprehend: that, in the mean time, to agree to the propoſed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might do as he pleaſed, ſince he was invulnerable at preſent in Italy, by the ſituation of his dominions,

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and the great number of troops which he had in that country: and, therefore, if the allies ſhould agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in the Netherlands, his majeſty and his allies had nothing to do but to take the law from the court of Vienna. After an obſtinate diſpute, the addreſs was voted in its original form, and the peers, after much altercation, voted one of the like nature.

As the rejection of the penſion-bill had incenſed the public, the anti-courtiers reſolved to try an experiment of that kind again. The motion was introduced with great ſolemnity; and, after paſſing, with very little difficulty, through the lower houſe, was ſent up to the higher, where it was rejected.

The biſhop of Bangor, in his ſpeech againſt it, had the courage, in defiance of popular prejudices, to expoſe the bad tendency of the bill in very free terms, and after many ſolid arguments for rejecting it, he concluded his ſpeech with the following remarkable words: "though this bill at firſt might ſeem to be a "ſelf-denying act, and to ſome particular "members, may, perhaps, prove ſo; yet "the commons, conſidered as an houſe of "parliament, will find in it no doubt a very "great enlargement of power; and whatever "tends to break the balance between the "powers eſſential to this conſtitution, muſt, "ſooner or later, prove the ruin of the whole. "An independent houſe of commons, or an "independent houſe of lords, is as inconſiſt-"ent with our conſtitution, as an indepen-"dent, that is, an abſolute king; and who-"ever loves the liberties and laws of his coun-"try, will no more deſire to ſee the one "than the other. Let liberty be puniſhed: "let corruption be puniſhed: but let us not "give ſo much ſtrength to one part of the "conſtitution as ſhall make it able to over-"power the reſt."

It is evident, that herein his lordſhip conſulted more the dictates of his own underſtanding, than the general, but miſtaken ſentiments of his countrymen, who laid hold of his pleading againſt the independency of the two houſes upon the crown, as if he meant that they ought to be dependent upon the miniſter.

From the whole tendency of his ſpeech, it is, however, clear, that, by the word independency, he underſtood no more than the deſtruction of that relation, which the conſtitution eſtabliſhes among all the conſtituent parts of the legiſlature, and which, if diſſolved, muſt be attended with the ruin of the whole; becauſe it never can be diſſolved unleſs one houſe ſhould arrogate to itſelf powers inconſiſtent, not only with the general plan of public welfare which the conſtitution propoſes, but with that executive power, which it veſts in the crown, and without which all operations of government ceaſe.

The phraſe which the biſhop uſed, it muſt be confeſſed was an unfortunate one: and it is ſurprizing with what diſingenuity its ſenſe was wreſted and diſtorted, in order to perſuade the public, that there was a ſettled deſign to overturn the conſtitution by deſtroying the independency of the two houſes of parliament.

Notes and commentaries which totally perverted the meaning of the ſpeech, were added to it, and it was thus hackneyed round the kingdom; and none of the common writers for the miniſtry had knowledge enough of the conſtitution of their country, to vindicate the ſpeaker from the charge brought againſt him.

The bad ſucceſs of the minority in this affair, they attributed to the negligence of their friends, many of whom had not yet come to town, and whom, nevertheleſs, they could not compel to atttend in the houſe, ſooner than was conſiſtent with their own convenience. A new and entertaining ſcheme of compulſion was the conſequence of this imagination.

A call of the houſe being ordered and held, two members, who were conſidered as of the country party, were, for non-attendance, moved, by their friends to be taken into cuſtody. They were excuſed, however, by the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the court; and the ſame was the caſe with ſeveral others: ſome of whom pleaded their being on the

road, and others urged that they were indiſpoſed.

But as the attendance of the members is not a matter of choice, but of duty, doubtleſs this conduct of the court was unparliamentary. Beſides, as they form part of the great council of the nation, the ſovereign has a right, by the conſtitution of England, to inſiſt that the full complement of his counſellors ſhould attend his ſervice, upon the high and arduous matters that come before the parliament relating to the public. The courtiers themſelves too were ſenſible of their indiſcretion; for, in order to compromiſe the matter, they agreed to the appointing of certain days, within which the abſentees ſhould attend; and were to be taken in cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, on their failure.

The view of the minority in all this preparation, was another attack, which they meditated, upon the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops in the pay of Great-Britain. When this affair was brought into the houſe, a violent debate enſued. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, though in his heart a ſtanch Whig, happened, in the preſent caſe, to adopt a maxim which has been peculiar to the Tories, ever ſince the downfall of their party. He ſaid, that many wars had broke out on the continent, which, though foreign to the intereſts of England, England had been obliged to ſupport.

Similar arguments to thoſe we have already mentioned, were, for the moſt part, uſed. The following, however, ſeem ſomewhat new, and are worthy of particular notice. It was urged, in defence of the meaſure, that commerce has connected England with the Continent, though nature has disjoined her from it: that the Engliſh, by their influence on the affairs of the Continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and in order to maintain theſe, they were ſometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that ſome of the countries of Europe, which conſumed a great many of the Engliſh commodities, had ſo little communication with the ſea, that they were inacceſſible to our fleets; and therefore, if they laid the trade of the Engliſh under any hardſhips or inconveniencies, or offered them any inſults or indignities, the Engliſh had no other means of aſſerting their rights and revenging their wrongs, than by employing ſome of the powerful ſtates upon the Continent to wreak their reſentment: that this had frequently been found a very uſeful expedient to England: but ſhe could no longer avail herſelf of it, than while ſhe was ready, in her turn, to perform the moſt friendly offices to thoſe potentates: that it was upon this principle the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Heſſian troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and that theſe two meaſures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obſtinacy of the emperor: that upon the ſame principle was founded the treaty of Seville; which, by our engaging for the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of theſe garriſons: that he had nothing to dread in Germany but the Heſſians, who were in Britiſh-pay: and that the diſmiſſion of theſe forces, at preſent, would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might coſt Great-Britain many millions before it could be extinguiſhed. The parliament reſolved to continue the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops and the ſubſidy to the duke of Brunſwick Wolfembuttle, upon the ſtrength of theſe arguments.

Party rage at this time ran extremely high. The court writers charged the minority with ſedition and defamation, and employing every art that could alienate the attention of his majeſty's ſubjects from his perſon and government. They challenged them to ſhew a ſingle inſtance of any violation of the laws, of any encroachment upon the liberties of the people, of any infringment of the act of ſettlement, of any deviation from the true intereſt of Great-Britain.

The gentlemen of the oppoſition now employed one Amherſt, a man of profligate principles, needy, bold, impudent, and ſcurrilous; poſſeſſed of ſome academical learning, a very ſmall ſhare of wit, and little or no political knowledge. Such was the perſon,

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who was pitched upon to be the ſtanding author of the Craftſman; an antiminiſterial paper, which appeared about this period. But the defects of the regular author were amply ſupplied by the occaſional ones; who were no other than the leaders of the oppoſition themſelves; Mr. Pulteney, afterwards earl of Bath, and lord Bolingbroke were the principal.

Beſides this paper, the minority publiſhed a great number of occaſional pamphlets, which were anſwered with equal acrimony, but with leſs wit and ſatire, and leſs knowledge of politics and hiſtory, than appeared in the writings of the other party.

One in particular was publiſhed, entitled "A proper reply to a late ſcurrilous libel, "called, Sedition and Defamation diſplayed." This laſt was ſuppoſed to have been written by the lord Hervey, who taxed Mr. William Pulteney with being the author of the Reply. Mr. Pulteney ſeeming to acknowledge the charge, ſome recriminations paſſed between the gentlemen, and the animoſity, from a political, was ſoon converted into a perſonal quarrel. Lord Hervey challenged Mr. Pulteney to fight in the Green Park: the challenge was accepted: Mr. Fox, member for Shaftſbury, was ſecond to lord Hervey; Sir John Ruſhout to Mr. Pulteney. Fortune declared againſt the noble combatant; he received two ſlight wounds, and narrowly eſcaped being run through the body, but the antagoniſts being parted, no farther harm enſued.

The people began about this time to ſeek redreſs for a grievance, under which they had long laboured. They thought it abſurd and oppreſſive, that, after having got rid of a religion which had been taught them in an unknown tongue, they ſhould ſtill be peſtered with law proceedings in the ſame tongue, or, what was worſe, an unintelligible jargon of it.

Petitions relative to this matter were firſt ſent from Yorkſhire; and the committee to whom they were referred, reported to the houſe, that the proceedings in the law being in law latin, abbreviated and wrote in court hands and characters, unintelligible to the greater part of the perſons concerned, eſpecially in criminal caſes, were a great delay to juſtice, and occaſioned moſt dangerous frauds that ſpecial pleadings were very expenſive, intricate, and dilatory, and highly prejudicial to the property of the ſubject: that the recovery of ſmall debts, as the law was now practiſed, was ſo expenſive, that many prudent people choſe rather to loſe their juſt dues, than to go to law for the recovery of them; a circumſtance that tended to the deſtruction of credit, and the great detriment of trade: that the number of attorneys admitted in the court of King's-bench, amounted to eleven hundred and fifty-ſeven; and that there were above three thouſand in that of the common pleas.

To repreſentations like theſe, founded in reaſon, and common ſenſe, as well as common humanity, one would imagine it impoſſible to advance any ſolid, or even plauſible objection. Yet were there not wanting ſome in the houſe of commons, who argued ſtrenuouſly againſt the propoſed alteration, and maintained the neceſſity of retaining the ancient law latin.

Their argument againſt the alteration was, that if the language and writing of the law ſhould be reduced to the modern way of ſpeaking and writing, no man would be at the pains to ſtudy that ancient language and character, in which moſt of our valuable records were wrote; ſo that the uſe of them would be totally loſt in a few years.

In anſwer hereto it was ſaid, that the neceſſity of ſuch a ſtudy, would prevent it from ever falling into diſuſe; becauſe the lawyers muſt be daily obliged to recur to the old writings in the courſe of their practice; and that even the ſtudy of manuſcripts and other papers, much older than any of our laws or records, was ſtill kept up in England. This anſwer was deemed ſatisfactory: the reſolutions were received; and a bill was framed and enacted, ordaining that all proceſſes and proceedings in law ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language and in words at length.

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The cruelties and depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, occaſioning complaints from a number of merchants in different parts of the kingdom; their petitions were referred to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be juſt. A motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavours to prevent ſuch depredations for the future, and to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects, the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America.

This motion would not ſatisfy the minority, who were reſolved, if poſſible, to force the miniſtry into a war. They, therefore, propoſed an amendment, to repreſent, that, notwithſtanding the former applications of this houſe to his majeſty, in relation to the depredations made by the Spaniards upon the effects of his majeſty's trading ſubjects, and his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction for the ſame, and to prevent the like for the future; and, notwithſtanding the treaty of Seville, it appeared to the houſe, that the Spaniards had continued their depredations, and treated his majeſty's ſubjects with the utmoſt barbarity; and, therefore, moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would effectually prevent the like for the future, by the vigour of his proceedings.

They were extremely active in ſupport of this amendment. They alledged, that it was extremely improbable, that the nation ſhould ever receive any ſatisfaction from Spain by fair means; and that to delay matters longer would, in fact, be giving up all the Britiſh commerce in America: that the depredations complained of, were not the clandeſtine acts of a few petty pyrates; but open captures made in conſequence of the expreſs orders of the court of Spain, whoſe intention of extirpating the Britiſh commerce in the Weſt Indies, was but too obvious.

It was alledged by the court party, that as the power of peace and war was veſted in the throne; it would neither be prudent or decent to ſay more than what was in the firſt propoſed addreſs: that orders had been ſent by the court of Spain to their governors, to put a ſtop to thoſe depredations; and that his Catholic majeſty, having, in fact, by the treaty of Seville, engaged to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects from the Spaniards in America, it was evident, that he could have no thought of any ſuch ſcheme, as the gentlemen, who were for the amendment, had mentioned: that, beſides, the captures alledged, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, were but very few, and very doubtful; nor could any thing be more abſurd, than for that houſe to make themſelves judges of matters that ought to come within the cognizance of a court of admiralty only: and finally, that before the houſe could take upon them to adviſe his majeſty to proceed to hoſtilities, which was the tendency of the amendment, they ought to be quite clear as to the facts, which they could not be without hearing both parties; whereas they had as yet heard only one party. After a great debate, the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs repreſented in its original form. Such were the principal tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which was cloſed by a ſpeech from the throne, in the month of May.

The depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their backwardneſs in executing the treaty of Seville, had provoked the Engliſh miniſtry to ſuch a degree, that they made propoſals to the court of Vienna for a private negotiation, which was ſpeedily perfected.

The emperor ſtill exclaimed againſt the treaty of Seville, which he inſiſted was an inſult upon him, as head of the empire. He ſaid, that Don Carlos ought to have been eſtabliſhed in Italy, and the ſucceſſion of his dominions ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the conſent of the empire; both which were ready when demanded: and he alledged, that the acceſſion of Don Carlos to the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court

court of Madrid, which the event afterwards ſhewed to be true.

The duke of Parma died in the beginning of this year, after having made a will, in which he declared, that his dutcheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the powers of Europe to have compaſſion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects, until his conſort ſhould be delivered. In caſe the child ſhould be ſtill-born, prove a female, or, if a male die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial eſtates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and left the government of his dutchy to five regents.

A body of Imperial horſe, notwithſtanding this will, took inſtant poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared, they ſhould conduct themſelves with all poſſible regularity and moderation; and leave the adminiſtration entirely to the regents, whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market place, that they took poſſeſſion of theſe dutchies for the infant Don Carlos: and that, if the dutcheſs dowager ſhould not be delivered of a prince, the ſaid infant might receive the inveſtiture from the emperor, whenever he pleaſed, provided he came without any army.

Though an immediate war might be expected from theſe proceedings, the king of Great Britain and the ſtates general interpoſed their mediation ſo effectually with the emperor, that he deſiſted from the proſecution of his deſigns: and the ſecret negotiation between London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty on the ſixteenth of May,

This agreement implied a mutual guaranty of the territories belonging to the contracting powers; and a general guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the female heirs of the emperor. His Imperial majeſty engaged to recall his forces from the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, and to conſent to the introduction of Spaniſh troops into thoſe dominions.

He alſo engaged that the Oſtend company ſhould be totally aboliſhed: and that the Engliſh, with regard to their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, ſhould be treated on the footing of the moſt favoured nation. The ſtates general were included as one of the contracting parties in this treaty; but their acceſſion could not be immediately obtained, as the nature of their government would not admit of ſo ſpeedy a reſolution.

Such was the ſubſtance of the negotiation of Vienna, which was repreſented by the minority in England, as crude, contradictory, and inconſiſtent with former treaties; but of which the reader will now form his own judgment.

We may, however, venture to aſſert, that this treaty brought the ſyſtem of power in Europe back to that poiſe, which has always been moſt favourable to the intereſt of Great Britain. His majeſty, by the eaſy and natural expedient of guarantying the Pragmatic Sanction, a point in itſelf of the greateſt conſequence to England, found means once more to unite himſelf with the houſe of Auſtria. The performance of his engagements with Spain was rendered practicable without expence or trouble. The ſtates general were effectually ſecured, and the Oſtend company totally aboliſhed.

Some doubts being expreſſed by the court of Spain relative to the dutcheſs of Parma's pregnancy, ſhe underwent an examination by five midwives of different nations, in preſence of the elder dutcheſs dowager, ſeveral ladies of quality, and three phyſicians and ſurgeons, and was declared with child. Nevertheleſs, after keeping all Europe in ſuſpence for ſix months, ſhe owned ſhe had been deceived, and general Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia in form.

The treaty of Vienna being acceded to by Spain and the great duke of Tuſcany; Great-Britain engaged to furniſh an armament for conveying Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron from Portſmouth, on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spaniſh fleet and tranſports, they ſailed together

together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos paſſed through part of France; and embarking at Antibes on board the Spaniſh gallies, landed at Leghorn in December. The Imperial general was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he withdrew his forces into the Milaneze; and Don Carlos took quiet poſſeſſion.

*A. D.* 1732. His majeſty, in his ſpeech at the meeting of parliament, on the thirteenth of January ſaid, that the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered: that the ſhare of credit and influence which the crown of Great-Britain had in accompliſhing that difficult and diſagreeable work, and which redounded ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it was univerſally confeſſed abroad, would, he was confident be agreeable to his people, and acknowledged with gratitude by his parliament: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the meaſures, which the contracting powers had concerted for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various, jarring, and contending intereſts, hard to be reconciled and united, in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the ambitious view and hopes of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages; and the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned; all theſe oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpence and unexecuted what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of this nation: that the preſent happy ſituation of affairs, would, he promiſed himſelf, inſpire them with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the public welfare as became a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſings they enjoyed; that the duty and affection of his ſubjects was all the return he deſired for his paternal care and concern for them: that his government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of his people; and their happineſs had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government: "Our ſafety," ſaid he, "is mutual: our in-"tereſts are inſeparable."

One would imagine, from the tenour of this ſpeech, that the king and his miniſters thought the wiſdom and ſucceſs of their conduct muſt have ſtopped the mouth of all oppoſition; and have given entire ſatisfaction to the nation. The anti-courtiers, it is certain, during the receſs of parliament, had repeatedly affirmed, both in their writings and converſation, that Don Carlos could never be quietly ſettled in Italy: that the nation was on the eve of a war with France; and the negotiations muſt prove abortive, or detrimental to Great-Britain. Happily for the public, though perhaps to their own ſorrow, they were diſappointed in all their conjectures. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, their oppoſition ſtill continued as violent as ever; nor did the loſs of their warm adherent, Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who died about this time, in the leaſt diſcourage them.

The commons moved for an addreſs of thanks, congratulating his majeſty on the wiſdom and ſucceſs of his meaſures in effecting, without bloodſhed, the ſettlement of Don Carlos in Italy, and procuring a durable peace to Great-Britain.

The oppoſition knew not how to diſpute theſe plain propoſitions, or deny the merit that was due to the miniſtry, after having ſo frequently foretold the impoſſibility of their ſucceeding. They, therefore, had recourſe to other topics. They inſiſted upon the continuance of the Spaniſh depredations, and upon their ignorance of the nature of the treaties, which had not yet been laid before the houſe; and they, therefore, urged the impropriety of the addreſs.

Mr. William Pulteney thought that the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction had been delayed too long; and expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the court of Verſailles would accuſe the Engliſh miniſtry of a breach of good faith, in concluding the treaty of Vienna, without their participation. Sir William Wyndham affected to ridicule the miniſtry for

for the inconſiſtency of their negotiations, as he termed it; and praiſed the Imperial court, which, he ſaid, had effected its own purpoſes by the wiſdom and ſteadineſs of its proceedings.

It was urged by Mr. Oglethorp, that the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction did not ſo nearly concern the nation, as did the obtaining reparation for the Spaniſh depredations, the procuring the demolition of Dunkirk, and the putting the militia upon ſuch a footing as might render them more uſeful in caſe of an invaſion. He mentioned the hardſhips which the proteſtants in Germany ſuffered from the houſe of Auſtria; and expreſſed his hopes, that, before the Dutch acceded to the treaty of Vienna, the tranquillity of Europe might be ſecured, by the conceſſions made on the part of the emperor.

Mr. Pelham and Mr. Horace Walpole ſpoke in defence of the motion. The former obſerved, that decency required them to return his majeſty thanks for the aſſurances he had given them: that they were bound to believe theſe aſſurances to be true, till they ſhould be convinced of the contrary: that, ſhould ever that be the caſe, they would then be at liberty to diſapprove, notwithſtanding any reſolution they might now embrace: that the Spaniſh depredations was a matter foreign to the queſtion now before them: that his majeſty had done all in his power to have them diſcontinued: that he had ſo far ſucceeded as to prevail with the court of Spain to write, in very expreſs terms to their governors in America for that purpoſe: and, with regard to the reparation, that could only be procured in the method his majeſty was then purſuing, by commiſſaries by whom the amount of the loſſes, and validity of the claims, were to be properly aſcertained.

Mr. Horace Walpole entered into a full juſtification of the miniſtry. He proved, that they could not, conſiſtently with the national honour and intereſt, have ſooner guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; inaſmuch as they were not ſure but the emperor deſigned Don Carlos for his ſon-in-law: a circumſtance, that, conſidering his near relation to the crown of Spain, and the extenſive dominions he was to poſſeſs in Italy, might have proved fatal to the repoſe of Europe. He denied that there was any coldneſs between the two courts of London and Verſailles. He affirmed, that had the former guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction ſooner, Don Carlos might have met with invincible obſtacles to his ſucceſſion; and that, in all probability, neither the Dutch nor Great-Britain would have been able to perſuade the emperor to give up the Oſtend company, or to do them juſtice in other reſpects: After a long debate, the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion; which was alſo the caſe in the houſe of peers.

The commons now took into conſideration the number of land forces, when Sir William Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved that the ſame number of troops ſhould be employed this year, as the laſt.

Lord Hervey and Sir William Young, in ſupport of the motion, endeavoured to ſhew, that ever ſince the revolution, the government had never reduced its forces, without having cauſe to repent it, by the encouragement which ſuch reductions gave to their foreign and domeſtic enemies. They expatiated on the wiſdom of his majeſty, and his tenderneſs for the liberties of his people, together with the jealouſy of the parliament, which would always preſerve the freedom and property of the ſubject free from all violation from the army.

Sir William Wyndham, in oppoſition to the motion, after recapitulating what had happened under king William, denied that the reduction of the army was the reaſon that obliged him to agree to the partition treaty, which Sir William Young affirmed to be the caſe. He expoſed the uſeleſſneſs of a ſtanding army, in a nation of heroes, where the inhabitants were well able to defend themſelves againſt invaſions; and denied that there was a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction in the kingdom, or that a parliamentary army was leſs dangerous to the conſtitution than any other: for, if it continued to be kept from year to year, it became, to all intents and purpoſes a ſtanding army, and was big with

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all the evils that were dreaded from ſuch an army. He alledged, that the people might in the end, be driven into the deſperate reſource of fighting for their liberties, even againſt the parliament; but added he, in concluſion, "woe to thoſe men, who adviſe "ſuch meaſures as may produce ſuch fatal "effects! I wiſh that neither God nor man "may ever pardon the authors of ſo much "miſery."

Mr. Pelham laying hold of theſe words, "And I join," ſaid he, "moſt ſincerely "with the honourable member in wiſhing "that neither God nor man may forgive "thoſe, who have been, or ſhall be the "authors of our being obliged to fight for "our liberties. The caſe has happened. "We have been, and that within theſe "twenty years, obliged to fight for our li-"berties, and all that can or ought to be "dear to us; and notwithſtanding that cir-"cumſtance, many of thoſe, who had been "the chief authors of that calamity, have "been forgiven; I mean, Sir, by man at "leaſt." The tories exclaimed againſt the ſeverity of his ſpeech, which they called ſcurrility; but thoſe who remembered Sir William's conduct at different periods, allowed the propriety of the chaſtiſement.

The oppoſition uſed every poſſible argument againſt ſtanding armies. Hiſtory, ancient and modern, were ranſacked for invidious parallels. The Roman armies, who had ſubverted the liberties of their country, were mentioned, together with Cromwell's and that of king James.

The miniſterial party inſiſted, that the caſes were by no means ſimilar; inaſmuch, as the preſent army was kept on foot by the parliament, whereas the armies which had formerly ſubverted the conſtitution of England, had been kept on foot againſt the conſent of parliament. The minority inſiſted, that the very army which deſtroyed the conſtitution under Oliver Cromwell, was originally a parliamentary army, nay, more ſo than the preſent, becauſe it was raiſed at firſt to defend the parliament againſt the king; but that it turned againſt the parliament, as much as againſt the king, as ſoon as its leaders found that the parliament propoſed to diſband it, when their purpoſes were ſerved.

Sir Robert Walpole in anſwer hereto, inſiſted that there could be no danger of that ſort from the preſent army, which was commanded by men whoſe properties were too conſiderable to ſuffer them to head, or even to encourage any attempt againſt the parliament, or the civil conſtitution of their country: that all arguments drawn from paſt times againſt a regular military force were foreign to the purpoſe, conſidering the vaſt alterations which had been introduced into the civil ſyſtem of Great Britain, and of all Europe: that England was now a commercial nation, and could not ſpare from her trade and manufactures a number of men ſufficient to defend her as a militia, in caſe ſhe was attacked by regular troops, great armies of which were now kept on foot by all her neighbours: that the maintaining the propoſed number of troops was not only dictated by prudence, but, if the matter was duly conſidered, by œconomy likewiſe: that, ſhould the army be reduced, the nation would be in the moſt imminent danger from the deſigns of jacobites and diſaffected perſons: and finally, that it was well known, that the cry for the reduction of the army, was always warmly kept up by the papiſts and jacobites.

It having been obſerved by Mr. Plummer, that ſo great an army threw a vaſt power into the hands of the miniſter, who might, if he pleaſed, ſend whole regiments to eat up the eſtates of any man who incurred his diſpleaſure by voting againſt him in the houſe; Sir William Strickland, the then preſent, and Mr. Pelham, the late ſecretary at war, ſolemnly diſclaimed all knowledge of any ſuch abuſes in the quartering of ſoldiers.

Mr. Pelham farther ſaid, that while he was in office, there never had been any complaints made to him, without his having immediately given relief to the perſons who thought themſelves aggrieved, or aſſigned ſuch reaſons for his non-compliance as to them ſeemed ſatisfactory: that in ſuch caſes, he had never any reſpect of perſons; ſo far from it, that he had

had often, when deſired, recalled the troops from the eſtates of thoſe, with whom he never had voted, and he believed, never ſhould vote in that houſe, and ordered them to be ſent and quartered upon thoſe, with whom he had always agreed in opinion. Theſe words, delivered with that candour and ingenuity which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed this worthy patriot, ſilenced the oppoſition, and convinced the houſe of the injuſtice of the charge.

One of the members complaining of the expence of maintaining the army, Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtence of eighteen thouſand men in England, would maintain fifty thouſand French or Germans, or the ſame number of almoſt any other people on the continent: that this difference, however, was owing to a circumſtance which he would neither pretend to condemn nor juſtify; it proceeded chiefly from the great number of officers, and the ſmall number of private men, which a Britiſh army contained. The houſe, at length, reſolved to continue the army without reduction, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition made by the minority.

About this time, the miniſter, ſenſible of his want of popularity, determined to attempt the recovery of his credit with the landed gentlemen, by a ſcheme to give them ſome relief by reviving the duty upon ſalt, in order the more eaſily to lighten the burden of the land tax.

In purſuance of this plan, Sir Robert Walpole, in a grand committee of the houſe, obſerved, that in raiſing the ſupplies granted, his majeſty's intention was, that the burden ſhould fall as equally as poſſible upon his ſubjects: that it had long lain upon the gentlemen of the landed intereſt: that no tax could be more general than that upon ſalt, or more tolerable to individuals, be they ever ſo poor; and that the land tax had continued theſe forty years, and affected the land-holders only. He therefore moved, that, towards raiſing the public ſupplies, the ſeveral duties on home-made ſalt, granted to the late king William and queen Mary, by an act of the fifth and ſixth years of their reign, and alſo the additional duties on ſalt granted by an act of the ninth and tenth year of king William, which had ceaſed the twenty-fifth day of December 1730, ſhould be revived and granted to his majeſty, for the term of three years, from the twenty-fifth of March following.

He therefore ſaid, he hoped that next year, the land tax might be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound; that that tax, at its preſent height, bore extremely hard upon many ancient Engliſh families, who had many children, and but ſmall eſtates to ſupport them; but, by the reduction of it, they might be reſtored to their ancient hoſpitality and figure in their ſeveral counties, of which they were at preſent deprived by the weight of the land tax.

The plauſibility of this ſpeech did not operate as the miniſter had flattered himſelf it would. It was anſwered by Mr. Plummer, who ſaid, that the cauſes for taking off the ſalt duty in 1730, were ſuch as muſt always exiſt againſt reviving it; becauſe it was very juſtly deemed to be a tax, which of all others, was moſt burthenſome to the poor, and moſt prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom: that the character of being a right tax, was wanting in this; for ſo far from taxing the luxurious, it taxed the moſt ordinary neceſſaries of life: that the motion, if approved, tended to diſtreſs the landed gentlemen, more than the land tax itſelf; inaſmuch, as by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, it would diſable tenants from paying their rents: and that, moreover, it was highly impolitic, ſince the revival of it might alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty. He deſired every landed gentleman, that heard him, to conſider, what he could make of his eſtate, if he had no trade, no manufacture, nor any number of populous trading towns in England. Who, he aſked, would be ſuch a fool, as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land tax, when he muſt pay as much another way, namely, for the ſalt made uſe of in his family; and when, at the ſame time, he thereby diminiſhes the yearly income of his eſtate, much

more than one ſhilling in the pound, nay more than any land tax ever amounted to in England. The land tax, he ſaid, was but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate; he might be free of it, or part of it the ſucceeding year, but, if by the decay of trade, and the hardſhip that was laid upon the poor farmer, he ſhould be obliged to lower the rent of his eſtate, that he would hardly be ever able to raiſe it again.

In anſwer to theſe remarks, Mr. Walpole ſaid, that, with regard to an objection which he had heard ſtarted, that the revival of the duty would be prejudicial to the commerce of England, he begged leave to obſerve, that, during the thirty-four years that the tax laſted, the trade and commerce of England had made a more rapid progreſs than ever it had done in any former period; and that the victualling of ſhips at Cork, in order to avoid paying the duty in England, was ſo far from being detrimental, that it was, in fact, beneficial to the kingdom: that, as to another objection, as if the revival of the duty would hurt agriculture, the allegation itſelf was founded on a falſe fact, becauſe no duty was laid on that ſpecies of the commodity which was proper for manure. The queſtion being put, it was, at length, carried in the affirmative, and the duty was revived.

The ſtate of the Charitable Corporation now engaged the attention of parliament. This company was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1707. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt, to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of higher rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but by licences from the crown, they encreaſed it to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſquire, member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs. This committee, after a ſtrict ſcrutiny, reported, that for a capital of five hundred thouſand pounds, no equivalent was found; that the major part of their effects were embezzled, and what remainded were not worth thirty thouſand pounds.

Hereupon a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons by the proprietors, ſetting forth, that, by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital: and that many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they, therefore, intreated, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, the houſe would be pleaſed to inquire into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners, as the houſe ſhould think proper.

The commons appointed a committee to conduct the enquiry, who ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Some members of parliament were deeply concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; and met with the fate which their villainy deſerved. Sir Robert Sutton, and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe, as having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe fraudulent practices; and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, together with their accomplices, Dennis Bond, William Burroughs, George Jackſon, Benjamin Robinſon, Richard Wooley, and Thomas Warren, from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

The committee, in the interim, received a letter from ſignior John Angelo Belloni, a banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city with all his papers, and confined to the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were tranſmitted to his correſpondent at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up, on granting to the priſoner certain favourable conditions.

From

From the characters of the perſons who had the conducting this affair, and from other circumſtances, the committee inferred, that the whole was an artful contrivance of the jacobites, concerted on purpoſe to ſerve the cauſe of the pretender, as if he had taken meaſures for arreſting Thompſon, from his affection for the people of England, and his regard for public juſtice.

The commons, on reading Belloni's letter, unanimouſly reſolved, that it was an inſolent audacious libel, attempting, by falſe and inſidious inſinuations to impoſe upon the parliament and people of Great-Britain; and by ſpecious pretences, and profeſſions of eſteem, affection, and compaſſion, to amuſe the unhappy ſufferers of the Charitable Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief; that the ſaid letter was, in itſelf, abſurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the ſtile of power and authority, or as proceeding from ſome extraordinary intereſt and influence, but concluding in the perſon and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed upon certain conditions in behalf of John Thomſon to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the ſaid Thompſon; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompſon, ſeemed at the ſame time to be vague, evaſive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himſelf and his accomplices, without any proſpect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole tranſaction appeared to be a ſcandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy and to diſguiſe and conceal the wicked practices of the profeſſed enemies to his majeſty's perſon, crown and dignity. They therefore voted, that the ſaid infamous libel ſhould be burned at the Royal-Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman.

The penſion-bill was revived for the third time, and paſſed the houſe of commons; but was rejected in that of the lords. A bill for encouraging the growth of coffee in the plantations was carried through both houſes, without any difficulty, and enacted into a law. Another for the better ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by farther qualifying members to ſit in the houſe of commons was read a third time, and thrown out upon the queſtion. A committee was appointed to inquire into the eſtate, which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the ſale had been fraudulent: a bill was brought in to make it void: Dennis Bond, Eſq; and ſerjeant Birch, commiſſioners for the ſale of the forfeited eſtates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and expelled the houſe of commons.

George Robinſon Eſq; was alſo expelled on account of the part he had acted in the Charitable corporation, as he and Thompſon had neglected to ſurrender themſelves, according to the terms of a bill which had paſſed for that purpoſe. All the ſupplies were granted, and, among other articles, the ſum of two and twenty thouſand, ſix hundred and ninety four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence, for the agio, or difference between the money of Hamburgh and that of Denmark, in the ſubſidies payable to that crown by the king of France, who refuſed to make good the difference, which, therefore, his Britannic majeſty engaged to diſcharge. But this ſum was not obtained without warm debates.

Mr. Pulteney, by the freedom of his writings and debates, had rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious to the court, that the king called for the council-book, and with his own hand, ſtruck his name out of the liſt of privy-counſellors. His majeſty further ordered him to be put out of all the commiſſions of the peace. The ſeveral lord lieutenants from whom he had received commiſſions, were commanded to revoke them; and the lord chancellor and ſecretaries of ſtate were directed to give orders accordingly.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the firſt of June, with a ſpeech, in which among others, were the following expreſſions; "It is unneceſſary for me, to repreſent to "you the ſtate and ſituation of public af- "affairs both at home and abroad: you muſt "all be ſenſible of what is univerſally ſeen "and felt in the full enjoyment of a general "peace.

" peace. The acceſſion of the ſtates-gene-
" ral to the treaty of Vienna, has perfected
" the eſtabliſhment of the public tranquil-
" lity, as far as reaſon and prudence can
" foreſee; to adhere to a faithful obſervance
" and execution of the treaties and alliances
" ſubſiſting among the ſeveral princes and
" powers of Europe, free from groundleſs
" jealouſies, and avoid all ambitious views,
" will be the moſt effectual means to preſerve
" theſe bleſſings to us." He acquainted them with his intention of viſiting his German dominions, for which he ſet out in the beginning of June.

What his majeſty had repreſented appeared to be the real ſtate of affairs on the continent. The ſtates-general had ſucceeded in forwarding the project of a marriage between the eldeſt archduchefs of Auſtria and the duke of Lorrain; by which means the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions, the great object of the Pragmatic Sanction, was ſecured, without ſubjecting Europe to any apprehenſions of danger by her matching with a more powerful prince. They had obtained a full and perpetual aboliſhment of the Oſtend company; and all their diſputes with the emperor in Eaſt-Frieſland were finally adjuſted.

The friendſhip between Great-Britain and Vienna ſeemed to be ſincere; but that court carried its perſecutions againſt its proteſtant ſubjects to ſuch a height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpoſe in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the blind deference of the ſovereign to that miniſter, ſtill continued to be diſtracted with religious diſſentions, which rendered her unable to diſturb the repoſe of her neighbours, at the ſame time that they deſtroyed her own internal tranquillity.

The views of Spain in ſettling Don Carlos in Italy, being accompliſhed, ſhe now mediated an expedition in which ſhe appeared to have been prompted rather by the genius of the people, than the true intereſt of their country. It was directed againſt Oran a town of ſome conſequence, which lies oppoſite to Carthagena, and which the Moors had taken from the Spaniards in 1708, after they had poſſeſſed it two hundred years.

For this expedition they fitted out a ſtrong armament, and their fleet ſailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coaſt of Barbary, in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a conſiderable body of foot was landed without much oppoſition. Next morning, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a compleat victory. The dey or governor of Oran, immediately retired with his garriſon, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the place without reſiſtance. The ſtrong fort of Mazalquiver was likewiſe ſurrendered to the victors at the firſt ſummons; ſo that the Spaniards were ſucceſsful to the heighth of their wiſhes.

The abdicated king of Sardinia, Victor Amadæus, having at the inſtigation of his wife, engaged in ſome intrigues, in order to re-aſcend the throne, his ſon, the reigning king, ordered his perſon to be ſeized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong guard. His wife the counteſs of Sebaſtian, was confined to Ceva.

The diſpute, that had long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the young prince of Orange, touching his ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by William the third, as head of the houſe of Orange, was at laſt adjuſted by a formal treaty, ſigned at Berlin and Dieren. In the courſe of this year the prince royal, now king of Pruſſia, eſpouſed the princeſs of Bevern; and thus purchaſed his father's favour by a match very diſagreeable to himſelf.

*A. D.* 1733. That the reader may form a proper idea of the tranſactions of the enſuing parliament, it may not be improper to remind him, that the firſt duties upon beer, ale, cyder, perry, and other liquors, made in the kingdom, and ſet to ſale, were impoſed in the reign of Charles the ſecond, and were given to that prince as an equivalent for the court of wards, the purveyances, and other rites of the crown, which he reſigned, and which had hitherto rendered the prerogative too powerful

ful for the liberty of the ſubject. As the crown had always formerly rejected every propoſal of a commutation of this kind, and as the king could have no ſecurity for the performance of the bargain, than the faith and honour of parliament, the two houſes piqued themſelves ſo much on making good the engagement, that the laws they enacted for collecting the exciſe, ſeemed, in many inſtances, to encroach on the property and liberty of the people. Thoſe who had ſuffered by theſe laws, thought themſelves injured, and the clamours againſt exciſe laws were great and general.

In this temper of mind was the public with regard to this important article, when the parliament met on the ſixteenth day of January. The king's ſpeech was ſhort and general. He recommended the raiſing the ſupplies in the moſt eaſy and popular manner; exhorted the members to avoid heats and animoſities; and earneſtly adviſed them to purſue the true intereſt of their country at all events.

His majeſty's ſpeech, however inoffenſive, produced a debate in the houſe of commons. A motion having been made for an addreſs of thanks, aſſuring his majeſty, they would comply with his requeſt. Sir John Barnard propoſed an amendment, importing, that the manner of raiſing the ſupplies ſhould likewiſe be ſuch as might be conſiſtent with the trade, intereſt, and liberty of the nation. He was ſupported by Mr. Sandys and Mr. Shippen, who added, that the honour and juſtice of parliament ſhould be alſo therein conſulted.

Sir Robert Walpole ſeconded theſe motions by way of ſhewing his contempt for them; and after having diſclaimed all knowledge of any intention to injure the trade of the nation, he dropped ſome expreſſions, which ſeemed to inſinuate, that very unfair methods had been uſed to make the people complain without any reaſon. This charge was highly reſented by Sir Thomas Alſton, who ſaid, that the people had but too good reaſon to complain; that the French were employed in fortifying and repairing the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties: that the Britiſh merchants had received no redreſs for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreaſed: and that the miniſtry had been concerned in all the fraudulent ſchemes of the Charitable Corporation and other ſocieties. He added, that the parliament could not fairly tell his majeſty, that they were ſatisfied with the ſituation of affairs at home: for his own part, he was in no wiſe ſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs either at home or abroad; and therefore he moved that no ſuch aſſurance ſhould be given to his majeſty. This motion, however, was dropt, and the addreſs, with both the amendments, was preſented; and graciouſly anſwered by his majeſty.

The eſtimates for the enſuing year now engaged the attention of the commons. They voted eight thouſand ſeamen, and ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men for the land ſervice. This laſt meaſure, however, was not carried without a violent oppoſition. All the arguments againſt a ſtanding army were again repeated with great eagerneſs. The example of the Dutch, who had lately agreed to a reduction of their troops, was urged as a proper precedent for England. This laſt fact, however, was denied by Mr. Horace Walpole, who obſerved, that the number of forces then propoſed, was abſolutely neceſſary, as long as the nation enjoyed the happineſs of being governed by the preſent royal family.

The gentlemen of the oppoſition now determined to try their ſtrength, by an enquiry into the Spaniſh depredations. On the thirteenth day of February, Sir Wilfred Lawſon moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, intreating him to inform them, what ſatisfaction had been given to the Britiſh merchants for the loſs ſuſtained in America by the Spaniſh depredations.

The miniſter would willingly have ſtifled this motion, which was only intended to embarraſs his meaſures; but he could not oppoſe it, without laying himſelf open to the attacks of his enemies. His backwardneſs to break with the court of Spain had made him indulge them in various delays with regard to their making the promiſed reparation; but he had not been altogether remiſs

in this affair. Mr. Keene, the Britiſh reſident at Madrid, had printed ſeveral ſmart memorials on the ſubject, and in the courſe of the former year had obtained the following cedula, which is inſerted at length, that the reader may be enabled to judge whether the blame thrown on the miniſtry was altogether deſerved.

" I the King.

" Whereas the Britiſh miniſter, reſiding " at this court, has repreſented to me, that, " notwithſtanding the orders I have iſſued, " to hinder the Spaniſh privateers in Ame- " rica, from committing hoſtilities againſt " the Engliſh ſhips frequenting thoſe ſeas: " nevertheleſs, not only ſuch perſons as have " patents from governors of ſome of the " ports of my dominions, but alſo ſome, " who have no patents at all, continue their " hoſtilities, under pretence of preventing " an illicit commerce; whilſt the governors " refuſe to admit of the complaints prefer- " red by the Engliſh, who have experien- " ced ſuch unjuſt moleſtations, or to in- " demnify them for the loſſes they may " have thereby ſuſtained: My reſolution is, " that the orders, already iſſued for that pur- " poſe, ſhould be repeated. Wherefore I " command, by theſe preſents, all gover- " nors in America, not to ſuffer any of my " ſubjects to moleſt or abuſe the Engliſh " ſhips that ſhall ſail in thoſe ſeas, as long " as they keep in their proper diſtances, and " are not concerned in any illicit trade; and " my governors muſt take ſpecial care, " that my ſaid ſubjects do conform exactly " and indiſpenſably to the royal laws and or- " dinances, which treat of thoſe matters: and " if any of my ſaid ſubjects, ſhould commit " any outrage, contrary to thoſe laws, I com- " mand my governors to puniſh them, with " all the ſeverity that the nature of the of- " fence ſhall ſeem to require; as alſo, ſuch " as, without patents, ſhall go to ſea in order " to commit hoſtilities, and make unlawful " prizes. And I likewiſe order that the " ſaid governors ſhall hear and examine all " the complaints that ſhall be made to them " from the miniſters or chief commanders of " Great Britain, either by word of mouth, or " by writing; taking care to do them juſtice " at all times, and to give them certificates " of all that ſhall be tranſacted: and I fur- " ther enjoin, that ſatisfaction be made to " them for the loſſes they may have ſuſ- " tained unjuſtly, by the ſubjects, who may " have occaſioned theſe loſſes, and who " ought to make them good; for ſuch is " my will. And the aforſaid governors are " to underſtand, that they ſhall be made ac- " countable for the exceſſes committed by the " privateers; becauſe, before they grant " them patents to go to ſea, they ought to ex- " amine who the perſons are, and inſiſt upon " proper ſecurities.

" Done at Seville, the " 18th January, 1732

" I the King,

" D. Joſeph Patinho."

" To the gover- " nors of the " ports in the " Indies, relat- " ing to the hoſ- " tilities, which " the Engliſh " have experi- " enced from the " privateers of " thoſe ports."

However full and expreſs this cedula was, it did not ſatisfy the anti-courtiers in England. They alledged, and with great ſhow of reaſon, that the expreſſion uſed by his Catholic majeſty, of proper diſtances to be kept by Britiſh ſhips upon the coaſts of America, was a fallacious condition, and tended to defeat the whole purport of the declaration. They affirmed, that it was abſolutely impoſſible for ſhips ſailing from one colony of Great Britain to another, to perform their voyages, without being ſometimes driven by winds and tides, within ſuch diſtances of the Spaniſh coaſts, as the Spaniards might deem to be improper, and therefore a ſufficient cauſe for capture, according to the ſecret orders, which moſt probably were given to the governors.

The motion was, however, at length, approved, and the addreſs preſented. His majeſty, in his anſwer, informed the houſe, that the

the meeting of the commiſſaries of the two crowns had been ſo long delayed by unforeſeen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February, and that, as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years, allotted for finiſhing the commiſſion, ſhould be computed from the time of their firſt meeting, he could not yet lay before the houſe a perfect account of their proceedings.

A matter of the utmoſt importance to the welfare of the trading part of the nation, was the next object that engaged the attention of the houſe. The French ſugar iſlands had long carried on a very large and extenſive commerce with the Britiſh ſettlements in North America, as well as with Ireland; a ſpecies of traffic which tended greatly to the detriment of the Engliſh ſugar colonies. In order to remedy this growing evil, the commons came to the following reſolutions: that no ſugar, paneels, ſyrups, or molaſſes, of the growth, product, or manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in America, nor any rum, or ſpirits of America, except of the growth or manufacture of his majeſty's ſugar colonies there, ſhould be imported into Ireland, but from Great Britain only: that a duty of four ſhillings per hundred weight ſhould be laid on all ſugars and paneels, imported into any of his majeſty's colonies or plantations in America: that a duty of ſixpence per gallon ſhould be laid on all foreign molaſſes and ſyrups imported into any of his majeſty's colonies or plantations in America: that a duty of ninepence per gallon ſhould be laid on all foreign rum imported into any of his majeſty's colonies or plantations in America: that all duties, charged on the importation of all ſugars and paneels of the growth, product, or manufacture of his majeſty's colonies and plantations of America into Great Britain, ſhould be drawn back on exportation of the ſame: that a drawback or allowance of two ſhillings per hundred weight on all ſugars refined in, or exported from Great Britain, ſhould be paid on the exportation thereof, excluſive of thoſe drawbacks and bounties payable on that commodity at preſent.

A ſtrong oppoſition was made to theſe reſolutions, and in particular to the firſt, by all thoſe, who had any intereſt in Ireland. They alledged that nothing could be more imprudent than ſuch a proceeding, as it would naturally encourage the conſumption of French brandy: thas it was directly contrary to the treaty with Portugal, by prohibiting the importation of Portugueſe ſugar into Ireland: that France would probably conſider it as an infringment of the treaty of Utrecht, by which it was provided, that all trade ſhould remain on its former footing: that the Iriſh had reaſon to complain of the cruel and contemptuous manner, in which they were treated in this and many other particulars: that if ſuch high duties were laid upon the materials for making rum, the French, inſtead of ſupplying our northern colonies, as they then did with molaſſes at a very cheap rate, would apply themſelves to the manufacturing their own molaſſes into rum, which the Engliſh coloniſts would buy at any price: that the inconvenience of the ſecond reſolution, which amounted to a prohibition of French rum into the Engliſh colonies, would be, that the French, having once got into the method of making rum, would ſmuggle it into the Britiſh-plantations, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the governors to prevent them; the rather as the coaſts of the Engliſh dominions in North America, were ſo extenſive, and ſo full of bays and creeks, that it was impoſſible to guard againſt ſmuggling; and that high duties on any commodity, was the greateſt temptation to that practice.

In anſwer to theſe arguments it was urged that the prohibition in queſtion could never have the effect of encouraging the conſumption of French brandy in Ireland, inaſmuch as the importation of rum into that kingdom was ſtill allowed of from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands: that the commodities directly imported into Ireland, were generally the product or manufacture of foreign ſugar colonies which were thereby greatly encouraged, while the Britiſh ſugar colonies were diſcouraged

raged and injured in proportion: that no foreign power could reaſonably be offended at a national regulation, which effected only the trade of Great-Britain; the rather as it ſeemed not to be the intention of the government to prohibit either French ſpirits or Portugal ſugars from being imported into Ireland. The foregoing reſolutions were at laſt digeſted into a bill, which afterwards paſſed into a law, under the title of an act, for the better ſecuring and encouragngi the Britiſh ſugar colonies in America.

Thus ended an affair, which had long engroſſed the attention of the ableſt merchants in his majeſty's dominions, and about which the inhabitants of the mother country as well as thoſe of her colonies were divided in their ſentiments. The ſubject, it muſt be owned, was of a nature no leſs delicate and important. If the ſugar colonies were relieved, the ruin of the northern ſettlements was apprehended; and yet it was evident, that, if theſe laſt were allowed to continue their extenſive commerce with the French, the former muſt ſoon be reduced to the moſt wretched condition. The parliament wiſely choſe the leaſt of the two evils; and happily no dangerous conſequences appear as yet to have ariſen from the paſſing of this act.

The revival of the ſalt duty having in ſome degree abated the animoſity between the landed gentlemen and the miniſter; he reſolved to encreaſe his intereſt with that part of the nation by giving ſome farther eaſe in another particular. With this view he moved, that towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund, over and above what had been applied to the payment of one million for diſcharging the national debt, purſuant to an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. He added, that, if the houſe ſhould not approve of this motion, he or ſome other member would be obliged to move for a land tax of two ſhillings in the pound; as the current ſervice of the year could not be otherwiſe provided for.

The landed men were greatly offended at this motion, which ſeemed to inſinuate, that they would rather encroach upon the ſacred depoſit of the ſinking fund, than conſent to pay a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound. "The honourable gentleman," ſaid Mr. Pulteney, "has often been called, and he "once had the vanity to call himſelf, the fa-"ther of the ſinking fund; but, if Solo-"mon's judgment be right, he, who is thus "for ſplitting and dividing the child, can "never be deemed the real father. He may "claim, and I will allow him, the honour of "being the father of two other children "lately brought forth in this nation, a ſtand-"ing army and an exciſe; but as for the "ſinking fund, he ſeems now to renounce "all pretences of being its real father."

Mr. Pulteney's ſarcaſm ſeems to be ill founded, for it was well known that the exciſe and the army were both upon the ſame footing as they had been before the miniſter came into power or even into parliament. With regard to the ſinking fund, Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that he remembered the time, when the eſtabliſhment of that ſcheme was treated as a ridiculous project, and then he was obliged to father it; but no ſooner was it found to be a meaſure that tended to the intereſt of the nation, than other gentlemen endeavoured to rob the real father, whoever he was, of the honour of having ſuch a child.

Sir William Wyndham oppoſed the motion, ſaying, that though five hundred thouſand pounds ſeemed at preſent to be ſaved in the pockets of the landed gentlemen, that ſum muſt, ſome time or other, be paid by the nation. If it was paid the enſuing year, they muſt then pay twenty thouſand pounds more for it; if not till two years after, they muſt then pay forty thouſand pounds more for it: and if it was not paid till fifteen or ſixteen years after, they muſt then, according to the rate of compound intereſt, which in ſome caſes muſt take place, pay above a million for the five hundred thouſand pounds, of which they now pretended to eaſe the landed gentlemen.

Mr. Scroop, ſecretary to the treaſury, in anſwer to theſe objections, remarked, that the motion

motion was no other than an alternative, either to take the money from the ſinking fund, or to take it from the landed gentlemen, upon whom the burden muſt immediately fall: that even ſuppoſing the honourable gentleman's calculations to be juſt, and his apprehenſions well grounded, he muſt, nevertheleſs, admit, that, by keeping the money in the pockets of the landed gentlemen, the intereſt would accumulate to them in the ſame manner as it would to the creditors of the government: that this was an immediate ſaving, which might be of much more ſervice to theſe gentlemen, who ought to be conſidered as part, and indeed the moſt reſpectable part, of the public, than the payment of the intereſt, to which all the kingdom muſt indiſcriminately contribute, could be of detriment to the nation: that this opinion would appear to be the better founded, when it was conſidered, that the government might probably hereafter find very great reſources, in the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and credit of the kingdom, which, as they encreaſed, muſt enable the landed gentleman to pay, ſome years hence, what at preſent he was not ſo well able to do.

Several reflections, on the revival of the ſalt duty, having been made during the debate; Mr. Pelham replied, that gentlemen might talk as they pleaſed of what had been done in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; but he could ſay, that, in all places where he had ſince been, he had the pleaſure of receiving the univerſal thanks of the people for the eaſe given by that expedient to the landed intereſt: that, in whatever light that affair might now be repreſented, he nevertheleſs knew, that ſome gentlemen, who oppoſed the meaſure, were heard to ſay, at the time of its being firſt mentioned, that it was a moſt damnable project; it would pleaſe the country too much; and therefore they muſt endeavour to render it abortive: that he would, indeed, do the gentlemen the juſtice to believe, that they then ſpoke their real ſentiments; and he was convinced they did all that lay in their power to prevent the ſucceſs of a deſign, by which his majeſty's adminiſtration had gained the good will and eſteem of the generality of the land-holders in England: that the ſcheme, however, which was now propoſed, was not an impoſition of any new load upon poſterity; it was only a diſtribution of that money, which always had been, and ſtill was, at the diſpoſal of parliament. The motion was, in the end, approved, and the ſum granted, after long and violent debates.

The apprehenſions of the public at this time ran very high with reſpect to the exciſe-ſcheme, which the miniſter had openly declared he intended to bring into the houſe; and their ill humour was ſtill farther encreaſed by a variety of other circumſtances. The Spaniſh depredations in America, ſtill continued to encreaſe: the penſion-bill had been ſeveral times rejected in the houſe of lords: a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons, had met with the ſame fate: ſuch too had been the iſſue of a motion to bring in a bill to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, and limit their continuance to the term of three years.

In fact, the approbation of the public to theſe popular motions, was by no means expected or deſired, by the perſons in the oppoſition. Their only intention in making them was to diſcredit the miniſter, by repreſenting their miſcarriage as owing to his influence; and in this attempt they had all the ſucceſs which their hearts could poſſibly wiſh. The miniſter was by theſe and like methods, rendered ſo unpopular, that even without examination, all his ſchemes were condemned.

Sir Robert Walpole, in a committee of the whole houſe, opened the project he had ſo long been meditating, on the fourteenth of March. He began by aſſuring the houſe, that the ſcheme he intended to lay before them, according to the beſt of his knowledge, would be an improvement to the revenue of twenty or thirty thouſand pounds a year. He then proceeded to explain and enumerate the various frauds and impoſitions, which were committed in the tobacco trade, and which were ſo groſs and palpable, that the indignation of the members thereat, could only be equalled by their ſurpriſe.

The duties now payable on the importation of tobacco, he ſaid, amounted to ſixpence and one third of a penny per pound weight; which muſt be paid down in ready money upon the commodity's being imported, with the allowance, however, of ten per cent. upon prompt payment; or elſe there muſt be bonds given, with ſufficient ſecurity for the payment of the money; a circumſtance, which was often a great inconvenience to the merchant importer: that, by the ſcheme he was going to propoſe, the whole duties to be paid for the future, would amount to no more than four pence and three farthings per pound weight; and this duty was not to be paid, till the tobacco came to be ſold for home conſumption: that thus the merchant, if he exported his tobacco, would be quite free from all payment of duty, or the neceſſity of giving bond for it, or finding out proper ſureties to join with him in ſuch bond; he would have nothing to do but to ſhift his tobacco on board a ſhip for exportation, without being at the trouble to attend in order to have his bonds cancelled, or take out debentures for the drawbacks: that they being relieved from all this drudgery, muſt, he conceived, be a great eaſe to the fair trader; and to every ſuch trader, the preventing of frauds muſt be a great advantage, as it would put all the tobacco traders in Great-Britain upon the ſame footing; a thing, which was certainly juſt and reaſonable, and which, if poſſible, ought undoubtedly to be accompliſhed: that for the better effecting this purpoſe, he propoſed, that the laws of exciſe ſhould be joined to thoſe of the cuſtoms: and that one penny or rather three farthings per pound, commonly called the further ſubſidy, ſhould be ſtill left to be charged at the Cuſtom-houſe upon the importation of any tobacco; which three farthings ſhould be payable to his majeſty's civil liſt as formerly: that all tobacco, for the future, after being weighed at the Cuſtom-houſe, and charged with the ſaid three farthings per pound, ſhould be lodged in a warehouſe, to be appointed by the commiſſioners of the exciſe for that purpoſe; of which warehouſe the merchant importer ſhould have one lock and key, and the warehouſe-keeper, to be named by the ſaid commiſſioners, ſhould have another; that ſo the tobacco might be ſafe in that warehouſe, till the merchant found a market, either in the way of exportation or home conſumption: that, if the market was for exportation, he might apply to the warehouſe-keeper, and take out as much for that purpoſe, as he wanted, which, when weighed at the Cuſtom-houſe, ſhould be diſcharged of the three farthings per pound, with which it was charged upon importation; and then the merchant might export it without any farther trouble: that, if on the contrary, his market was for home conſumption, he ſhould then pay the three farthings charged upon it at the Cuſtom-houſe upon importation, and then calling for his warehouſe-keeper, he might deliver it to the buyer, on paying an inland duty of four pence per pound weight, to the officer appointed to receive that duty: that, whereas all the penalties and forfeitures, which became due by the laws in being for regulating and collecting the duties on tobacco, or at leaſt all that part of them, which was not given to the informers, now belonged to the crown, he propoſed, that all ſuch penalties and forfeitures, inaſmuch as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould, for the future, belong to the public, and be applicable to the ſame uſes, to which the ſaid duties ſhould be appropriated by the parliament: that, for this purpoſe, he had his majeſty's commands to acquaint them, that his majeſty out of his great regard for the public good, with pleaſure conſented, that they ſhould be ſo applied; an inſtance of condeſcenſion, which, he hoped, every gentleman in the houſe would readily perceive, and gratefully acknowledge: that he knew there had been an objection made, and he expected to hear it again made in this houſe, againſt what he now propoſed; namely, that a great many of his majeſty's ſubjects would be ſubjected to be tried, in a multitude of caſes, by the commiſſioners of exciſe, from whom there lay no appeal but to the commiſſioners of appeal,

peal, or to the juſtices of peace in the country, all of them named by the king, and removeable at pleaſure; and from whom, of conſequence, the appellants could not expect to meet with juſtice and redreſs: that he was far from thinking there was any juſt cauſe for this complaint; or that any man ever had reaſon to ſay, he was wronged or injured, either by the commiſſioners of appeal, or by the juſtices of peace at their quarter ſeſſion: that nevertheleſs, in order to obviate any objection of this nature, he propoſed, that all appeals in this caſe, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould, for the future, be heard and determined by two or three of the judges to be named by his majeſty out of the twelve judges belonging to Weſtminſter-hall; and that, in the country, all appeals from the firſt ſentence of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, ſhould be to the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, which ſhould come into that country; who ſhould, in all caſes, proceed to hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary way, without the formality of proceedings in the courts of law and equity: that, from ſuch judges, and from ſuch a manner of proceeding, every man might expect to meet with the utmoſt diſpatch, and with the moſt impartial juſtice; and, therefore, he muſt be of opinion, that what he now propoſed could be no inconvenience to thoſe, who might thereby be ſubjected to the exciſe laws; but that, on the contrary, in caſe there was formerly any ground for complaint, thoſe who were already ſubjected to ſuch laws, would find relief by the preſent ſcheme.

Alderman Perry, one of the members for the city of London, in oppoſing this motion, endeavoured to invalidate moſt of the allegations brought by Sir Robert Walpole againſt the frauds committed in the tobacco trade. He ſaid, it had been pretended, that the public had ſuſtained, and were ſtill in danger of ſuſtaining great loſſes, by the method of granting bonds for the duties payable upon tobacco: that this inſinuation he had before heard thrown out by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt: and therefore he had lately had a meeting with ſeveral merchants in London trading in tobacco; they had examined the matter with the utmoſt care and impartiality; and he could now inform the houſe, that he had it in commiſſion from theſe merchants to propoſe, that, if the government would allow them a diſcount of but twenty thouſand pounds, they would give undeniable ſecurity for the payment of all the bonds, of which the government was now poſſeſſed, and which were not become deſperate by the bondſmen having already fled the kingdom, or become bankrupts: that with regard to the fraud called ſocking, it had already been diſcovered, and was, he hoped, prevented for the future; but it was well known, that the merchants firſt diſcovered it; the merchants went and complained of it to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms; and the merchants joined and aſſiſted the officers of the cuſtoms in putting an effectual ſtop to it: that as to the frauds committed at the weighing of the tobacco, either on importation or exportation, he was afraid they were too frequent; but, as the tobacco was always weighed upon the public Cuſtom-houſe keys, where Cuſtom-houſe officers ſwarm like bees before a hive, and as there muſt be two or three officers attending and overlooking the weighing of every caſk of tobacco, it could not be ſuppoſed, that theſe frauds were ever ſo enormous as they had been repreſented: that whatever frauds were committed in that way, muſt either be owing to the neglect or colluſion of the officers; and he could not ſee how the preſent ſcheme would make the officers either of the cuſtoms or exciſe, more diligent in their duty, or more faithful to their truſt, than they had hitherto been: that, as to the re-landing of tobacco, after it had been entered for exportation, it was never pretended that ſuch a fraud was committed at the port of London; nor could it be pretended, that any great quantities of ſuch tobacco were ever conſumed in London: that it was a practice, which might perhaps, have been frequent in the northern parts of the iſland, and in ſome diſtants creeks and corners of the coaſt: and while there was ſuch a vaſt diſproportion between the prime coſt and

the duties on tobacco, he might prophecy, that, in ſuch remote places, this practice would always prevail: that it could not be prevented by ten times the number of officers, which the government had, even though backed by a much more numerous army, than was then kept on foot: that, with reſpect to the ſtripping, cutting and preſſing the ſtalks of tobacco, if the honourable gentleman mentioned it as a fraud, or as a late diſcovery, he miſtook it very much; on the contrary, it was no fraud, nor was it a late diſcovery; it was a buſineſs that had been openly, honeſtly, and publicly carried on for many years; it was a buſineſs that had improved the tobacco trade, and was as common and as well known as the buſineſs of a woollen or a linen draper: that he begged leave to mention the condition of the tobacco planters, and the hardſhips to which they were expoſed by their tobacco factors, who were, it ſeems, now become their lords and maſters: that he was ſure none of them ever thought of complaining, till they were induced to it by letters and applications from hence: that there were hardſhips in all trades, to which men muſt neceſſarily ſubmit, or give up their buſineſs; but every man who underſtood the tobacco trade, muſt ſee that the hardſhips under which the factors laboured, were by far the moſt numerous and the moſt grievous; and if this ſcheme ſhould take effect, they would ſoon become ſo grievous, that no man would be able to continue in the trade; by which means the planters would be utterly undone, and the trade quite loſt to the nation: that it was impoſſible for them to manage their plantations, or to ſend their produce to Great-Britain, without having ſome conſiderable merchants ſettled here, who might ſend ſhips to receive it in America, to manage and diſpoſe of it after it was landed in England, and to ſupply them with ready money, till their tobacco could be brought to a proper market: that with regard to the remonſtrance, mentioned by the honourable gentleman to have been lately ſent over by the tobacco planters, he knew it was obtained by a letter from hence; and he believed many of thoſe, who joined in it, now heartily repented of what they had done: that it was drawn up in form of a petition to this houſe, and was deſigned to have been preſented; but it ſeemed the promoters of it had altered their intention; however, that it had been obtained in the unfair manner he had repreſented, he was now ready to prove, to the conviction of the whole world: that, as this was the caſe; as the ſcheme now propoſed, could not be ſaid to be of any great benefit to the public revenue; as it would be ſo far from being an advantage to the fair trader, or to the honeſt planter, that it would probably ruin both, and entirely deſtroy the tobacco trade; though he and all honeſt men wiſhed from their hearts, that frauds might be prevented in this as well as in every other branch of the public revenue: yet he could not give his aſſent to a propoſition, which he conſidered as inconſiſtent with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution: that he was convinced it would prove a moſt fatal ſtroke to the liberties of his country; a circumſtance, which he doubted not, would be made plainly appear by other gentlemen of much greater abilities than he was poſſeſſed of; and to every man, who had a regard for his country, or for the people repreſented, this laſt muſt be a ſufficient reaſon for oppoſing the ſcheme, even though it were in other reſpects, one of the moſt beneficial that had ever been propoſed: that ſince he looked upon that day, on which he was choſen one of the repreſentives of the city of London, as the moſt auſpicious day of his whole life, he could not tamely ſit ſtill, and hear the whole body of the merchants of that great city treated by that honourable gentleman as a pack of rogues, ſmugglers, and unfair traders: it was a treatment, which they no ways deſerved; it was a very ſtrange and very cruel kind of treatment, and ſuch a treatment, as he believed, they could never forgive, and was certain they would never forget.

In anſwer to the alderman, Sir Philip Yorke, the attorney general, ſaid, that the gentlemen in the oppoſition had miſapprehended the queſtion, which was no other than,

than, whether the frauds, that had been mentioned, and indeed had been admitted, ſhould, or ſhould not be prevented: that the preſent ſcheme could never, in any ſenſe, endanger the conſtitution of the kingdom; nor was it poſſible to find out any liberty that could be effected by it, but the liberty of ſmuggling: that as to national liberty; as to that liberty, which always had been, and always would be the glory of theſe kingdoms, it was certain, that the public revenues were its greateſt ſecurity: how then could that liberty be ſaid to be endangered by a ſcheme, which ſo evidently tended to the improvement of that very thing, upon which the national liberty manifeſtly depended? that the ſcheme was intended for the relief of the landed intereſt; and ſo far was it from hurting his majeſty in the affections of his ſubjects, that it would, were it fully known and thoroughly underſtood, eſtabliſh him more firmly in their good will and favour: that this would appear the more plainly, when it was conſidered, that the ſcheme was ſo calculated, that no honeſt man in England, no fair trader, would be obliged to pay one ſhilling more to the government than what the law directed: that there was no more danger in the laws of exciſe than in thoſe of the cuſtoms; nor could any thing be more ridiculous than the apprehenſions which ſome gentlemen ſeemed to entertain, as if the addition of one hundred and twenty little exciſe officers (for no more were propoſed to be added) would ever endanger the liberties of England: that with regard to the hardſhips of trying the ſubject by the laws of exciſe, he thought that objection was in a great meaſure removed, by the method propoſed of all trials being held in Weſtminſter-hall, and not before the commiſſioners of exciſe: that though the Magna Charta preſcribed trials by juries, yet the wiſdom of the legiſlature had thought fit, in many inſtances, to deviate from that rule; witneſs the proceedings in chancery, and in the high court of admiralty: that if ever there was a reaſon, in any caſe, for altering the ancient method of trials by juries, he was ſure there was a very ſtrong reaſon for altering it with regard to trials concerning the revenue: that every gentleman, who had been in the leaſt converſant in the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, well knew the partiality of juries in favour of thoſe, who were ſued by the crown for any frauds in the public revenue: that he himſelf remembered an inſtance of a ſmuggler being tried in Weſtminſter-Hall, by a jury, upon as full evidence as could be produced in any caſe, and yet was acquitted: that, in theſe circumſtances, the crown could never pretend to prevent ſmuggling or unfair trading, as long as the trials were to be for the moſt part by juries; and where it became neceſſary to alter that method of trial, the altering in the new caſe, could no more than the former alteration, in another caſe, be ſaid to be an innovation or encroachment on the conſtitution.

The motion was alſo ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls, who, of all men in the world, was the leaſt likely to favour either the miniſter or any unconſtitutional propoſal. He thought that the appeal being made to the judges in Weſtminſter-Hall ſufficiently blunted the ſeverity of the exciſe laws: and that the prevention of the enormous frauds practiſed in collecting the revenue, was the only point to be conſidered.

Mr. Pulteney inſiſted, in reply to theſe advocates for the ſcheme, that it was altogether inconſiſtent with the liberties of the people, and plainly tended to ſubvert the conſtitution of the nation. He ſaid, he wiſhed the gentlemen, who appeared ſo zealous for the ſcheme, would have ſome little regard for their conſtituents: it was well known that it was the cuſtom among our anceſtors, when any new device was propoſed, to deſire time to have conference with their countries: that, for his own part, he was but very little converſant in books of law; however he ſometimes looked into them, and he muſt beg leave to read a paſſage or two on this ſubject from lord Coke, who, in the fourth part of his inſtitutes, ſaid, "that it was "alſo the law and cuſtom of the parliament, "that, when any new deviſe was moved on the "king's

" king's behalf, in parliament, for his aid, or " the like, the commons might anſwer, that they " tendered the king's eſtate, and were ready " to aid the ſame; only in this new device, " they durſt not agree without conference " with their countries, whereby it appeared " that ſuch conference was warrantable by " the law and cuſtom of parliament;" that according to the ſame author, at the parliament held in the ninth of Edward the third, when a motion was made for a ſubſidy of a new kind, the commons anſwered, " that " they would have conference with thoſe of " their ſeveral countries and places, who had " put them in truſt, before they treated of " any ſuch matter." He added, that if ſuch a conference was ever neceſſary upon any occaſion, it was ſurely neceſſary before they agreed to the meaſure now propoſed to them. He concluded with obſerving, that even a conference of that kind was unneceſſary, becauſe the conſtituents of the members had already ſufficiently declared their abhorrence of the ſcheme; and therefore he hoped, that it would be rejected with the contempt it merited, by the gentlemen of the committee.

That virulent and formidable enemy of the miniſter Sir William Wyndham, now ſpoke againſt the motion. He began with a general declamation againſt the laws of exciſe. He affirmed, that the pretence of eaſing the landed intereſt was a mere trap thrown out by the miniſter; and that the extenſion of the exciſe laws, and the encreaſe of officers that muſt attend it, would be much more dangerous to the nation, than the frauds which had been mentioned, were prejudicial to the revenues. He alledged, that the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration was very different from that of queen Elizabeth's miniſtry, who took particular care to avoid every thing that was diſagreeable to the people: he ſaid, the miniſtry aſked why the people complained of this ſcheme? here was no new tax to be impoſed; there was nothing propoſed but a new method of raiſing thoſe taxes, which were already due by law; but he would have gentlemen remember, that the nation had once already been more grievouſly oppreſſed by a new method of raiſing and collecting that money, which was before due by law, than ever they had been by any new tax that was laid upon them: that he had already mentioned the reign of Elizabeth; and if gentlemen would carry their views a little farther back, they would find that the people were moſt terribly harraſſed, and the nation almoſt deſtroyed, by a grievous method of raiſing and collecting that, which was due by laws then in being: Empſon and Dudley, thoſe two noted ways and means men, thoſe two wicked miniſters, knowing the avarice of their maſter, concluded, that no ſcheme would be more agreeable to him than that which would fill his coffers, by draining the purſes of his ſubjects, and this they did without impoſing any new taxes; they laid no new or illegal burdens on the people; they only carried into a ſevere and rigorous execution the laws, which had before been enacted; but what was their fate? they had the misfortune to outlive their maſter; and his ſon, as ſoon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads: that in this he did juſtly, though he did it againſt law; they had done nothing contrary to law; they had only put the laws ſeverely in execution; and what they did was in obedience to the command of the king their maſter; yet this was ſo grievous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, that nothing leſs than their lives could be admitted as a ſufficient atonement to the people; and certainly that oppreſſion, which is committed under the ſanction of the laws, or of the royal authority, muſt always be deemed criminal in the higheſt degree, and therefore ought to be puniſhed in the ſevereſt manner.

It was evident that this ſpeech was levelled againſt Sir Robert Walpole, who felt its force, and reſented it accordingly. He ſaid, he hoped that moſt of thoſe who heard him, were convinced, that it was very unfair and unjuſt to draw any parallel between the characters of Empſon and Dudley and his; a compariſon, however, which, he ſuppoſed, the honourable gentleman meant to make, when he brought that piece of hiſtory into the debate.

bate. He added, that, if he endeavoured to raiſe money from the people or from any man whatever, by oppreſſive or illegal means; if his character ſhould ever come to be, in any reſpect, like that of thoſe miniſters, he ſhould deſerve their fate; but, while he knew himſelf to be innocent, he ſhould depend upon the protection of the laws of his country; as long as they could protect him, he was ſafe; and if that protection ſhould fail, he was prepared to ſubmit to the worſt that could happen: that he knew his political and miniſterial life had by ſome gentlemen been long wiſhed at an end; but they might aſk their own diſcontented hearts, how vain their wiſhes had been; and as for his natural life, he had lived long enough to learn to be as eaſy about parting with it, as any man could well be. He declared, that he did not look upon the clamours without doors againſt the ſcheme to be the voice of the nation. He ſaid, that circular letters had been written and ſent by the beadles, in the moſt public and unprecedented manner round to almoſt every ward in the city, ſummoning the citizens, at their peril to come down this day to the houſe of commons: that this was a fact of which he was certain, becauſe he had now one of thoſe letters in his pocket, ſigned by the deputy of one of the greateſt wards in the city of London, and ſent by the beadle to one of the inhabitants of that ward: that he knew, that ſuch letters had been ſent to almoſt every liveryman and tradeſman in the ward; and and that, by the ſame ſort of unwarrantable methods, had the clamours been raiſed almoſt in every part of the nation. He then concluded with the following incautious expreſſions: "Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe, "of the multitudes now at the door, and in "the avenues leading to this houſe: they "may call them a modeſt multitude, if they "will; but, whatever temper they were in "when they came hither, it may be very "much altered now, after having waited ſo "long at our door: it may be a very eaſy "matter for ſome deſigning ſeditious perſon "to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them, "and when tumults are once begun, no man "knows where they may end: he is a "greater man than any I know in the na-"tion, that could with the ſame eaſe appeaſe "them: for this reaſon I muſt think, that it "was neither prudent nor regular to uſe any "methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to "this place, under any pretence whatever: "gentlemen may give them what name they "think fit: it may be ſaid, that they come "hither as humble ſupplicants; but I know "whom the law calls ſturdy beggars: and "thoſe who brought them hither, could not "be certain, that they might not have be-"haved in the ſame manner."

Immenſe crowds of people were at this time aſſembled round the houſe, and thoſe too ſo noiſy and riotous, that it was with the hazard of their lives, that any, who favoured the ſcheme, could either enter or come out. This was certainly an encroachment upon the freedom of parliament; nor could the rank or the intereſt of the parties alter the nature of the caſe.

The oppoſers of the ſcheme were ſo enraged at the ſevere reflections which had been thrown out on their friends, and the abettors of the ſcheme were ſo incenſed at the inſolent treatment they had received from the crowd, that it was not till after a conſiderable time, that the paſſions of either party were ſufficiently abated to proceed on the buſineſs.

At length, Sir John Barnard ſaid, that he knew of no irregular or unfair methods that had been uſed to call people from the city to the door of the houſe: that it was certain that any ſet of gentlemen or merchants might lawfully deſire their friends, they might write letters, and they might even ſend thoſe letters by whom they pleaſed, to deſire the merchants of figure and character to come down to the court of requeſts, and to the lobby of the houſe, in order to ſollicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project, which they thought might be prejudicial to them: that this was the undoubted right of the ſubject, and what had ever been practiced upon all occaſions: that the honourable gentleman had been pleaſed to talk of ſturdy beggars; he knew not what ſort of people might be now at the door, becauſe he had not lately been out of the houſe; but he believed

they

they were the ſame ſort of people that were there when he laſt entered; and then he could aſſure them, that he ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the name of ſturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever: that it was well known, that the city of London was ſufficiently apprized of what was that day to come before the houſe, where they got their information he knew not; but he was very certain, that they had a right notion of the ſcheme, which had now been opened; and they were ſo generally and zealouſly bent againſt it, that whatever methods might have been uſed to call them hither, he was ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal methods to have prevented their coming hither.

The motion was, however, carried, after long and violent debates, by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-ſix againſt two hundred and five. Several reſolutions were founded on the propoſal; and to thoſe the houſe agreed, though not without another violent conteſt. In the courſe of this ſecond debate, Sir Thomas Robinſon obſerved, in favour of the ſcheme, that it could not be denied, that it would contribute greatly to the relief of the landholders of Great-Britain: that as long as he could remember, he had always heard the land tax complained of, as one of the moſt unequal and grievous, as there was no proſpect, that any one of this generation would have been relieved from the burden of it: that from the land tax alone ſixty four millions and a half had been raiſed ſince the revolution: and an eſtate of a thouſand pounds a year, fully ſeſſed ſince that period, had paid ſix thouſand four hundred and fifty pounds; a ſum that amounted to near one ſixth part of the whole produce of ſuch an eſtate during that time, ſo that, by taking it at an average, the landholders of theſe eſtates thus ſeſſed, had paid very near a ſixth part of the produce of their eſtates for forty-four years ſucceſſively; a contribution which bore no manner of proportion to what had been paid by any other ſet of men, towards defraying the charges of government: that this had always been moſt juſtly conſidered as a grievance upon the landholders; yet now when a ſcheme was offered, which, as it appeared to him, would be a certain relief to the landed intereſt, a new language had been adopted, a new opinion ſtarted up, and prevailed at leaſt without doors, that the lands of Great Britain ſhould ſtill continue to bear that burden, from which every body wiſhed them relieved till this period.

A bill being ordered to be brought in, agreeable to the reſolutions, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, in a petition againſt it, ſaid, that they preſumed in all humility to expreſs to the houſe, as they had already done, in ſome meaſure, by their inſtructions to their members, the univerſal ſenſe of the city, concerning any farther extenſion of the laws of exciſe: that the burden of taxes already impoſed on every branch of trade, however chearfully borne, was ſeverely felt; but the petitioners apprehended, that this burthen would grow too heavy to be borne, if it was encreaſed by ſuch vexatious and oppreſſive methods of levying and collecting the duties, as, they were aſſured by melancholy experience, the nature of all exciſes muſt neceſſarily produce: that the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the kingdom, had ſupported themſelves under the preſſure of exciſe laws now in force, by the comfortable and reaſonable expectation, that laws, which nothing but public neceſſity could be a motive to enact, would be repealed in favour of the trade of the kingdom and of the liberty of the ſubject, whenever that motive ſhould be removed, as the petitioners preſumed it effectually was, by the undiſturbed tranquillity which the nation enjoyed at home, and the general peace which was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed abroad: that if this expectation ſhould be diſappointed; if the exciſe laws, inſtead of being repealed, were extended to other ſpecies of merchandize not yet exciſed, and a door opened for extending them to all; the petitioners could not, in juſtice to themſelves, to the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the whole kingdom, and to the general intereſt of their country, conceal their apprehenſions, that the moſt fatal blow which ever

ever was given, would be given on this occaſion, to the trade and navigation of Great Britain: that that great ſpring, from which the wealth and property of the ſubject flowed, would be obſtructed, and the mercantile part of the nation would become not only leſs able to trade to advantage, but unwilling to trade at all; ſince no perſon, who could enjoy all the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject out of trade, even with a ſmall fortune, would voluntarily reſign ſome of the moſt valuable of thoſe privileges, by ſubjecting himſelf to the laws of exciſe: that the petitioners were able to ſhew, that theſe apprehenſions were founded both in experience and reaſon: and, therefore, they hoped, that the houſe would be pleaſed to hear them by their council againſt the bill. This laſt requeſt was refuſed by a majority of two hundred and fourteen againſt one hundred and ninety-ſeven.

This majority in favour of the court party was ſo inconſiderable, and the hopes of encreaſing it were ſo ſmall; the petition itſelf, being ſeconded by others of the like nature from Briſtol, Nottingham, Coventry, and moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom, had produced ſuch a violent clamour againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration; the minds of the people, had, by various arts and contrivances, been wrought up to ſuch a pitch of fury and reſentment; and the fears of ſome popular commotion, if not a general rebellion, ſhould the bill paſs, were ſo ſtrong, that the miniſtry thought proper to lay aſide all farther proſecution of the plan for the preſent.

Wherefore, when a motion was made for a ſecond reading of it on the eleventh day of April, Sir Robert Walpole propoſed, that it ſhould be put off till the twelfth day of June, in conſequence of which it was never after reſumed. The miſcarriage of the ſcheme was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter: the monument was illuminated: the miniſter was burned in effigy; and the friends and abettors of the ſcheme, were treated with the utmoſt inſolence by the rabble, whoſe behaviour throughout this affair, had been ſo intolerable, that the houſe could not fail expreſſing their indignation againſt it. They therefore reſolved, that the aſſaulting, inſulting, or menacing any member of the houſe, in coming to or going from it, upon account of his behaviour in parliament, was a high infringement of the privilege of the houſe, a moſt outrageous and dangerous violation of the rights of parliament, and a high crime and miſdemeanour. The ſame cenſure was paſſed againſt the aſſembling or coming of any number of perſons, in a riotous, tumultuous, and diſorderly manner, in order either to hinder or promote the paſſing of any bill or other matter, depending before the houſe.

Thus ended a project, which, had it been carried into execution, great numbers of perſons believed would have contributed greatly to the intereſt of the fair trader, and to the encreaſe of the revenue; an opinion, indeed, which was ſo well founded, that the moſt exceptionable parts of the ſcheme have, in other ſhapes, been ſince paſſed into a law; and that too at the requeſt, and upon the application of thoſe very perſons who were then moſt forward in oppoſing the meaſure; ſo eaſily are the populace led aſtray, and blinded to their own intereſt.

His majeſty had, for ſome time paſt, reflected with the utmoſt concern, upon the low ſtate of the proteſtant intereſt in moſt of the nations of Europe. He ſaw that the French had obtained a dangerous influence in the United Provinces, and that all the alliances between England and Holland would thereby, in ſome meaſure, be rendered ineffectual, unleſs ſuch an intereſt could be raiſed amongſt the Dutch, as might counter-balance that of the court of Verſailles. In order the better to accompliſh this purpoſe, his majeſty reſolved to beſtow his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs royal, upon the prince of Orange; whoſe virtues and abilities might juſtly entitle him to ſuch a diſtinction, but whoſe high birth and generous ſentiments, far exceeded his power or his fortune.

His majeſty, therefore, ſent a meſſage to the commons on the eighth day of May, importing, that having received from the prince

of Orange, propoſals for a marriage between the princeſs royal and the ſaid prince: and having been pleaſed to lend a favourable ear to theſe inſtances; he had thought proper to communicate the affair to his faithful commons: and as he made no doubt but this match would be to the general ſatisfaction of all his good ſubjects, he promiſed himſelf the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the houſe, in enabling him to give ſuch a portion to his eldeſt daughter, as ſhould be ſuitable to the preſent occaſion; and might contribute towards ſupporting, with honour and dignity, an alliance, that would tend ſo much to the farther ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of theſe realms, and ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt on the continent.

In conſequence of this meſſage, the commons addreſſed the ſovereign, and immediately voted, that out of the money ariſing from the ſale of the lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, his majeſty ſhould be empowered to apply the ſum of eighty thouſand pounds as a marriage portion for his daughter; a reſolution, which was afterwards confirmed by act of parliament.

The laſt buſineſs which engroſſed the attention of the commons during this ſeſſion, was a queſtion concerning the conſtitution of their houſe. Lieutenant general Wade, member for Bath, had been appointed governor of Fort William, Fort George and Fort Auguſtus in Scotland. The point, therefore, in diſpute was, whether his accepting theſe offices had vacated his ſeat in parliament. The anti-courtiers were ſtrenuous in maintaining the affirmative; and in ſupport of their opinion, they advanced a number of precedents. They ſaid, that in the ſeventh of queen Anne, lord Shannon's ſeat for Arundel in Suſſex, was declared vacant, upon his accepting the office of deputy governor of Dover-caſtle: that the ſame was the caſe with the earl of Hertford in the ninth of the ſame reign; as alſo with general Sandwix in the ſeventh of his late majeſty; and that, upon this very gentleman, general Wade's being made governor of Berwick upon Tweed, in January laſt, his ſeat had alſo been vacated.

For theſe reaſons they moved, that the accepting a commiſſion of governor or lieutenant-governour of any fort, citadel or garriſon, upon the military eſtabliſhment of Great-Britain, by any member of the houſe, who was an officer in the army, ſhould vacate his ſeat as member of parliament. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained, that the promotion of an officer, already in the army, could never, with any propriety, be conſidered as a circumſtance that diſqualified him from ſitting in parliament. The queſtion being at laſt put was carried for the court by a majority of ninety-ſix againſt eighteen; and all ſimilar caſes have ſince that period been determined by the iſſue of the above.

The only affair of conſequence which engaged the attention of the peers during this ſeſſion, was an enquiry into the conduct of the directors of the South-ſea company, who were accuſed of having embezzled the money of that corporation; but, as no proof was attempted to be brought of this charge, and as the diſcuſſion of the matter would have been attended with more bad than good conſequences, the farther examination of the matter was poſt-poned on the opinion of the majority.

His majeſty, on the eleventh of June, went to the houſe of lords, and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, he put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſhort ſpeech, in which, among other things, he ſaid, that he could not paſs by unobſerved the wicked endeavours that had been lately uſed to inflame the minds of the people; and, by the moſt unjuſt miſrepreſentations, to excite tumults and diſorders that almoſt threatened the peace of the kingdom; but he depended upon the force of truth, to remove the groundleſs jealouſies, which had been raiſed, of deſigns carrying on againſt the liberties of his people; and upon the known fidelity of his parliament to defeat and fruſtrate the expectations of ſuch as delighted in confuſion: that it was his inclination, and had always been his ſtudy, to preſerve the civil and religious rights of his ſubjects; and he hoped it would be their care

care to prevent the fatal conſequences which might ariſe to his ſubjects, from their ſuffering themſelves to be deluded by the ſpecious arts of deſigning perſons.

A vacancy on the throne of Poland excited a new war at this period. Auguſtus, the ſecond, dying at Warſaw in the beginning of February, the neighbouring powers intereſted themſelves ſtrongly in the choice of a new ſovereign. The elector of Saxony, ſon to the late king, and Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themſelves candidates. The emperor, the Czarina, and the king of Pruſſia, eſpouſed the cauſe of the Saxon: the king of France ſupported the pretenſions of his father-in-law. The foreign miniſters at Warſaw, forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors; and the French ambaſſador exerted himſelf with ſo much induſtry and ſucceſs, that he ſoon engaged a majority of the Catholic dietines in the intereſt of Staniſlaus; while the Imperial and Ruſſian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king was no ſooner informed, that the emperor had aſſembled a body of forces in Sileſia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to advance to the Rhine with a numerous army, and if the Imperial army ſhould march into Poland, to lead his forces into Germany.

Staniſlaus, in the interim, remained at the court of France, although his preſence in Poland was indiſpenſably neceſſary: but how he ſhould get thither was a queſtion not eaſy to be ſolved. To go to Dunkirk on board the French fleet was a method extremely uncertain and hazardous; and to travel to Warſaw by land, was judged abſolutely impracticable, as the road lay chiefly through an enemy's country. By a ſeries, however, of dextrous management and romantic adventures, Staniſlaus arrived at the capital of Poland on the eighth day of September, and continued undiſcovered, till he found it for his intereſt to appear in public. As the day of election approached, the Imperial, Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſter, delivered in their ſeveral declarations, by way of proteſt againſt the contingent election of Staniſlaus as a perſon proſcribed, and rendered for ever incapable of wearing the crown.

Fifty thouſand Ruſſian forces, under the command of general Laſci entered Poland: the diet of the election was opened with the uſual ceremony; prince Vieſazowiſki, chief of the Saxon intereſt, retired to the other ſide of the Viſtula, with three thouſand men, including ſome of the nobility, who adhered to that party. Notwithſtanding this ſeceſſion, the primate proceeded to the election: Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. The oppoſite party ſoon encreaſed to ten thouſand men; proteſted againſt the election; and joined the Ruſſian army, which advanced by haſty marches.

Hereupon, Staniſlaus, who was not a match for ſuch powerful enemies, retired, with the primate and French ambaſſador, to Dantzick, leaving the Palatine of Kiow at Warſaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was inſtantly ſurrendered; and the ſoldiers and inhabitants plundered the hotel of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, and the houſes belonging to the grandees who had declared for Auguſtus.

In the interim, the Poles, who had joined the Muſcovites, finding it impoſſible to paſs the Victula before the expiration of the time fixed for the ſeſſion of the diet, erected a kolo at Cracow, where the elector of Saxony was choſen and proclaimed by the biſhop of that place, king of Poland, under the name of Auguſtus the third, on the ſixth day of October. They afterwards croſſed the river; and the Palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took poſſeſſion of Warſaw, and plundered, in their turn, the houſes and palaces belonging to the friends of Staniſlaus.

The king of France, in the interim, concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which theſe powers engaged to declare war againſt the emperor. Manifeſtos were reciprocally publiſhed by all the parties at variance. The duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine

in October, and laid ſiege to Fort Kehl, which he ſoon reduced: then repaſſing the river he returned to Verſailles. The king of Sardinia having declared war againſt the emperor, and being joined by a body of French troops, ſubdued Pavia, Pizzighitone Cremona, Frezza, Secco, the fort of Fuentez, and made himſelf maſter of the whole dutchy of Milan.

The conſequences of ſo ſtrong a confederacy againſt him, being feared by his Imperial majeſty, he offered to accommodate all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of England; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, made propoſals for that purpoſe. Philip expreſſed his acknowledgements to the king of England; but declared that the emperor's advances were too late, and that his own reſolutions were already taken. Nevertheleſs, he ſent orders to the count de Montijo, his ambaſſador at London, to make known the motives, by which he had been induced to adopt ſuch meaſures, to his Britannic majeſty.

Philip, in the interim, ſent a powerful armament into Italy, where he reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, the ſovereignty of which was beſtowed upon the Infant Don Carlos. The Venetians declared they would take no ſhare in the diſputes of Italy: The ſtates-general ſigned a neutrality with the French king, for the Auſtrian Netherlands; and the Engliſh miniſtry determined to declare in favour of no party, but watch the motions of them all.

In the latter end of the foregoing year the prince of Orange had arrived in England, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs royal; and the marriage which was for ſome time delayed on account of his being taken ill, was at laſt celebrated on the fourteenth day of March with great pomp and magnificence.

Lord Cheſterfield now reſigned his place of lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold. The duke of Montroſe relinquiſhed his office of lord privy ſeal of Scotland; and his example was followed by the lord Clinton, who parted with his places as one of the gentlemen of his majeſty's bedchamber, and lord lieutenant of the county of Devon.

Theſe unpopular removals were in ſome meaſure compenſated by promotions in the law, which were highly to the ſatisfaction of the public. Mr. Talbot ſollicitor-general, one of the moſt accompliſhed lawyers and upright judges in the kingdom, was conſtituted lord chancellor of England. Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was advanced to the office of lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench, and honoured with a peerage. Mr. John Willes ſucceeded the latter, and Mr. Dudley Rider the former.

*A.D.* 1734. His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, which aſſembled on the ſeventeenth day of January, told them, that, though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers, which were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe; that he ſhould order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their preſent and immediate care: that the augmentation, which would be propoſed for the ſea ſervice, would be very conſiderable; but he was confident, they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary: that he muſt particularly recommend to their care the debt of the navy, which had every year been laid before them; but, from the preſent circumſtances of the times, he believed, they would be perſuaded, that it now required ſome proviſion to be made for it: a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe

raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſt of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner an opportunity of taking the ſenſe of a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and, whatever reſolutions might be thrown out againſt the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great-Britain ought to conſult its own honour and intereſt on all occaſions.

Both houſes of parliament appeared to maintain their former ſentiments with regard to party matters. Addreſſes of thanks were preſented, in anſwer to his majeſty's ſpeech, after a few trifling objections advanced by the anti-courtiers. On the twenty-third day of January, the commons agreed to addreſs his majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Ruſhout moved for another, deſiring, that the letters and inſtructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville, might alſo be laid before them.

Long and violent debates were produced by this motion. Sir William Young obſerved, that the treaty of Seville, being prior to that of Vienna, letters and inſtructions relating to the former, could have no connection or concern with the latter: that nothing could be more improper than to call for papers which might reveal the nature of any negotiation that was then upon the carpet: that, nevertheleſs, if the houſe ſhould think fit to take the treaty of Seville under their conſideration; it might then be proper to call for any particular paper that might give light to their deliberations: but if they meant to confine their preſent enquiries to the treaty of Vienna, nothing could be more improper than the motion now made.

On the contrary, Sir William Wyndham ſaid, that the impoſſibility of carrying the treaty of Seville into execution gave riſe to the ſtipulations contained in the treaty of Vienna; and that they could not pretend to judge of the propriety of the latter, without having reference to the papers which related to the former.

In anſwer to Sir William Wyndham, Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, that, if the houſe ſhould reſolve to go into a committee upon the ſtate of the nation, or, which, he ſaid, was the ſame thing, upon the conduct of the miniſter, he ſhould not oppoſe the laying any papers before them for their information; but he thought the preſent motion altogether irregular, and only calculated to ſerve as a handle for declaiming againſt the government: that it was uſual for ſome people to make motions, rather with a view of fixing unjuſt ſuſpicions upon others, than of procuring to themſelves any neceſſary information; they made motions, in order to cut a figure in the votes, which were ſent to all parts of the nation, and to ſerve ſome particular end of their own; when a negative was put upon any ſuch motion, they were then ready to cry out, they would have relieved the people; they would have extricated them from all the difficulties in which they were involved; but the miniſtry denied them the means of doing it; that this was a piece of artful management; it was a ſort of parliamentary play, always practiſed by thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the adminiſtration; he remembered it as long as he remembered parliaments, and had, by his own experience, been acquainted with it; he could remember motions made with no other view, but to have a negative put upon them; and particularly at the beginning of a ſeſſion, the language among ſuch gentlemen always had been "We muſt attack "them; we muſt give them no reſt, but "make motion after motion; if they agree "to any motion we make, it will diſtreſs "them; and if they put a negative upon "every one, it will render them odious "among the people:" that this, he might affirm, had always been the practice of thoſe,

who were determined, at any rate, to oppoſe the adminiſtration; but, to ſay, that any one motion in parliament was refuſed by the miniſtry, was, in his opinion, a very unparliamentary way of ſpeaking: that, when any motion was made, every gentleman was at liberty to debate upon it, and either to agree or diſagree, as he thought reaſonable; that if it was rejected, it muſt be by a majority of the houſe, and became an act of the houſe; and to ſay, that what was an act of the houſe, was an act of the miniſtry, was not, he thought, talking in the language of parliament; that nothing could be more improper, than to call for papers that might interrupt negotiations, which were then upon the carpet: that the treaty of Vienna was a wiſe and prudent treaty, and laid England under no obligation but what ſhe muſt in the nature of things, have fulfilled, though no ſuch treaty had ever exiſted: that he could not omit taking notice of the indecent manner in which ſome gentlemen thought proper to treat the adminiſtration; ſometimes, in the way of irony, at other times, by calling names, ſuch as a cowardly adminiſtration, a wheeling, ſhifting miniſtry; on the contrary, as he took it, the great quarrel among them was, that the adminiſtration had not been ſhifted: that, though he could not agree with the gentlemen, who alledged, that the nation was, at preſent, in a moſt unhappy ſituation, he yet allowed, that the affairs of Europe were not, at that juncture, in a very deſirable poſture; or if the errors or miſmanagement of any of the Britiſh miniſtry had contributed, in the leaſt, to the preſent troubles of Europe, he muſt think, that they very little deſerved to ſerve the crown; but that, really by the manner in which ſome gentlemen talked, one would imagine, that the miniſters of England were the miniſters of Europe; or, that all the other courts of Europe were celebrated for their profound wiſdom, while that of England was filled with nothing but madmen and fools.

In ſupport of Sir Robert's arguments, Mr. Pelham and Mr. Scrope obſerved, that there was in the Engliſh conſtitution an executive, as well as a legiſlative and judiciary power: and that the executive power being veſted in the king, it would be impoſſible to render it effectual, if the people, in their collective or repreſentative capacity, ſhould be judges of the means of carrying it into effect, as theſe conſiſted in papers and in the acts of the miniſters employed by the ſovereign: that the government of Great-Britain was the freeſt under the ſun, yet was it frequently obliged to treat with perſons, who had very different ideas of the rights of the people; and as that neceſſity was abſolute, the miniſtry muſt either forego all treating, or throw their cabinets open to all the world; expoſe private promiſes and engagements; and, as poſſibly might be the caſe in the preſent queſtion, ſubject themſelves to cenſure, for adopting meaſures, which, when partially ſeen, might appear unjuſtifiable, but which would, in all probability, be found to tend to the welfare of their country, when all the circumſtances thereof came to be conſidered.

Mr. Danvers, a friend to the adminiſtration, and a man of wit and humour, added, that the houſe might very well addreſs his majeſty to lay his whole cabinet of papers open to the inſpection of the houſe, or to agree with the motion: that notwithſtanding all the pretences, and even all the endeavours of the minority, the people of England were friends to the miniſter; and it evidently appeared, that the only diſpute in parliament was, who ſhould be miniſter. The queſtion being at laſt put, was carried in the negative, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five againſt one hundred and four.

Rather encouraged than otherwiſe, by their defeat, the oppoſition reſolved to renew their attacks on the adminiſtration. On the twenty-fifth day of January, Mr. Sandys moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, entreating him to communicate, for the peruſal of the houſe, the ſeveral inſtructions, ſent to Mr. Woodward, his majeſty's miniſter in Poland in the year 1729. The intention of this motion was to ſtrengthen the report, which the minority had raiſed, that the Britiſh miniſtry had not only favoured

the election of Staniſlaus, but had even ſecretly engaged to aſſiſt France in ſupporting him on the throne of Poland.

Sir William Wyndham, in ſupport of Mr. Sandys, alledged, that the motion implied no diſreſpect to his majeſty, but only intended to lay open the conduct of the miniſter; for which purpoſe the papers required might be abſolutely neceſſary: that this he ſaid, in order to obviate the arguments that might poſſibly be urged in favour of the miniſtry, as if the motion was unneceſſary and diſreſpectful, becauſe his majeſty, at the opening of the parliament, had told them, that he was no wiſe engaged in the war, and had no concern, except in his good offices in thoſe tranſactions, which had been declared to be the principal cauſes and motives of the rupture: that, in a conſtitutional ſenſe, the ſpeech of the king was to be conſidered by the houſe as the ſpeech of the miniſter; and that the houſe had even a right to enquire, whether his majeſty's declarations were, or were not agreeable to truth: that it was well known the ſtates-general had concluded a treaty of neutrality without the knowledge or conſent of England; a circumſtance, which ſeemed to imply a diſtruſt of the Britiſh power, or, at leaſt, a ſuſpicion, that they could not confide in the councils of the Britiſh miniſtry, with any degree of ſafety.

Sir Robert Walpole, in anſwer to theſe allegations, ſaid, that he did not deny that the king's ſpeech was to be conſidered as the ſpeech of the miniſter; but ſtill, he thought it ought to be treated with decency, as it was ſtamped with the ſanction of his majeſty's name; and that, in any event, it was both unjuſt and unparliamentary to arraign it of falſhood, without producing any one charge againſt it, except ſuch as were founded upon bare ſurmiſes and vain ſuppoſitions; that it plainly appeared, that all the late motions for papers, were calculated to plunge the nation into a war, and engage it in a quarrel, in which it had little or no concern; and that too, at a juncture, when there was the greateſt reaſon for proceeding with caution and deliberation: that, he believed, it would be found in the end, that the preſent ſituation of England was the very beſt in which ſhe could poſſibly be, with regard to the troubles that had lately broke out in Europe; that the gentleman who ſpoke laſt, had thought proper to mention the ſtates of Holland, and affirmed they had done ſomething for their own ſecurity; it was true they had done ſomething, they had entered into a treaty of neutrality, whereas the Engliſh had remained entirely in a ſtate of inaction; but on that very account, he thought the Engliſh were in a much better condition than the Dutch: that, by that neutrality, the Dutch had engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themſelves in the preſent war; the Engliſh were ſtill at liberty, and might conſult their own intereſt by taking what part in the diſpute they thought proper.

Mr. Pulteney, during the debate, made many reflections on the ſcandalous deciſions, as he called them, of majorities in parliament; and inveighed, with great ſeverity, againſt the majority, who had rejected the two late motions, and whom he ſuppoſed were entirely influenced and directed by the miniſter. This charge, though not inconſiſtent with the rules of parliament, was one of the blackeſt that could poſſibly be imagined; and was altogether unjuſtifiable, as it was not ſupported with even the leaſt ſhadow of proof. It overturned every barrier of the conſtitution, and deſtroyed the very firſt principles of government, which muſt be determined by the majority in almoſt all judicial proceedings.

At this period, a prodigious number of papers and pamphlets were daily publiſhed, aſſerting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that every member who voted for the miniſtry, was a mercenary hireling, and ſold his voice for the ſake of ſome place, which he either enjoyed or expected. Liſts had been publiſhed, and circulated through the kingdom, of all thoſe who voted for the exciſe ſcheme, with catalogues of the poſts which they poſſeſſed under the government. This expedient had produced a ſurpriſing effect upon the minds of the people, who were taught to believe, that

that penſions or other gratuities were given to all thoſe members who were out of place, and yet voted with the miniſtry.

Sir Robert Walpole took this opportunity of refuting a charge, at once ſo unjuſt and injurious. He ſaid, that an honourable gentleman who ſpoke ſome time ago, had taken a great deal of liberty in talking of majorities; but he would have gentlemen to know, that, when they talked of ſuch majorities at preſent, they ſpoke of their equals, as members of this houſe; of their equals, on any ground of England: that let gentlemen but caſt their eyes round the houſe, and they would find a number of gentlemen ſuperior to the higheſt number of their minority, who could as little be ſuſpected of corruption, as any of thoſe who generally appeared on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion: that it was eaſy for gentlemen to repreſent the meaſures, lately taken by the government, as unwiſe, abſurd, and detrimental to the public; but when the day came for enquiring into theſe meaſures, a day, which he as heartily wiſhed for as any member in the houſe, he believed they would appear in a quite different light; and thoſe gentlemen, who might, perhaps, have hearkened to every little whiſper of ſome of the foreign miniſters at this court; whiſpers, which were, he believed, the only foundation for what they had aſſerted, would find themſelves ſorely diſappointed: that, whenever ſuch an enquiry ſhould be reſolved on, he doubted not, but the majority of this houſe would agree to call for every paper, that could be thought neceſſary for giving a full information of the ſtate of the nation: that this, however, was not the queſtion at preſent, nor were they now to enquire, whether his majeſty had any ſhare in thoſe tranſactions, which had given occaſion to the preſent war; and, therefore, he could not think they had at preſent, any thing to do with any inſtructions to his majeſty's miniſters in Poland, or elſewhere: that his majeſty, it was true, expected the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but for what? he did not immediately expect ſuch an aſſiſtance, as might enable him to take any ſhare in the preſent war; he wanted only ſuch as might enable him to put the nation in a proper poſture of defence; and ſurely they might determine what would be neceſſary for that end, without enquiring into any of our foreign negotiations: that it was for this reaſon he thought the houſe had done right in rejecting all the motions hitherto made, for letters and inſtructions relating to our foreign affairs; and for the ſame reaſon, he made no doubt, but they would reject the preſent motion. At length, a majority of eighty-eight voices carried the queſtion in favour of the court party.

When the ſubject of a ſupply came under the conſideration of the commons, Mr. Andrews, deputy paymaſter to the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred to the number of land forces, which had been continued ſince the preceding war. This augmentation, however inconſiderable, and indeed unequal to the preſent occaſion, was violently diſputed by the members in the oppoſition; but all their arguments were ſo weak and frivolous, that the houſe agreed to the motion by a great majority.

The anti-courtiers, imagining this to be the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to render the miniſtry as unpopular as poſſible, in hopes of being able, by that means, to encreaſe their numbers at the next election. The removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments was repreſented as an arbitrary act of the miniſter, who was determined, they ſaid, to garble the army to his own mind, and to ſuffer no officer to continue in it whoſe vote in either houſe of parliament ſhould be contrary to his inclination.

Lord Morpeth made a motion, that, as a remedy for this evil, leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill to prevent any commiſſion-officer, not above the rank of colonel, from being removed, unleſs by a court martial, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament. To ſupport this abſurd and extravagant motion, his lordſhip had recourſe to the governments of foreign countries, and particularly mentioned the example of Holland and Sweden. In the former country, he ſaid, no officer could be broken without the ſentence of a court

court martial; and in the latter, none could be removed from his commiſſion, without the conſent of the ſenate. He was ſeconded by Sir John Ruſhout, who ſaid, that there was then upwards of forty officers of the army members of that houſe, and that the houſe agreeing to the motion, would render and ſecure them independent on the miniſter.

Mr. Clutterbuck, in anſwer to theſe arguments, obſerved, that the conſtitution of Holland without a ſtadtholder, did not admit of any power that could arbitrarily remove officers; becauſe, when the army was there raiſed, it was the army of the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, which conſiſted of a variety of juriſdictions; but when the government was lodged in a ſtadtholder, that magiſtrate had the ſame power over their army, as a king of England had over his: that with regard to Sweden, it was plain his lordſhip was miſtaken, through his ignorance of the conſtitution of that country, where the ſupreme power was in fact veſted, not in the king, but in the ſenate, which was no other than a committee of twelve, choſen out of the eſtates of parliament of that kingdom, in order to controul the king in all actions that related to the public: that the motion now made, could not be approved, without committing a dangerous encroachment on the prerogative, and even on the conſtitution, which always ſuppoſed, that the liberties of the people were ſafe, while the king commanded, and the parliament paid the army: that the neceſſity of preſerving this branch of the prerogative ſacred and inviolable would appear the more plainly, when it was conſidered that an officer might be guilty of many crimes, which might make it highly proper for his majeſty to remove him; and yet they might be of ſuch a nature as could not be proved nor come under the cognizance of a court martial: that diſaffection, for inſtance, was a crime, which, though of the moſt dangerous tendency in an officer, and univerſally known to be chargeable upon him, might yet be ſo artfully concealed, and be ſo difficult to be proved to the ſatisfaction of a court martial, that his removal could not be effected by their power.

It was obſerved by colonel Bladen, that if the motion ſhould take place, and if the gentlemen who ſupported it were really ſerious in their profeſſions, he ſhould begin to believe the reports he had heard, that ſome people were endeavouring to introduce a Commonwealth; that for his own part, he never heard any motion which tended ſo directly towards a Commonwealth, except ſome of thoſe famous motions which were made in the commencement of the civil wars, and he was perſuaded that the very ſame conſequences would attend this motion if it met with ſucceſs.

Sir Thomas Robinſon, in ſupport of the ſame argument, obſerved, that, even after the revolution, when the thoughts of the beſt patriots in England were employed in deviſing the means of bounding the prerogative, no ſuch propoſition as that contained in the motion, had ever entered into any one's head: that, in his opinion, the great danger which ought to be guarded againſt in all armies, was any attempt to render themſelves independent; and therefore, by the wiſdom of the legiſlature, the Britiſh army was ſo wiſely conſtituted, as to be dependent on the annual votes of the commons, not only for its ſubſiſtence and continuance, but even with regard to the number of which it ſhould conſiſt: that with reſpect to the nomination of officers, it had always been veſted in the crown, as it was highly proper it ſhould; the officers had ever been left dependent on the king, whoſe perſon they were obliged to defend, and whoſe government they were intended to ſupport: that this led him to conſider in whom the advocates for the motion propoſed to lodge this power, this important branch of the prerogative, which was to be lopped from the crown by this military project: that, as the prerogative was to be diminiſhed, one would naturally have imagined that the power of the people was intended to be encreaſed; but this was far from being the caſe; it was to be transferred from the crown not to the people, but to the army, and lodged in the officers themſelves, who, from that moment, would be independent of the crown, and, in time, perhaps of all other authority; that one of the greateſt reſtraints

upon the army was this very power, which the king had; of diſplacing officers, who might be ſuſpected of bad intentions; but give it to the officers themſelves, and what ſecurity ſhould the nation have for their future behaviour? that, in ſhort, they ſhould then have raiſed a power in ſupport of the military eſtabliſhment; for, by thus removing this neceſſary check upon the officers, a diſtant time might come, when the nation, with reaſon, might be jealous of an army, in whoſe hands the parliament ſhould have put a power ſufficient to enable them to get the better both of king and parliament, and to ſet up a new conſtitution of their own; whereas, while the army continued in the ſtate, in which it was at preſent, even if they ſhould have the raſhneſs to attempt any thing againſt either the one or the other, the conſequences were not much to be dreaded.

Mr. Winnington, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, ſaid, that he could not let the queſtion paſs without expreſſing his abhorrence of the motion: that he really thought it the moſt monſtrous motion he ever heard ſince he had the honour to ſit in parliament: that gentlemen might ſay an army was no part of the Britiſh conſtitution; but if the propoſition now made, ſhould be approved, the whole of that conſtitution would ſoon be at the mercy of the army: that, at preſent, the officers depended on the king for their commiſſions, and the army itſelf upon the parliament, for its continuance and pay; but, if the parliament ſhould once make the officers independent of the crown, and give them a ſort of freehold in their commiſſions, they would ſoon make both king and parliament depend upon them: that, if both king and parliament ſhould think it proper to make a reduction of any part of the army, did the houſe imagine, that theſe gentlemen, with their ſwords in their hands, would be willing to comply, and retire to their reſpective houſes at the deſire of the commons? No; they would then tell the commons, their commiſſions were for life; they were their freehold; a law of the parliament had made them ſo; and they ſhould not take them from them unleſs they had been guilty of ſome crime; if they had, let a court martial be called; let them be tried in that way which the law preſcribed; and if they were found guilty they would ſubmit: that this they might reaſonably ſuppoſe, would be the language of thoſe, whom they had a mind to reduce; and, in ſuch a caſe, what kind of redreſs a court-martial would afford, might eaſily be imagined.

Sir Robert Walpole, who finiſhed the debate, gave it as his opinion, that the motion tended towards reducing the government to a ſtratocracy or military conſtitution: that the proviſion, left by the motion, for enabling the king to remove generals, would be very ineffectual, if he were bound up from removing inferior officers, who depend upon, or were connected with that general, in whom all the danger lay: that the two noblemen, lately removed, had been ſucceeded by two others (meaning the duke of Argyle and the earl of Pembroke) of as great eſtates, of as good families, and of as untainted characters, as any gentlemen in the kingdom: that this motion, ſhould it be approved, would eſtabliſh the very crimes, which were pretended by the Tories for removing the great duke of Marlborough from his command; namely, that he was endeavouring to render himſelf general for life, was too great for his miſtreſs, had thrown off all dependence upon the crown, and aimed at making himſelf perpetual dictator: that, in order to give ſome colour to this calumny, he remembered, that a certain gentleman of thoſe days (meaning lord Bolingbroke) ſent a large preſent to Mr. Booth, and told him, it was for the part he acted in Cato againſt a perpetual dictator: that this ſhewed, it was then conſidered as a great crime in an officer to make himſelf independent of the crown; and why it ſhould now appear in a light ſo different, as to induce the people to think it neceſſary to frame a law for that very purpoſe, he could not imagine: that he knew, that great endeavours had been of late uſed to make it be believed abroad, that this was a divided nation, and the people diſaffected: that hitherto, all ſuch endeavours had proved ineffectual; but, if this propoſition

ſition ſhould paſs into a law, would not foreigners believe what they had heard? They could not imagine, that the depriving two colonels of their regiments could have produced ſuch a law: but would naturally ſay, that what they had heard they now ſaw verified; the parliament had no confidence in the king, and had therefore taken from him that power, which his predeceſſors enjoyed: was this, he aſked, an opinion which they ought to propagate among their neighbours abroad at any time, but eſpecially at this juncture, when a firm belief of the unanimity and ſtrength of the kingdom, might be ſo neceſſary for preſerving a juſt balance of power in Europe, and conſequently the very being of this nation? that, in a word, the regulation propoſed could do no good; it might produce a multitude of evils; and therefore he thought they ſhould all ſay, on this occaſion, what their forefathers had ſaid on another, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* We will not have the Engliſh laws changed.

The above recited arguments were deemed concluſive, and the queſtion being put was carried in the negative without a diviſion. The truth is, the minority neither expected nor deſired, that the motion ſhould ſucceed. Their only intention, in making it, was to have an opportunity of inveighing againſt the miniſter, and of introducing another motion, which was more directly levelled at his power and authority. The debate was no ſooner finiſhed, than Mr. Sandy's moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring to know, who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their reſpective regiments; and what crimes were alledged againſt them.

This motion was regular and conſtitutional, though it proved equally unſucceſsful with the former. Motions of the ſame nature had been frequently made in parliament upon the ſame or ſimilar occaſions. The king, it was well known, agreeable to the ancient maxim, could do no wrong; and therefore, when any crime was committed by the government, the miniſter, to whom the fault was imputed, was alone called upon to anſwer for it.

The gentlemen in the oppoſition availed themſelves of this advantage with great dexterity and addreſs. Many ſevere and invidious reflections were thrown out on the conduct of the adminiſtration. Sir William Wyndham ſaid, that, ſhould any miniſter ſo far engroſs the royal ear, as to be able to perſuade his maſter to diſmiſs a faithful and approved ſervant, merely for oppoſing his wicked ſchemes, the king, inſtead of being the firſt man, would only be the firſt ſlave in the nation. But neither this nor ſeveral other bitter invectives, that were poured forth againſt the miniſtry, could provoke them into a reply. They knew that ſuch a ſtep would have drawn on a long, tedious and inſignificant diſpute. They therefore called for the queſtion, and the motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and one voices.

A bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons, was read a firſt and ſecond time; but when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a violent oppoſition, and produced a warm debate, that iſſued in a queſtion, which like the former paſſed in the negative.

The oppoſition were now much diſappointed by the paſſing of a bill, which themſelves had propoſed, for prohibiting the pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing. Theſe gentlemen had conſtantly aſſerted, that the principal part of the miniſter's income, and of that of his friends, aroſe from trading in the ſtocks; and that, as he was in the ſecret of affairs, both at home and abroad, he made uſe of his knowledge to influence the funds, in the manner he thought moſt advantageous to himſelf and his creatures. This imputation, which was at once ſo injurious to his character and falſe in fact, he treated with a becoming diſdain, by ſuffering the bill to paſs, even though he did not approve it in all its parts.

But what appears to be of greater conſequence, and produced more violent debates between the contending parties than any other matter during this ſeſſion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, for repealing the act for ſeptennial parliaments.

He affirmed, in ſupport of this motion, that

that the reaſons for prolonging the ſitting of parliaments from three to ſeven years were now at an end: that the people in general, looked upon ſeptennial parliaments as a grievance, and innovation in the conſtitution: he begged leave to remind the houſe of the act made in the ſixteenth of Charles the ſecond, which wiſely provided againſt the too long continuance of one and the ſame parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament ſhould be called once in three years, or oftner, if need required: that this act was expreſsly confirmed by the bill of rights: that, from the time of the revolution to the firſt year of the late king, no parliament had ſet above three years, and ſome only one ſeſſion: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones; and conſequently ſeptennial parliaments muſt be doubly more grievous than thoſe which laſted only three years: that, ſuppoſing he ſhould be miſtaken in this point, which, nevertheleſs, he could never admit without due conviction, the argument in the preamble to the ſeptennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the preſent times: that the act againſt bribery and corruption, which muſt ever redound to the honour of the preſent parliament, would neceſſarily remedy that evil; that glorious law would prevent corruption in the electors; nothing but the frequent return of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected; and, therefore, in order to effectuate this purpoſe, he moved, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill for repealing the ſeptennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

This motion was ſeconded by Sir John St. Aubin, knight of the ſhire for Cornwall, a gentleman of conſiderable influence in the houſe, and who had few or no enemies among either party. He gave a kind of hiſtorical detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry the eighth; ſhewed how triennial parliaments came to be loſt by the revival of the ſeptennial act; and endeavoured to prove, that ſeptennial parliaments were more proper than triennial ones for the purpoſes of a wicked miniſter: and that both king and people would reap more advantages from parliaments, in proportion as they were more frequently choſen.

In oppoſition to the motion, Mr. Conduit affirmed, that the prerogatives of the king's of England, and the liberties of the people were very different from what they had been in former times: that the heavy complaints againſt Charles the firſt, and his ſon James the ſecond, did not ariſe from their continuing the ſame parliament too long, but from their not calling or holding any parliament at all: that the miniſtry could more eaſily manage a triennial than a ſeptennial parliament: that in thoſe of the laſt kind, it had been ſeen, that a ſmall minority againſt the miniſter at the beginning of the parliament, had frequently encreaſed to a conſiderable ſtrength, and ſometimes had almoſt come to a majority, before the concluſion of it: that, in his opinion, the diſpoſal of poſts and places rather weakened than ſtrengthened the crown; becauſe, as there were three or four candidates for every place, a greater number muſt neceſſarily fail than could poſſibly ſucceed; and the former were ſure from thenceforth to become the declared and inveterate enemies of the court: that the reaſons for paſſing the ſeptennial act ſtill exiſted: that one of thoſe reaſons was, the ſpirit of jacobitiſm, which prevailed at the time of paſſing that act; and he thought that the ſpirit of jacobitiſm was but too evident in the diſcontents which had lately broke out in the kingdom.

Sir Thomas Robinſon, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, maintained, that the expence of chuſing triennial parliaments would fall much heavier upon the public, than that of chooſing ſeptennial ones: that during the twenty one years that triennial parliaments continued, they had been found to be attended with great inconveniences; whereas, during the eighteen years that ſeptennial parliaments had laſted, many excellent laws had been paſſed, and many wiſe regulations formed for the good of the people: that when gentlemen ſpoke of the conſtitution of England in general, they ſpoke in very vague terms; becauſe

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the conſtitution of England never was fixed till the time of the revolution: that in the longeſt parliament that ever ſat in England, which met in the reign of Charles the ſecond, the longer they ſat, the more averſe did they become to the meaſures of the court; and that averſion ſtill continued to encreaſe, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the court to ſeduce them: that by parity of reaſon, ſeptennial parliaments muſt be more favourable than triennial ones to public liberty: that he thought a deſire to revert back to the practice of remote antiquity, in that particular, might be compared to a man in his full growth and ſtrength deſiring to return back to his childhood: that, if antiquity was to be the only rule, a ſeſſion of parliament ought ſeldom or never to continue above twenty days; for parliaments in former times, had not buſineſs to employ them longer: that, in fact, the whole form of the conſtitution had been altered ſince that period, by the alterations introduced into the modes of property, and by the multiplication of buſineſs, through the encreaſe of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce: that, ſhould the nation paſs it into an act, it would have a very bad effect upon all foreign negotiations; becauſe foreign miniſters, in their dealing with Great Britain, and with other nations likewiſe, were greatly influenced by the ſentiments of a Britiſh parliament; but that they would not know how to determine in many matters of the higheſt importance, if they had a new parliament to conſult at the end of every three years.

Sir John Willes, attorney general, who was the next ſpeaker on that ſide of the queſtion, obſerved, that, if any time was to be fixed upon for imitating the old conſtitution in regard to parliaments, they were not ſurely to take the time, when the conſtitution was weak and in its infancy; they were certainly to chuſe that time, when it was come to its full ſtrength and vigour, which, in his opinion, was the preſent: that, as gentlemen had mentioned the claim of right, he begged they would examine how it ſtood at that time; for, he was perſuaded, it would be allowed by every gentleman in the houſe, that, after that claim was ſettled and confirmed, the conſtitution was more vigorous than ever it was before that period: that, nevertheleſs, even in the claim of rights, there was no mention made of frequent new parliaments; it was ordered, that for redreſs of grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it was not ſo much as inſinuated, that every one of theſe parliaments ought to be a new one: that, with regard to the frequency of parliaments, he was ſure there was never leſs reaſon for complaint than ſince the ſeptennial bill paſſed; for ever ſince that time, the ſeſſions had been regularly held, and all of them had been allowed to ſit as long as they had any buſineſs to employ them: that even the triennial act was not obtained upon the principles of liberty, but in order to diſtreſs king William and the friends of the revolution: that the tranſition of the conſtitution from triennial to ſeptennial parliaments, was in itſelf a right meaſure, and agreeable to the true principles of the Engliſh government, independent of any temporary conſideration: that it was owing to the inconveniences king William ſuffered from triennial parliaments, that he was forced, in ſo diſadvantageous a manner, to terminate the war with France, when he might have carried it on with ſo much glory and advantage to the liberties of Europe: that to the ſame cauſe were owing the dangerous treaties of partition which that monarch was obliged to conclude towards the latter end of his reign, and of which ſuch loud and general complaints were raiſed: that with regard to the objection, that the elected, during a long parliament, were apt to loſe their dependence on their conſtituents; a thing that could never happen, if parliaments were annual; he begged leave to remark, that all the members of the houſe had a dependence upon the people for their election; this was a thing, which he would readily grant; but, after they were choſen, and had taken their

ſeats in the houſe, they had no longer any dependence on their electors, at leaſt in ſo far as regarded their behaviour in parliament: that the whole power of the electors was then devolved upon the members, who, in every queſtion that came before the houſe, were to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to their own judgments; if they did not, if they were to depend upon their electors, and to follow blindly the inſtructions they ſent them, they could not be ſaid to act freely; nor could ſuch parliaments be called free parliaments: that ſuch a dependence would be a moſt dangerous dependence; it would, in his opinion, be more dangerous, and of worſe conſequence, than a dependence upon the crown; for in a dependence on the crown, he could ſee no danger, as long as the intereſt of the crown was made the ſame with that of the people, which every man would allow to be the caſe at preſent; whereas the inhabitants of any county, city, or borough were very liable to be miſled, and might often be induced to give inſtructions directly contrary to the intereſt of their country: that as to the caſe of bribery and corruption, he believed they would be found to be much more formidable in ſound than in reality: that people uſually ſuppoſed, that corruption was only of one ſort; but this was a miſtake; it appeared in many ſhapes; a man might be bribed without giving him money; and even members of this houſe might be bribed without getting any place or preferment under the government: that, if any gentleman, to pleaſe his borough, and to ſecure his own election, ſhould act contrary to his own judgment, it was as downright a bribery, as if he had got a penſion, a place, or preferment from the court; and he looked upon this as one of the very worſt ſorts of corruption: that ſeptennial parliaments had been found by experience to be greatly preferable to triennial ones, which laſt never failed once in three years, to ſet the whole body of the people mad with rioting and drunkenneſs, to the infinite prejudice of their morals, and the peace of the country, as well as of all trades and manufactures: that he had of late, had opportunities of being in as many or more boroughs as any gentleman of the houſe, and he had found them all very well ſatisfied with ſeptennial parliaments, and well pleaſed with the preſent adminiſtration.

Though what the attorney general had ſaid with regard to the independency of the members of parliament on their conſtituents after their election, was perfectly juſt, well founded, and agreeable to the Engliſh conſtitution; yet his obſervation gave ſo much offence to Sir John Barnard, that he thought proper to anſwer it in a particular ſpeech. He ſaid, that the honourable and learned gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, had advanced a doctrine, which he thought altogether new; namely, that the members had no further dependence upon their electors, after they had taken their ſeats in parliament; nay, that a dependence upon them would be more dangerous than a dependence on the crown: that this was really, in his opinion, ſomething very extraordinary; and though that gentleman might perhaps like the one better than the other, yet he ſhould always conſider a dependence on the people of England, or even upon thoſe he repreſented, as leſs dangerous and more honourable than a dependence upon the crown: that he valued himſelf more on the honour he had had of ſitting in the houſe for two parliaments as one of the repreſentatives of the people of England, and by the free and uncorrupted choice of thoſe he repreſented, than he could do on the greateſt honours the crown could beſtow; though, indeed, if he had obtained his ſeat in the houſe by bribery, or the illegal and corrupt influence of any great miniſter, he ſhould look upon it in a very different light; he ſhould conſider himſelf as placed in the moſt diſgraceful ſtation poſſible.

Sir William Young, in defence of the attorney-general's ſentiments, obſerved, that his learned friend had happened to make an obſervation, which he ſtill thought a very juſt one; namely, that after the members were returned, and had taken their ſeats in the

the houſe, they ought not any longer to have dependence upon thoſe they repreſented: that the honourable gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, had thought proper to controvert this maxim and had called it a new and extraordinary doctrine: that with regard to the obſervation made by his learned friend, he certainly meant, and he believed almoſt every gentleman underſtood him to mean, that after the members had taken their ſeats in the houſe, they ought, every one of them, to look upon themſelves as one of the repreſentatives of the whole body of the commons of England; and ought not to have any particular byas for the county, city, or borough, they repreſented: that this was ſo far from being a doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that he wiſhed every gentleman in the houſe would make it a ſtanding rule for his conduct: that he could not help obſerving, that there were ſome gentlemen in the houſe, who on many occaſions, confined their thoughts too much to the particular county, city, or borough they repreſented; but ſurely they muſt be ſenſible, that many things might happen in parliament which might be for the intereſt of the nation in general, though they might not, perhaps, tally ſo exactly with the particular intereſts of London, Liverpool, Briſtol, or the like cities; and, in ſuch a caſe, the gentlemen muſt certainly grant, that, as members of parliament, they ought to drop not only their dependence upon, but even their concern, for the particular city, they repreſented, in order to concur with the reſt of the members in what they judged to be for the general intereſt of the nation. At laſt, the ſubject being entirely exhauſted, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt one hundred and eighty-four.

Reports had been induſtriouſly given out by the minority, that, conſidering the large and ſpeedy ſupplies, which his majeſty had received in the courſe of this ſeſſion, the crown would have no occaſion to trouble the houſe with any vote of credit. The miniſtry thought it needleſs to contradict this report; conſcious, that, from the ſtate of affairs in Europe, the unprejudiced part of the nation were fully convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of ſuch a vote.

Sir Robert Walpole, on the twenty-eighth day of March delivered a meſſage to the houſe, importing, that, as the war, which had lately broke out in Europe, ſtill continued to rage, his majeſty hoped, he might be enabled to augment his forces, if ſuch an augmentation ſhould be found neceſſary, between the diſſolution of this parliament and the election of another. This meſſage occaſioned a violent diſpute, notwithſtanding which the majority complied with it; and in conſequence of another meſſage, they prepared and paſſed a bill impowering his majeſty to ſhew his paternal affection for the princeſs royal, by ſettling on her an annuity of five thouſand pounds for life.

In the upper houſe the oppoſition, though more violent, ſucceeded no better than in the lower. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected by the commons; and, after a warm diſpute, it met with the ſame fate.

A motion was then made by lord Carteret, for an addreſs to the king, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint the houſe, who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This propoſal was likewiſe rejected, at the end of a debate, in which the duke of Argyle obſerved, that, though two lords had been removed, only one officer had loſt his commiſſion. The duke of Bolton not having been bred to the army, this ſarcaſm was levelled at him.

It had been conſtantly aſſerted by the oppoſition, and, perhaps, not entirely without reaſon, that the miniſter exerted an undue influence in the election of the Scottiſh peers. In order, therefore, to remedy this evil three ſeveral motions were made and defended with great ability; but, as all of them ſeemed to reflect upon the conduct of the adminiſtration, they were rejected by the majority, but conſtantly proteſted againſt.

On the ſixteenth of April, his majeſty went

went to the houſe of peers, and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, made a ſhort ſpeech, to both houſes, importing, that it would be a great ſatisfaction to him, to ſee a perfect harmony reſtored among thoſe, who were guided by one and the ſame principle: that he wiſhed there might be no other diſtinction, but of ſuch as meant the ſupport of the preſent happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, and ſuch as wiſhed to ſubvert both: that this was the only diſtinction, which ought to prevail in this country, where the intereſt of the king and people were inſeparably connected, and where they could not ſubſiſt, but by being kept in that cloſe relation: that if religion, liberty and property, were never, at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only an attempt, but even the ſhadow of a deſign, to alter or invade them, he begged thoſe ſacred names might not be employed as artful and plauſible pretences to undermine the preſent eſtabliſhment, which alone could preſerve them ſafe and inviolate: that he had nothing to wiſh, but that his people might not be ſeduced or miſguided: he appealed to their own conſciences for the regularity of his conduct; and hoped the providence of God would direct them to make choice of ſuch repreſentatives, as were moſt fit to be truſted with the care and preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the preſent eſtabliſhment, and all the religious and civil rights of Great-Britain. The parliament was then prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved by a proclamation, which alſo convoked a new one.

The war on the continent, in the mean time, continued to rage with great violence. The Ruſſian and Saxon army laid ſiege to Dantzick, in hopes of ſecuring the perſon of king Staniſlaus. The inhabitants at firſt made ſome ſhow of reſiſtance: but finding all their efforts ineffectual, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender. Staniſlaus eſcaped into the Pruſſian territories: the Poliſh lords, who had followed his fortune, ſubmitted to Auguſtus: and that prince, returned in triumph to Dreſden, having overcome his rival, and firmly eſtabliſhed his authority.

The ſucceſs of the French in Germany was uninterrupted, but they ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of the duke of Berwick, who was killed in the trenches, which he had opened before Philipſburg on the twenty-ſixth day of April. The famous prince Eugene arrived on the Rhine, to aſſume the command of the Imperial army in that quarter; but he found himſelf ſo much inferior to the enemy, that he was forced during the whole campaign, to remain upon the defenſive. Marſhal D'Asfeldt, who ſeconded the duke of Berwick in the command of the French army, continued to proſecute the ſiege of Philipſburg with unremitted vigour; and the garriſon of that place, was at length compelled to capitulate, after having made a brave and reſolute defence.

Equal ſucceſs attended the allies in Italy as in Germany. The French, having reduced the caſtle of Milan, and ſeveral other fortreſſes, advanced into the Modeneze: while Don Carlos, at the head of his own and his father's forces, took poſſeſſion of Naples, and inveſted the town of Gæta and Capua. The Imperialiſts in thoſe parts were commanded by count Merci: the Spaniards by the count de Mortimar; and theſe two generals having come to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Bitonto, the Spaniards obtained a compleat victory over the Imperial army.

The battle of Parma was fought on the twenty-ninth day of June, in which the German army ſuſtained a total defeat from the French, who killed the Imperial general, a great number of principal officers, and above five thouſand private ſoldiers. In conſequence of this event, the whole kingdom of Naples ſubmitted to Don Carlos, who began to make preparations for attacking Sicily, where ſome Spaniſh troops had already been landed.

In the interim, the Engliſh miniſtry exerted themſelves with great vigour in putting the nation in a poſture of defence; and this meaſure, conſidering the diſpoſition of ſome of the powers at war, was not only prudent, but even neceſſary. Of all the allies, the king of Sardinia was the only prince, whoſe

profeſſions

profeſſions of friendſhip towards England was ſincere.

The Spaniſh prime miniſter, who was lately deceaſed, had, upon his death-bed, recommended to his maſter the preſervation of peace with Great-Britain as the moſt valuable legacy he could leave him; but that bigotted prince paid very little regard to his ſalutary advice. The eldeſt ſon of the pretender was ſuffered to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, who had even the imprudence to inſinuate, that, whenever his affairs would permit, he would ſupport the intereſt of the abdicated family. Nor were the French more reſerved in diſcovering their unfriendly ſentiments towards England. They publiſhed about this time a ſevere edict, by which all ſubjects of Great Britain were obliged to enliſt in their armies, or forthwith to leave that kingdom.

A ſharp memorial on this ſubject was preſented by the earl of Waldgrave, the Britiſh miniſter at Paris; and the French miniſtry excuſed themſelves, by alledging, that they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no ſettled place of abode, or viſible means of ſubſiſtence.

A profound tranquillity, in the mean time, reigned throughout Great Britain, with no other interruption, than what aroſe from the new elections, which were carried on with great zeal and induſtry by the two parties; but, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the oppoſition, the majority returned in favour of the miniſtry was very conſiderable.

*A. D.* 1735. On the twenty-ſeventh day of January, on the meeting of the new parliament, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, told them, that having undertaken, in concert with the ſtates-general, to mediate between the powers at war, he had had ſo good ſucceſs, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negotiation of peace: that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark, a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the preſent conjuncture, and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order it to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons: that he hoped they would approve of the ſteps he had taken for the ſecurity of the nation: and that it would at all events be good policy to keep this nation in a poſture of defence, while a war continued to rage in Europe.

On the return of the commons to their houſe, a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, thankfully acknowledging his wiſdom and goodneſs in purſuing ſuch meaſures as tended towards peace and tranquillity, rather than to involve Great Britain, and all Europe, too precipitately, in a general and bloody war: to expreſs the juſt ſenſe which the houſe had of his majeſty's tender regard for the public quiet and repoſe, and of his unwearied endeavours in forming, in concert with the ſtates-general, ſuch a plan of a general pacification, as his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, conceived to be conſiſtent with the honour and intereſt of all parties, as far as the circumſtances of time, and the preſent poſture of affairs would permit: to aſſure the king, that the houſe would chearfully and effectually raiſe ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the honour, and ſecurity of his majeſty and his kingdoms: and that, whatever ſhould be the reſult of his majeſty's gracious endeavours to procure the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity, they would enable him to act that part, which he ſhould be called upon to undertake, from motives of honour and juſtice, and a true regard for the intereſt of his ſubjects.

The cuſtomary oppoſition ſucceeded this motion, and produced warm debates. It was alledged on the one hand, that the houſe ought to be extremely cautious, leſt their agreeing to the addreſs ſhould be conſtrued into an approbation of all the meaſures of the miniſter: that the adminiſtration could claim very little merit in putting the nation to ſuch immenſe expences as ſhe had incurred, in arming both by ſea and land, without performing one action of importance: and that, in any event, it was ridiculous to thank his majeſty for not precipitating the nation into a war; the rather, as the Dutch, notwithſtanding they had ſo much at ſtake, had not, during this critical ſituation of affairs

on the continent, expended a ſingle ſhilling.

The gentlemen of the court party inſiſted, that the tranquillity of the nation was owing to its being in a poſture either of offence or defence, as occaſions, which were impoſſible to be foreſeen, ſhould require: that the increaſe and ſecurity of the trade of England were more than ſufficient to counterbalance all the charges ſhe had incurred, and which had been all expended within herſelf: that neither his majeſty, nor his miniſters, had ever behaved in ſuch a manner, as that they ſhould be treated by the houſe with any marks of diſtruſt in an addreſs, which, at beſt, was but a mere matter of compliment: that thanking his majeſty for not precipitating the nation into a war, was no other than thanking him for his caution and prudence: that with regard to the Dutch, they were the beſt judges of their own affairs, and their conduct ought to be no rule to Great Britain: that, nevertheleſs, though they had not augmented their land forces, it was certain they had ſuſpended a very large reduction of them, which they had intended to have made, when the troubles of Europe began: and finally, that the conduct of his majeſty, in concerting with the Dutch a general plan of pacification, was entirely agreeable to the maxims, by which the balance of power in Europe was to be maintained. The queſtion being at laſt put, the addreſs was voted by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-five againſt one hundred and eighty-five.

A motion for encreaſing the number of of ſeamen for the ſervice of the current year, to thirty thouſand, was the next ſubject of debate. The minority affirmed, that twenty thouſand, the number employed laſt year, was fully ſufficient: that the unneceſſary naval armaments of Great Britain, during laſt ſummer, had occaſioned the ruin of Dantzick, inaſmuch as they prevented the French from ſailing in time to relieve it: that the Spaniards believing the Engliſh fleet, which was then fitted out, to be deſigned to act againſt them in the Mediterranean, had obliged the French miniſtry to keep their ſhips at Breſt, inſtead of ſailing to Dantzick, until the deſtination of the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be known.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, the court party ſaid, that gentlemen were greatly miſtaken if they imagined the French to have ever been ſerious in their deſign either to relieve Dantzick, or to aſſiſt Staniſlaus in aſcending the throne of Poland: that it was true, they had laſt year equipped a fleet, under pretext of relieving Dantzick; and had circulated a report, that this was their real intention: that, nevertheleſs, it was certain that the French fleet was not only detained at Breſt all the ſummer, but orders were given by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, to fit out, in all their ports, all the ſhips that could poſſibly be got ready: that theſe orders had obliged his majeſty to encreaſe his ſea-forces with the additional number of ſeven thouſand men; an expedient, which, in all probability, defeated the deſigns, which the French and Spaniards, had formed againſt theſe kingdoms: that both theſe powers, far from relaxing their preparations, were ſtrengthening their marine with the utmoſt induſtry; ſo that the addition of ſeven thouſand men to the marine of Great Britain was but a reaſonable augmentation, and that this meaſure would appear the more neceſſary, when it was conſidered, that in a free country, like Great Britain, where there was no regiſter for ſeamen, by which the fleet might be inſtantly manned, the government was obliged, upon any ſudden emergency, to have recourſe to preſſing, a moſt diſagreeable expedient, in a country of liberty. Upon the weight of theſe arguments, there was a conſiderable majority in favour of the motion, which was accordingly agreed to.

Above three millions having been granted by way of ſupply, and the other public buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the fifteenth day of May. He frankly acknowledged, that the plan of pacification, which he had formed with the ſtates-general, had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was ſtill determined to perſiſt in the ſame pacific meaſures, and to uſe his endeavours for compoſing the troubles of Eu-

rope.

rope. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by ſea and land; acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions; and told them he ſhould conſtitute the queen regent of the realm during his abſence. His majeſty departed for Hanover by the way of Holland, immediately after the prorogation of parliament.

The affairs of Europe were very critically ſituated at this period. The emperor expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe at the moderation of his Britannic majeſty, who, he had all along flattered himſelf, would ſpeedily eſpouſe his quarrel. The king, indeed, would, in all probability have taken ſuch a ſtep, could he have been convinced, that the court of Vienna deſerved ſuch a favour at his hands, or that ſuch a meaſure could be ſafely embraced, at a time when the Dutch were ſo ſtrongly attached to the French intereſt. His majeſty, however, never loſt ſight of the common cauſe, but continued to ſupport it with his uſual ſpirit; and while matters were thus delicately ſituated, the preſervation of the balance of power, was ſolely and entirely owing to the wiſdom and prudence of his conduct.

So ſtrong a party was formed in favour of the French at the Ottoman court, that ſome divans had been actually held to deliberate upon a war with the emperor. The Britiſh and Dutch ambaſſadors were no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than they tranſmitted an account of it to their reſpective maſters, who ſent them expreſs orders to counter-act the deſigns of the French agents: and theſe miniſters ſucceeded ſo well in their endeavours, that the Grand Signior laid aſide his hoſtile intentions, and the king of England, for the kind and friendly part he took in the affair, received the thanks of the emperor.

With equal ſucceſs alſo, did the Engliſh miniſtry intereſt itſelf in preventing the flames of war from ſpreading into other parts of Europe. A miſunderſtanding having lately happened between the courts of Madrid and Liſbon, the king of Spain began to make ſuch preparations for war, that his Portugueſe majeſty had recourſe to his uſual ſupport in times of diſtreſs, to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh nation. The miniſtry lent a favourable ear to his application, and reſolved to afford him that relief which he ſeemed ſo much to want. Accordingly, in the latter end of May, Sir John Norris ſet ſail with a fleet of twenty-eight ſhips of war, and, in a few days, arrived at Liſbon, where he was received by the inhabitants as their guardian and deliverer. The court of Spain affected to be highly enraged at this bold ſtep of the Engliſh miniſtry, and threatened immediately to invade Portugal with a numerous army; but, in the end, iſſued orders for countermanding their military preparations, inſtead of carrying their threats into execution.

In the mean time, while the ſeveral powers on the continent, were equally tired of the war, they were equally above condeſcending to make the firſt advances towards a peace. At length, by the good offices of the Britiſh miniſtry and the ſtates-general, a ceſſation of arms was procured, and conferences were opened for a general pacification, by which certain preliminary articles were ſoon after concluded on.

*A. D.* 1736. His majeſty returned from Hanover in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the parliament with a ſpeech; in which he told them, that the plan of a pacification formed by the French and Imperialiſts, was, in ſubſtance, the ſame with that which had been concerted between him and the ſtates-general, though they had thought proper to communicate it as a new project; that he had agreed to this plan, which had been imparted to the king's of Spain and Sardinia, who, it was hoped, would likewiſe be perſuaded to accede to it; that he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces, both by ſea and land; but he flattered himſelf, they would think it reaſonable to continue ſome extraordinary expence, till the final eſtabliſhment of the peace of Europe.

His majeſty, in the month of February, ſent two members of the privy council to the

the prince of Wales, with a meſſage propoſing a marriage between his royal highneſs and the princeſs of Saxe-gotha. The propoſal being agreeable to the prince, lord Delaware was diſpatched to the court of Saxe-gotha to demand the princeſs, who arrived in England on the twenty-fifth day of April, and in two days after the nuptials were celebrated. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty, and was ſeconded by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who took this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales, and his amiable conſort. Theſe two young members ſoon became diſtinguiſhed in the houſe for the ſuperiority of their abilities, and the irreſiſtible force of their eloquence.

His majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the twentieth of May, and in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that a farther convention, concerning the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: and that negotiations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He expreſſed great concern at ſeeing ſuch ſeeds of diſſenſion ſown among his people; he declared it was his deſire, and ſhould ever be his care, to preſerve the preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed: he recommended a ſpirit of harmony and concord among all the Proteſtants of the nation, as the chief ſupport of that happy eſtabliſhment: and acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions. Accordingly, her majeſty being appointed regent during his abſence, the king ſet out for Hanover, immediately after the prorogation of the parliament.

At this time, riots, tumults, and every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, prevailed univerſally, but an affair of this kind which moſt engaged the attention of the public happened at Edinburgh. One Wilſon a ſmuggler, a fellow of a bold and reſolute ſpirit, had been tried and condemned by the lords of ſeſſion, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue; and having afterwards been guilty of one of the moſt daring actions that ever was attempted, that of reſcuing out of the hands of juſtice, his brother convict in the time of divine ſervice, and in the midſt of his guards, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh redoubled their uſual precautions for executing the ſentence againſt this deſperate criminal. When the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted, as uſual, with ſtones and dirt picked from the ſtreet by the boys and rabble. This circumſtance ſo provoked Porteous, captain of the trained bands, a man of a brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, who attended the execution, that he ordered his men to fire among the people; by which precipitate order, ſeveral perſons were wounded, and others loſt their lives.

In conſequence hereof, Porteous, who had no warrant for this barbarous action, was committed to priſon, tried for murder, convicted upon full evidence, and condemned to be hanged: but, as the ſmugglers were, at this time, remarkably numerous, and ſeemed to ſet both civil and military power at defiance; and as ſome favourable circumſtances appeared at the trial of Porteous, a reprieve was ſent for him by order of her majeſty.

Stimulated by the relations and friends of thoſe who had been murdered, and fired with a national jealouſy, the common people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity ſhewn to a criminal, who was the object of their deteſtation. They formed a conſpiracy with the moſt amazing ſecrecy; and they reſolved to put Porteous to death on the very day, which the judges had fixed for his execution.

Having come to this reſolution, they aſſembled in different bodies about ten o'clock at night, and blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admiſſion of the troops, that were quartered in the ſuburbs. They ſurpriſed and diſarmed the town guard: they broke open the priſon doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations. This exploit was performed with

with ſuch conduct and circumſpection as ſeemed to be the reſult of a plan concerted by perſons of conſequence: it therefore became the object of a very ſtrict enquiry, but the authors of the ſcheme were never detected.

The ſeveral contending powers in Italy, had, by this time, agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorrain had married the emperor's eldeſt daughter, the archdutcheſs Maria Thereſa, and ceded Lorrain to France, even before he ſucceeded to Tuſcany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily; Staniſlaus abdicated the crown of Poland: and Auguſtus was univerſally acknowledged ſovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and ratified by the diet of the empire; the provinces of Italy ſubmitted to the houſe of Auſtria, and the king of Spain commanded his troops to evacuate Tuſcany.

Prince Eugene, who had acted as the Imperial plenipotentiary on this occaſion, did not live to ſee the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of ſeventy-three, leaving behind him a character equally unrivalled, in the cabinet and in the field.

At this period, Great-Britain ſuſtained a great and public loſs in the death of lord chancellor Talbot, who had, for ſeveral years, executed that high office with equal ability and uprightneſs. He died, univerſally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was ſucceeded as chancellor by the lord Hardwicke.

*A. D.* 1737. His majeſty being indiſpoſed, in conſequence of the fatigue he had ſuffered in a tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland, the parliament was opened by commiſſion, on the firſt day of February. The lord chancellor, as one of the peers authorized by this commiſſion, made a ſpeech in his majeſty's name to both houſes, whom he acquainted, that, with regard to foreign affairs, the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and diſpoſition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity was far advanced; but his majeſty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final concluſion of the new ſettlement, which was to diſpoſe of ſuch conſiderable parts of Europe: that though there was the moſt promiſing appearance of a general laſting tranquillity, yet common prudence called upon the Britiſh nation to avoid an indolent ſecurity and too great a diſregard to future events: that, in a word, ſhe ought to be provided againſt all attempts that might be made againſt her peace by any of her enemies: that his majeſty had, as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit, made ſuch a reduction of the public expences, as was conſiſtent with the quiet and ſafety of his kingdoms, the ſecurity of commerce, and the honour and intereſt of the nation: that he could not, without ſurpriſe and concern, obſerve the many deſigns and contrivances carried on, in various ſhapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom: that theſe diſturbers of the public repoſe, conſcious that the intereſts of his majeſty and his people were the ſame, and ſenſible of the harmony that ſubſiſted between him and his parliaments, had levelled their ſedition againſt both, and, in their late outrages, had either directly oppoſed, or at leaſt endeavoured to render ineffectual, ſome acts of the whole legiſlature: that the conſideration of the height, to which theſe audacious practiſes might riſe, if not timely ſuppreſſed, afforded a melancholy proſpect, and required particular attention, leſt they ſhould affect the general peace and good government of the whole community, as well as the property, peace and quiet of private perſons.

In conſequence of this ſpeech, both houſes of parliament preſented addreſſes, in which they expreſſed their abhorrence of the outrages committed by the populace; and declared their reſolution to ſupport his majeſty in re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity of the nation. The commons having heard and

determined ſome controverted elections, proceeded to take the ſupply into conſideration. They voted ten thouſand men for the ſea-ſervice: they fixed the land forces at ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and four; and, for maintaining theſe and defraying other neceſſary expences, they granted his majeſty the ſum of one million out of the ſinking fund, and continued the land and malt taxes.

Lord Carteret remarked, in the beginning of this ſeſſion, that, notwithſtanding the powers, with which the civil magiſtrate was armed, the military force had been employed in ſuppreſſing the late diſturbances, none of which, he ſaid, had proceeded from any ſpirit of diſaffection to the government, but very different cauſes: that the murder which had been committed by the populace of Edinburgh, was of the moſt atrocious nature, and that the conſpiracy which had effected it was the more to be dreaded, as it was attended with no other diſorder than the perpetration of the crime, and ſeemed to have been formed by ſome perſons of rank and conſequence: that, in his opinion, their lordſhips ought to make the moſt diligent and ſevere enquiry into this affair, to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment; and that if it ſhould appear that the magiſtrates and inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh had not vigorouſly exerted their utmoſt influence in order to ſuppreſs the late inſurrection, the city itſelf ought to be puniſhed.

In anſwer to lord Carteret, the duke of Newcaſtle and the earl of Hardwicke affirmed, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for employing the military force in quelling the late commotions. The earl of Ilay undertook to prove, from the nature of the Union, and the government in general, that the city of Edinburgh, in its corporate capacity, could not be disfranchiſed, for any crime of its magiſtrates, even ſuppoſing them to be guilty. He agreed, however, with the court-peers in thinking, that the late diſturbances had proceeded from a ſpirit of diſaffection in the populace; and he inveighed, with great ſeverity, againſt the inſidious arts that had been uſed to alienate the minds of the people from his majeſty's perſon and government.

A motion was then made by lord Carteret, that the provoſt and baillies of Edinburgh in the year 1736; that the perſon commanding the city guard at the time of the riot in which captain Porteous was murdered; that the commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland, at the time of the ſaid riot; ſhould, all of them, be ordered to attend the houſe: and that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring, that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous, might be laid before the houſe.

When theſe papers were examined, and all the witneſſes arrived, including three Scottiſh judges, a debate aroſe about the manner in which the laſt ſhould be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woolpacks. Some Scottiſh lords maintained, that they had a right to ſit next to the judges of England; but after a long debate, this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. The queſtions put to them were few, and immaterial; and the anſwers they returned, however ſatisfactory in themſelves, gave but very little inſight into the murder of captain Porteous, which was the grand object of enquiry.

When the houſe had procured all the intelligence that could poſſibly be obtained, a bill was brought in to diſable Alexander Wilſon, for aboliſhing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, ſo as to open a communication between the city, and the ſuburbs in which the king's troops were quartered.

The duke of Argyle, and other perſons made a ſtrenuous oppoſition to this bill. At length, however, after warm diſputes and violent altercations, the whole of it was reduced to a ſimple act, diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the lord provoſt, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great-Britain, and for impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds upon the ſaid corporation, for the benefit of the widow of the late captain Porteous.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-firſt day of June, and put an end to

to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that he was extremely concerned to obſerve the licentiouſneſs of the times: that, under the colour and diſguiſe of liberty, they could not be inſenſible what ſcandal and offence it gave to all honeſt and ſober men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it was to reſtrain this exceſſive abuſe, by a due and vigorous execution of the laws: that a defiance of all authority, a contempt of magiſtracy, and even a reſiſtance of the laws, were become too general, though equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the people; the ſupport of the one being inſeparable from the protection of the other: that he had ever made the laws of the land the invariable rule of his actions, and he thought he might with reaſon expect in return all that ſubmiſſion to his government and authority, which he would take care to make as much the intereſt of his ſubjects, as the laws had made it their duty.

At this period, the public attention was engroſſed by an affair of a very delicate and intereſting nature. The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, before the king and queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-Court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour-pains were ſuppoſed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta, about two hours after her arrival.

As ſoon as his majeſty was acquainted with this event, he ſent a meſſage by the earl of Eſſex to the prince, congratulating him upon the birth of the princeſs, but at the ſame time, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the conduct of his royal highneſs, as an indignity offered to himſelf and the queen. The prince deprecated his majeſty's anger in ſeveral ſubmiſſive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princeſs joined her intreaties to thoſe of his royal highneſs; but no happy conſequence aroſe from their repeated acts of humility and ſupplication.

The duke of Grafton carried another meſſage from his majeſty, in which he obſerved, that the whole of the prince's conduct had, for a conſiderable time paſt, been ſo entirely void of all duty to him, that he long had reaſon to be highly offended at his deportment: that, until he ſhould withdraw his regard and confidence from thoſe, by whoſe inſtigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to him and the queen, and until he returned to his duty, he ſhould not reſide in his palace; which he would not ſuffer to be made the reſort of thoſe, who, under the appearance of an attachment to the prince, fomented the diviſion which he had raiſed in his family, and thereby weakened the common intereſt of the whole: that in this ſituation, he would admit of no reply; but when his actions ſhould manifeſt a juſt ſenſe of his duty and ſubmiſſion, that circumſtance might induce him to pardon, what, at preſent, he moſt juſtly reſented: that, in the mean time, it was his pleaſure, that the prince ſhould quit St. James's with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs: and that he ſhould, for the preſent, leave to the princeſs the care of his grand-daughter, until a proper time called upon him to conſider of her education.

Hereupon his royal highneſs retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majeſty's favour, which, however, he could not regain. Nevertheleſs, he ſent lord Baltimore, one of his domeſtics, to the lord Grantham, the queen's chamberlain, entreating to know whether ſhe would receive a letter from him in mitigation of his conduct. Her majeſty declining that expedient, the princeſs wrote a humble and ſubmiſſive letter to the king, who returned an anſwer full of affection and civility to her highneſs; though it plainly appeared, that his diſpleaſure at the conduct of the prince was rather encreaſed than abated. The princeſs wrote a like ſubmiſſive letter to the queen, who anſwered it in a very kind and affectionate manner; but, at the ſame time inſinuated, that his majeſty's reaſons for being diſpleaſed with the prince, were more and greater than either ſhe or the world were acquainted with.

Thus ended a correſpondence, which, as

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ſoon as it was finiſhed, was publiſhed by authority, and made various impreſſions on the minds of the public. The candid and impartial part of the nation believed, and even openly affirmed, that both the king and the prince were impoſed upon by thoſe, who found their account in creating a difference between them.

We pretend not wholly to juſtify the prince's conduct, but whatever were his faults, ſurely the puniſhment he underwent ſeems to have been rather ſevere, if not rigorous and cruel; for he was not even admitted into the preſence of the queen his mother, in her laſt moments, to implore her forgiveneſs, and receive her laſt bleſſing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princeſs of uncommon penetration, extenſive generoſity, a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, a generous patroneſs of learning and learned men, and devout in the performance of all her religious duties.

*A. D.* 1738. On the twenty-fourth of January, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, recommending the diſpatch of the public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condolance, on the queen's death, with which he appeared to be deeply affected. An enquiry into the Spaniſh depredations was the firſt and principal buſineſs which came before the parliament during the courſe of this ſeſſion.

This ſubject had been referred by the king to a committee of the privy council, where the merchants endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cauſe was ſpecious and popular; the public readily eſpouſed their quarrel; they were befriended by the anti-courtiers in both houſes, who wanted to force the miniſtry into a war with Spain: and, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, they delivered a very ſpirited petition to the lower houſe, repreſenting, that the Spaniards had paid ſo little regard to his majeſty's moſt gracious endeavours to obtain juſtice to his ſubjects, that they had continued their depredations, almoſt ever ſince the treaty of Seville; and more particularly laſt year had carried them to a greater heighth than ever: that they had arbitrarily ſeized ſeveral ſhips with their effects, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, on the high ſeas, in the deſtined courſe of their voyages to and from the Britiſh colonies, amounting to a very conſiderable value: that the captains and maſters of the ſaid ſhips had been, according to the laſt advices of the petitioners, and were, as the petitioners believed, at that very time, confined by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies: and that the crews were now in ſlavery in Old Spain, where they were moſt inhumanly treated: that that cruel people made it their practice to attack and board all Britiſh merchant ſhips they met with in the American ſeas, under pretence of ſearching for goods, which they deemed contraband, or not agreeable to their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, contrary to the law of nations, and in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns; that, by theſe unjuſt and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the Britiſh trade and navigation to and from America was rendered very unſafe and precarious, inſomuch, that the inſurance from Jamaica had greatly riſen on that account only; and that, without ſome ſpeedy and effectual remedy, the American trade and navigation, together with the revenue of the crown ariſing from it, would be greatly diminiſhed, if not entirely loſt: that although his Catholic majeſty had engaged by the treaty of Seville, and by a ſubſequent declaration, to cauſe reparation forthwith to be made to the unhappy ſufferers, yet was there no inſtance of ſuch ſatisfaction having been given; ſo far from it, that, whilſt the Britiſh ſubjects were amuſed with vain and fruitleſs hopes of recovering their effects, the Spaniards had committed farther inſults upon them, and ſtill continued the ſame unjuſt practices: that the cedulas or orders, iſſued by the court of Spain, to their governors in America, were only calculated, as the petitioners had reaſon to apprehend, to evade giving ſatisfaction to the Engliſh ſubjects; for, to the beſt of the petitioners

petitioners knowledge, there never had been one of thoſe cedulas executed, nor any governor recalled or puniſhed for refuſing to comply with them: that, for any nation to aſſume the power of detaining or rummaging the Britiſh ſhips, upon their lawful voyages on the American ſeas, was, in effect, as the petitioners conceived, claiming and exerciſing the ſole ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas: that if the Spaniards ſhould be ſuffered to act in this injurious manner, to inſult the perſons of his majeſty's ſubjects, or to plunder their property, the petitioners were of opinion, that ſuch practices would be attended not only with a great obſtruction to that valuable branch of our commerce and navigation, but alſo, with conſequences ſtill more fatal to Great Britain: and that, therefore, as the meaſures hitherto purſued had proved ineffectual, they humbly hoped the houſe would take the matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would provide ſuch means, as to them ſhould ſeem moſt proper, for procuring relief to the unhappy ſufferers, and for preventing all future inſults to, and depredations on the ſubjects of Great Britain.

This petition, reinforced by others of the like nature from moſt of the trading towns in the kingdom, had ſuch an influence upon the houſe, that a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty for copies of all the repreſentations ſent by the miniſtry of England to that of Spain, ſince the firſt day of November laſt, and of ſuch anſwers to the ſaid repreſentations as had been received,

In the mean time, the ſubject of the Spaniſh depredations engaged the enquiries of the houſe of lords as much as of the commons. The lord Carteret, who had ſtudied the matter with great accuracy, endeavoured to prove, that the baſis of all European commerce in America, conſiſted in each nation, reſerving to itſelf an excluſive right to trade with its own colonies and plantations: and that, therefore, the Spaniards had not the leaſt equitable pretence for ſearching or ſecuring any ſhip which was not actually in the ports or harbours of Spain.

His lordſhip inſiſted, that the modes of viſiting and ſearching, mentioned by the treaty of 1667, were applicable to the European navigation alone, and not to the American; becauſe that treaty took it for granted, that no trade could be carried on between the Spaniards and the Engliſh in America, and, conſequently, that there could be no object of ſearch, unleſs the ſhips of one nation ſhould be found actually trading within the ports and harbours of the other. And he confirmed this aſſertion by the practice of the French and the Dutch, who had poſſeſſions in America, and who made the ſame excluſive privileges the rule of their conduct.

He farther proceeded to ſhew, that there could not be the ſhadow of a pretext for an Spaniſh veſſels to ſtop an Engliſh ſhip in the open ſea; and with regard to the claim, which the Spaniards made, of ſtopping ſhips within a certain diſtance from the ſhore, he obſerved, that nothing could be more unjuſt and unreaſonable; becauſe, in a coaſt ſo extenſive, ſo unequal, and ſo little known as that of America, it was often impoſſible for Britiſh ſhips to perform their voyages from one Engliſh colony to another, without being ſometimes driven, by winds, tides or currents, within ſuch diſtances of the Spaniſh coaſt, as they might deem to be unlawful.

His lordſhip's reaſoning appeared to be ſo ſtrong and concluſive, that the houſe unanimouſly agreed in preſenting an addreſs to his majeſty. In anſwer to which his majeſty ſaid, that he was ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards: that they might be aſſured of his care to procure ſatisfaction for the injuries they had already ſuffered, to ſecure the freedom of navigation for the future, and to maintain to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the laws of nations: and that he doubted not but that in the ſteps he ſhould take for this neceſſary purpoſe, he ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the houſe.

Thus ended an enquiry, which, ever ſince the meeting of parliament, had wholly engroſſed the attention of the public. So entirely, indeed, were the minds of the people

occupied with this intereſting object, that very little regard was paid to other affairs, although ſome of them were confeſſedly of great conſequence.

The king put a period to the ſeſſion on the twentieth day of May, with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the juſtice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade and navigation between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to the law of nations, and to treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers.

On the twenty fourth day of May, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of George, and who now ſits upon the throne. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and almoſt all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. But the prince of Wales ſtill laboured under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to ſignify in the gazette, that no perſon, who viſited the prince, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's preſence at any of the royal palaces.

The populace were provoked to ſuch a degree by the paſſing of the act to diſcourage the ſale of ſpirituous liquors by retail, that they frequently aſſembled in a tumultuous manner in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. They were ſo addicted to the uſe of that pernicious compound known by the appellation of gin, that they ran all riſques rather than forego it entirely; and ſo little regard was paid to the law, by which it was prohibited, that, in leſs than two years, twelve thouſand perſons were, within the bills of mortality, convicted of having ſold it illegally. Near one half of that number was caſt in the penalty of one hundred pounds; and three thouſand perſons paid ten pounds each, rather than undergo the diſgrace of being committed to the houſe of correction.

Notwithſtanding the laws which had been made againſt vagrants, a ſet of French players, in the month of October in this year, attempted to exhibit a French comedy on the theatre, in the Hay-market; but were routed by the audience. The ſtrollers, however, who, in fact, had no licence for playing, were moſt unwarrantably ſupported by De Veil, the buſy pragmatical juſtice of Weſtminſter, who was ſo imprudent as to attempt reading the riot act, and even ordered a party of the guards upon the ſtage; an expedient, in which, had he proceeded, would certainly have endangered the lives of many innocent perſons: but, happily, the reſolution of the audience prevented any bad conſequences: the guards were hindred from coming on the ſtage; and the tumult ended in ſilencing the players, who were obliged to leave the kingdom.

About this time, a moſt dangerous ſpirit of revenge, appeared in the Weſtern counties of England, where a number of journeymen and ſervants, who had been ill uſed by their maſters, roſe in a tumultuous manner, and committed the moſt terrible outrages againſt the perſons and properties of thoſe, who had incurred their reſentment. In order to quell theſe diſturbances, and prevent the flames of ſedition from ſpreading into other counties, a body of troops was quartered at Bradford, Trowbridge, Melkſham, Chippenham, and parts adjacent.

About the ſame period a moſt dangerous inſult was committed upon juſtice, by a party of ſailors, at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet, and brought to life, one Buchanan, who had been condemned to be hanged for murder; and, notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of the crime, and the danger of the example, the offenders were, by ſome means or other effectually ſcreened from juſtice.

His

*A. D.* 1739. His majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the firſt day of February by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he ſaid, that, ſupported by the concurrent advice of both houſes of parliament, he had loſt no time in making preparations to do himſelf and his people juſtice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid him under that neceſſity: that he had, at the ſame time, in the ſtrongeſt manner, repeated his inſtances for obtaining ſuch reparation for the many injuries and loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch effectual ſecurity for the future, as might prevent the conſequences of an open rupture: that he had now the ſatisfaction to acquaint them, that the meaſures he had purſued, had been ſo ſucceſsful, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, by which, upon a ſtrict examination of the demands on both ſides, that prince had obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects, by the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum: that plenipotentiaries were likewiſe named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes, which had hitherto interrupted the Britiſh commerce and navigation in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner, as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint, by a ſtrict obſervance of our mutual treaties, and a juſt regard to the rights and privileges, belonging to each nation: and finally, he promiſed that he would order the convention to be laid before his parliament.

When the commons were come back to their own houſe, Sir Hanbury Williams moved for an addreſs to his majeſty in the uſual ſtrain. This motion was violently oppoſed by all the antiminiſterial party. Sir John Barnard, ſaid, that the ſpeech itſelf was moſt abſurdly worded, becauſe it declared, that plenipotentiaries were appointed to regulate the grievances and abuſes that had happened to the Britiſh ſubjects, from the inſolence and cruelty of the Spaniards: that, in his opinion, to regulate abuſes implied a continuance of them, but only under a different form; and indeed, that the ſame objection might with juſtice be made to the whole ſubſtance of the convention.

For theſe reaſons he diſapproved of any expreſſions, that could have the leaſt appearance of approving ſo deſtructive a meaſure, and thought the addreſs ought to be confined to the ſimple expreſſions of thanking his majeſty for his gracious ſpeech, and aſſuring him that the houſe would grant him ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the honour and ſecurity of his majeſty and his kingdoms; and that they would endeavour to avoid all heats and animoſities in carrying on the public buſineſs in that critical juncture. This laſt motion, however, was conſidered as equally unreaſonable and diſrepectful to his majeſty: it was therefore rejected, and the addreſs was voted to be in the common form.

The convention being ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons, the whole houſe went into a committee on this important ſubject: and the principal ſpeakers on both ſides exerted their utmoſt abilities, either attacking or defending the meaſure.

The merchants of London trading to America, the city of London, and almoſt all the towns and corporations in the kingdom, preſented petitions againſt the treaty.

A very excellent law paſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament, for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the ſugar colonies; one, permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper reſtrictions: the other making more effectual proviſions for ſecuring the duties laid upon the importation of foreign ſugars, rum and molaſſes, into Great-Britain and his majeſty's plantations in America.

Although the uſe of theſe bills to the ſugar colonies muſt be evident to every one, yet petitions were preſented againſt them by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, and other places; but the objections of the petitioners were either ſo frivolous or ſelfiſh, that little regard was paid to them by the parliament.

An act paſſed during this ſeſſion, for granting a reward of five thouſand pounds to Joanna Stevens, on her diſcovering, for the be-

nefit

nefit of the public, a noſtrum for the cure of perſons afflicted with the ſtone. The powers of the commiſſioners too, appointed to ſuperintend the building of Weſtminſter Bridge, were conſiderably enlarged by another act; and a lottery was eſtabliſhed for raiſing money to defray the expence of this great and valuable work.

The parliament having diſpatched the buſineſs for which they met, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the fourteenth day of June, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he exhorted all, who profeſſed themſelves zealous aſſertors of the rights and privileges, laws and liberties of their country, and of the proteſtant religion, under the preſent eſtabliſhment, to unite their endeavours in defence of theſe ineſtimable bleſſings; and expreſſed his wiſhes, that the honour, proſperity, and ſafety of the kingdom, might become one common cauſe, and reconcile all civil diſcords and diviſions, that ſo, by their firmneſs and unanimity, they might diſappoint the hopes and expectations of their enemies.

The numerous depredations and inſulting behaviour of the Spaniards had, by this time, ſo incenſed the Engliſh, that a war between the two nations was become altogether unavoidable. Letters of marque and repriſals were granted againſt the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty: a promotion was made of general officers: the troops were augmented: an embargo was laid on all outward bound ſhips: and a reinforcement was ſent to admiral Haddock, who, for ſome time paſt, had been cruizing in the Mediterranean.

Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, received orders, at the ſame time, to declare to the Spaniſh court, that his Britannic majeſty inſiſted upon a formal renunciation, on the part of Spain, of all claims of ſearching Britiſh ſhips, as the baſis of a future treaty: and that the honour of the Britiſh crown and nation would not ſuffer any farther negotiations, but upon that condition: that he likewiſe expected the immediate execution of all that had been ſtipulated on the part of Spain by the convention; and that the Britiſh rights to Georgia and Carolina ſhould be expreſsly acknowledged in the future treaty: and finally, that the failure of the court of Spain to fulfil the terms of the convention, had given a new turn to the ſtate of affairs between the two courts: a circumſtance, that entitled his Britannic majeſty to be more peremptory, and to riſe in his demands; and the rather, as Great Britain had been neceſſitated to expend great ſums in fitting out armaments both by ſea and land, in conſequence of the breach of faith on the part of the Spaniards.

His Catholic majeſty, in anſwer to theſe demands, ſaid, that he looked upon the orders which had been iſſued for repriſals, as acts of hoſtility; and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be able to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries. He likewiſe publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his own conduct, complaining that the Spaniſh ſhips taken by the Engliſh, had been rated at an exhorbitant price: that admiral Haddock had received orders to cruize with his ſquadron between the capes of St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to ſurprize the aſſogue ſhips: that letters of repriſal had been publiſhed at London, in a ſtile injurious to the Spaniſh crown, and had even been carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excuſed the non-payment of the ninety-five thouſand pounds ſtipulated in the convention, by affirming, that the Britiſh court had firſt infringed the articles of that treaty, by the orders ſent to admiral Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia and Carolina; by denying the power of his Catholic majeſty to ſuſpend the Aſſiento for negroes; a power that had been expreſsly aſſerted in de la Quedra's proteſt, on the validity of which depended the validity of the convention; by eluding the payment of the ſixty-eight thouſand pounds due to Spain from the South-ſea company; by the Engliſh court's neglecting to furniſh their plenipotentiaries with the neceſſary inſtructions within the time limited; and, laſt of all, by their plenipotentiaries having inſiſted upon a liberty of free navigation in the American ſeas, which, by the law of nations, and by treaties, they had claimed as a right.

In the interim, the conduct of the French court,

court, and of the ſtates-general, was not a little problematical. The former it was ſtrongly apprehended, notwithſtanding their profeſſions on the contrary, would declare in favour of the Spaniards: the latter, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, would chuſe to remain neuter. Mr. Horace Walpole had been ſent to the Hague, in order, if poſſible, to perſuade the ſtates to eſpouſe the cauſe of Great Britain; but all he could obtain from their high-mightineſſes was a vague promiſe, that they would ſtill continue to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh, and would furniſh them with the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, in caſe they ſhould ſtand in need of them.

The Spaniards not being in readineſs for the immediate proſecution of a war, the French king endeavoured to ſuſpend the commencement of hoſtilities, by offering his mediation to compromiſe all differences between the courts of London and Madrid. But the Britiſh miniſtry replied, that matters were gone too far to leave any room for an accommodation: and that, of all the powers in Europe, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had the leaſt pretence to the office of a mediator: eſpecially, as his miniſters at the Hague and elſewhere, had publickly declared, that, in caſe of a war, France was bound by the ſtrongeſt ties to aſſiſt Spain with the utmoſt vigour. The Engliſh were now ſenſible, that they muſt ſtand alone in the quarrel; but animated, as they were, with an uncommon animoſity againſt the Spaniards, they never thought of the difficulty of the undertaking; the flattering proſpect of fully revenging the numberleſs inſults and indignities they had received from the enemy, engroſſed all their attention.

In the mean time, the breach grew wider and wider; the animoſity between the two courts of Great Britain and Spain was every day becoming more violent and incurable. The Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean had already made prizes of two Caracca ſhips. The king had iſſued out orders for augmenting his land forces, and raiſing a body of marines: and a great number of ſhips of war were put in commiſſion. Admiral Vernon had been ſent to the Weſt-Indies, to aſſume the command of the ſquadron in thoſe ſeas: and to attack the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards.

The admiral had made himſelf conſpicuous in the houſe of commons, by exclaiming againſt the power, the perfidy, and ambition of the French, and loudly condemning the meaſures of the miniſtry, which he ſuppoſed to be too favourable to that treacherous and deceitful people. He was eſteemed a good officer, and his boiſterous and noiſy manner ſeemed to add freſh merit to his character. As he had once commanded a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, he was perfectly well acquainted with thoſe ſeas: and in a debate on the Spaniſh depredations, he happened to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spaniſh main might be eaſily reduced, nay, he even declared, that he would undertake to reduce it with only ſix ſhips, on the forfeiture of his head.

The gentlemen of the minority took the advantage of this offer. They extolled Vernon as another Drake or Raleigh. In a word, they prepoſſeſſed the public ſo much in his favour, that the miniſter, in order to appeaſe the popular clamour on this ſubject, conſented to ſend him as commander in chief to the Weſt-Indies.

To ſuch a heighth were matters now carried between the two courts, that nothing was wanting to produce an open rupture, but a declaration of war, which was accordingly publiſhed at London with the uſual ſolemnity on the nineteenth of October. Many Engliſh merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading veſſels, with a double view of annoying the enemy and protecting their own commerce.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, at their meeting on the fifteenth day of November, informed them, that he had augmented his forces by ſea and land; and expreſſed his apprehenſion, that the heats and animoſities, which had been induſtriouſly raiſed in the kingdom, had encouraged Spain to act in ſuch a manner, as rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to arms.

Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, after a faint oppoſition made by the minority.

Great complaints had, for a long time paſt, been made, of the cuſtom of preſſing ſeamen, to man the navy. Many expedients had been propoſed for remedying this evil; but as all of them had been found to be attended with conſequences more dangerous than the practice itſelf, none of them had ever been adopted by the government. The minority, however, who never failed to lay hold of every pretext, whether good or bad, of condemning the meaſures of the court, raiſed, at this time, a moſt violent outcry againſt the miniſtry, on account of this cuſtom, which, however, diſagreeable, had been by long experience found neceſſary.

To put an end, therefore, to theſe clamours, a bill was introduced by Sir Charles Wager, for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, lightermen, keelmen, bargemen, and ſea-faring men, capable of ſervice at ſea, throughout his majeſty's dominions.

*A. D.* 1740. His majeſty, having, by a meſſage, informed the commons of his intention of diſpoſing of the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederic of Heſſe; and expreſſed his hope, that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion with his daughter; they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe: and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having communicated his royal intentions to the houſe.

They then took into conſideration the ſettlement of the ſupply. They provided for twenty-eight thouſand land-forces beſides ſix thouſand marines. They enabled his majeſty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the ſubſidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their ſovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences, not ſpecified in the eſtimates. In order to anſwer all theſe grants, they impoſed a land tax of four ſhillings in the pound: and enabled his majeſty to deduct twelve hundred thouſand pounds from the ſinking fund: in a word, the expence of the war, during the courſe of the enſuing year, amounted to about four millions.

A ſhip arrived from the Weſt-Indies, on the thirteenth of March, diſpatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only, and demoliſhed all the fortifications of the place. The two houſes of parliament preſented a joint addreſs of congratulation upon this ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit, which was magnified much above its merit. This ſeſſion was cloſed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had ſo liberally granted; recommending unanimity and concord to both houſes; and expreſſed his hopes, that the preparations, which he was making for carrying on the war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be attended with that ſucceſs which the juſtice of his cauſe deſerved.

Great and dreadful were the afflictions of the poor through the greater part of the preceding winter, in conſequence of a ſevere froſt, which began in december, and continued till the end of February. The river Thames was ſo thoroughly frozen over, that it was as much crowded with ſhops and carriages, as the ſtreets. The navigation was entirely ſtopped: the watermen were diſabled from earning a livelihood; the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed by the cold, which was ſo extreme, that many perſons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to ſupply themſelves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. A heavy ſnow, that had fallen when the froſt began, added ſtill to the public calamities. The ſtreets of London were rendered impaſſable; and the moſt melancholy accidents happened hourly in every quarter of the town. The ſhipping between London-Bridge and the river Medway, was damaged, to the amount, as was ſuppoſed, of an hundred thouſand pounds. The induſtrious labourers could not procure work

work to employ themſelves, and an almoſt total ſtop was put to the various manufactures.

Many hundred families of the poorer ſort muſt have totally periſhed through the extremity of their diſtreſs, had not thoſe of opulent fortunes been inſpired with a remarkable ſpirit of charity and benevolence. Pity for the poor became now the reigning paſſion among the great, the rich, and the happy. The munificence of his majeſty and the royal family, ſet the example to the nobility; who were readily followed in ſo laudable a work, by all ſuch as had the power of relieving the wants of their fellow creatures. Societies for the more equal diſtribution of private charities were every where formed; and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the kingdom, entailed on themſelves immortal honour, by giving to and collecting money for the poor, and acting as ſtewards in the diſtribution of it.

His majeſty, having ſettled a regency, and taken proper meaſures for the vigorous proſecution of the war, ſet out for Hanover in the beginning of May. In a few days after his departure, the marriage of the princeſs Mary was ſolemnized by proxy, the duke of Cumberland repreſenting the prince of Heſſe, and in June the princeſs ſet ſail for the continent. About the ſame time, a ſloop arrived in England, with diſpatches from admiral Vernon, who, ſince his adventure at Porto-Bello, had made a fruitleſs attempt upon Carthagena, and reduced the port of San Lorenzo, on the river Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conqueſt.

In the interim, the making all poſſible preparations for the carrying on of the war, engaged the attention of the miniſtry. They had wiſely reſolved to attack the Spaniards in their American ſettlements. Three ſhips of war, the Orford, the Kent, and the Lenox, cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with the Princeſſa, a large Spaniſh ſhip of the line, ſtrongly manned, and took her, after a very obſtinate engagement. But the aſſogue ſhips arrived with the treaſure in Spain, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Engliſh commanders, who, with a view to intercept them in their paſſage, had been ſtationed in different latitudes.

One camp was formed on Hounſlow-heath; and the ſix thouſand marines lately levied were encamped in the Iſle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the Weſt Indies. Intelligence being received that a ſtrong ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips of war waited at Ferrol for orders to ſail to their American ſettlements, Sir John Norris ſailed with a fleet of twenty ſhips from Spithead, with a view of attacking them in the harbour; and the duke of Cumberland ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition; but, after divers fruitleſs efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greateſt part of the ſummer in Torbay; and, the deſign againſt Ferrol was finally laid aſide, upon advice that the French and Spaniſh fleets were ſailed in conjunction to the Weſt Indies.

A ſmall ſquadron of ſhips under the command of commodore Anſon, ſet ſail for the South ſea, in the month of September, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate, occaſionally, with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien: the ſcheme was well laid, and though it failed in its principal purpoſe, was afterwards productive of very conſiderable national advantages, and great honour to the commander.

But the hopes of the public were chiefly centered in a formidable armament deſigned for the northern coaſt of New Spain, and his Catholic majeſty's other ſettlements on that ſide of the Atlantic. Orders had been iſſued for raiſing four regiments of foot in the Engliſh colonies of North America, that they might be tranſported to Jamaica, to join the Britiſh forces to be ſent to that iſland.

Theſe, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand marines, and detachments from ſome old regiments, were embarked in October, at the Iſle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great popularity, and diſtinguiſhed abilities; and they ſailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with fleet of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates,

frigates, fire ſhips, bomb ketches and tenders. They were likewiſe furniſhed with hoſpital ſhips, and ſtore ſhips loaded with proviſions, ammunition, all ſorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. In a word, the miniſtry exerted their utmoſt endeavours to render the armament as complete as poſſible; and the public expectations of the ſucceſs of the undertaking were deſervedly raiſed to a very great heighth.

Three remarkable events, which conſiderably influenced the affairs of Europe, diſtinguiſhed this year. The firſt was the death of his Pruſſian majeſty, a prince by no means amiable either in his public or private character. He was ſucceeded on the throne by his eldeſt ſon Frederick, the reigning king of that realm, whoſe exploits in the cabinet and the field, and whoſe character as a philoſopher and legiſlator, have, for ſeveral years paſt, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him.

The next remarkable event was, the death of Charles the ſixth, emperor of Germany, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, who expired at Vienna on the ninth day of October, and who was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter, the archdutcheſs Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Though the Pragmatic Sanction, by which ſhe ſucceeded as queen of Hungary, was guarantied by moſt of the powers in Europe, a bloody war in the empire was the conſequence of her ſucceſſion.

As ſoon as the young king of Pruſſia was acquainted with the death of the emperor, he entered Sileſia at the head of thirty thouſand men; ſeized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had no intention to contravane the Pragmatic Sanction. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony, who had never guarantied that ſanction, refuſed to acknowledge the archdutcheſs as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging, that they themſelves had pretenſions to theſe countries, as deſcendants of the emperor Joſeph, elder brother to the emperor Charles.

The laſt event of importance was, the death of the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who named for her ſucceſſor, Iwan or John, ſon of her neice, the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunſwic-Lunenburgh-Bevern. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were alive; but this diſpoſition was ſoon ſet aſide.

His majeſty being returned to England from his German dominions, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the eighteenth day of November. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, obſerved, that the court of Spain, having already felt ſome effects of the reſentment of the Engliſh, began to be ſenſible, that they ſhould be no longer able, by their own ſtrength, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation: that, if any other powers, agreeable to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt his declared enemies; the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms, muſt call upon his parliament to loſe no time in putting the nation in ſuch a condition, as might enable him to repel any inſults, and fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they might be taken, would inſpire his allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and would unite them in ſupport and defence of the common cauſe: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new ſcene in the ſtate of affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impoſſible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what courſe the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts might lead them to purſue in this critical conjuncture; it ſhould be his care ſtrictly to obſerve and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as were under the ſame obligations, to act in ſuch a manner, as might moſt effectually tend to avert thoſe dangers

dangers which threatened the publick tranquillity.

The Engliſh miniſtry now encreaſed their army to fifty thouſand five hundred effective men; excluſive of the troops on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. To this proceeding they were, among other conſiderations, induced, by the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe; the ambition of his Pruſſian majeſty, who had invaded and ſeized the beſt part of Sileſia: the hoſtile intentions of the French court, who, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of neutrality, had ſent their fleet to the Weſt-Indies, in order to aſſiſt the Spaniards: the irreſolution of the Dutch, who were overawed by the French, and the commotions that prevailed among the northern powers, ſeemed to threaten Chriſtendom with ſtill greater calamities.

*A. D.* 1741. His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the eighth day of April, and paſſed ſome acts that were ready for the royal aſſent. He then in a ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the war which had lately broke out and been carried on in part of the Auſtrian dominions, and the various and extenſive claims, which were publickly made on the late emperor's ſucceſſion, were new events, that required the utmoſt care and attention; the rather, as they might involve all Europe in a bloody war, and, in conſequence, expoſe the dominions of ſuch princes, as ſhould take part in ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, to imminent and immediate danger; that the queen of Hungary, had already made a requiſition of the twelve thouſand men expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty: and, in order to fulfil his engagements, he had demanded of the king of Denmark, and of the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, their reſpective bodies of troops, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men each, that ſo they might be in readineſs to march forthwith to the aſſiſtance of her Hungarian majeſty: that he was concerting ſuch farther meaſures, as might obviate and diſappoint all the dangerous deſigns and attempts, that might be formed or carried on in favour of any unjuſt pretenſions to the prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of things; that during the time, when by reaſon of the approaching concluſion of the preſent parliament, it might be impoſſible for him to have their advice and aſſiſtance, many incidents might ariſe, which might render it neceſſary for him to incur ſtill greater expences for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction; and that, therefore, in a conjuncture ſo critical, he had thought it proper to lay theſe important conſiderations before them, and to deſire the concurrence of his parliament, in enabling him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, the preventing, by all reaſonable means, the ſubverſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and the fixing the liberties of Europe on the moſt ſolid and permanent foundation.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, who promiſed that they would effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks, which any prince or power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures which his majeſty had ſo wiſely taken, ſhould make upon any part of his majeſty's territories or dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain; and that in any future events, which might ariſe from the uncertain ſtate of things, and in which it might be neceſſary for his majeſty to put himſelf to larger expences, they would enable him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and to the defence of the liberties and independency of Europe.

The parliament having diſpatched the various important affairs for which they met, they were prorogued on the twenty-fifth day of April, and afterwards diſſolved by royal proclamation. The king having appointed a regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions.

The Britiſh armament in the Weſt-Indies, had, by this time, began their hoſtilities. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who had ſailed from Spithead, on the ninth of October, was overtaken by a tempeſt in the Bay of Biſcay, by which the fleet, conſiſting of about one hundred and ſeventy ſail, were ſcattered and diſperſed. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he

he profecuted his voyage, and anchored in the neighbourhood of Dominica, with a view of providing himſelf with wood and water in that neutral iſland, where the intended expedition ſuſtained a terrible ſhock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dyſentry. The loſs of this nobleman was the more ſeverely felt, as the command of the land forces devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer whoſe abilities were greatly inferior to the importance of the undertaking.

As the fleet coaſted the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ſhips of war were diſcovered; and Sir Chaloner Ogle detached an equal number of his ſquadron to give them chace, while he himſelf proceeded on his voyage. As theſe ſtrange ſhips refuſed to bring to, lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four Britiſh ſhips, ſaluted one of them with a broadſide, in conſequence of which they came to a cloſe engagement.

After maintaining an obſtinate fight during the greater part of the night, the enemy hoiſted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French ſquadron, which had ſailed from Europe under the command of the marquis D'Antin, with orders to aſſiſt the Spaniſh admiral de Torres, in attacking and diſtreſſing the Engliſh ſhips and ſettlements. As war, however, was not yet declared between France and England, the two commanders gave over firing; and, after making mutual apologies for the miſtake which had happened, they parted as friends, each of them having loſt a conſiderable number of men.

Greater confuſion now reigned throughout Europe than ever. The king of Pruſſia had demanded of the court of Vienna, part of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of cofraternity, which were either obſolete or annulled, and promiſed to aſſiſt the queen with all his forces, in caſe ſhe ſhould comply with his demand: but theſe terms being rejected with diſdain, he entered Sileſia, at the head of his army, and proſecuted his conqueſts with great rapidity.

In the interim the queen of Hungary was crowned at Preſburg, after having ſigned a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke, her huſband, was, at her requeſt, conjoined with her for ten years in the government. At the ſame time, the reception of a memorial from the elector of Bavaria, was refuſed by the ſtates of Hungary.

The king of Pruſſia now made his public entrance into Breſlau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals ſurprized the town and fortreſs of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary. Prince Leopold of Anhault-Deſſau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the town by ſcalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyſki priſoners: and here he found the military cheſt, a prodigious quantity of ammunition, and fifty pieces of braſs cannon.

Count Neuperg, one of the moſt experienced generals in Europe, was appointed by the queen of Hungary to the command of her troops in Sileſia; but this officer had not been yet able to draw together the face of the army, or prevent his Pruſſian majeſty from bombarding the town of Neiſs. At laſt, however, he found means to collect a good body of troops, and matters had been now carried to ſuch extremities between the two courts, that there appeared to be no chance of an accommodation.

His Pruſſian majeſty had formed a reſolution to reduce Neiſs and Brieg, the two places of greateſt conſequence that held out againſt him in Sileſia; and Neuperg had orders, at all events, to force him to battle. The two armies were pretty equal in point of number, each of them amounting to about twenty-five thouſand men; and both being equally eager for the combat, they met at Molwitz, a village a little to the northward of Neiſs.

The conteſt for victory was obſtinate and bloody. The Pruſſians were inferior in cavalry; but the king had taken care to intermingle with his horſe, a body of grenadiers, which

which ſupplied that defect. The engagement laſted from two in the afternoon, till half an hour paſt ſix, when the Auſtrians retired under the cannon of Neiſs, after loſing about four thouſand men. The loſs of the enemy was not much inferior; a great number of general officers were killed and wounded on both ſides: and his Pruſſian majeſty gave that day a ſignal proof, that the beſt courage is acquired by practice and reflection: for he was ſeen to give way upon the firſt diſorder of his troops. This was the caſe with Cromwell, the duke of Marlborough, and ſome of the greateſt heroes of antiquity, who, like his Pruſſian majeſty, diſcovered a kind of timidity in the firſt rencounter, but afterwards performed actions equally worthy of wonder and of praiſe.

His Pruſſian majeſty was a gainer by this battle, which, though not deciſive, raiſed, conſiderably, the character of his troops, and the opinion that was entertained of his own military accompliſhments. All Europe beheld, with amazement, a prince, who had never been bred to arms, form an army that fought like veterans, and which had foiled one of the greateſt and moſt experienced generals in Europe. This battle was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Neiſs, which ſubmitted after a ſiege of a few days, though it was provided for a vigorous defence and well fortified.

The king of England, who had returned to England in the month of October, ſaw the folly and madneſs of France in advancing to the Imperial throne, an emperor, who muſt either be ſupported by the court of Verſailles, or would otherwiſe join with the Germanic body, in purſuing ſuch meaſures as might render his dignity free and independent. For theſe reaſons he had given no oppoſition to the elector's elevation; but ſtill continued to cheriſh the ſame ſentiments with regard to public liberty, which he had always entertained. He had the pleaſure to ſee his opinion warmly eſpouſed by all his ſubjects, who were ſtrenuous for ſupporting her Hungarian majeſty, and whoſe paſſions, which the late elections for the new parliament had but too much excited, now began to ſubſide.

The conteſt between the two parties on this occaſion, was perhaps more violent than had ever before been known. The miniſter, truſting to the great influence which he had poſſeſſed in the laſt parliament; and to the numerous majority by which the motion againſt him was rejected, had been too negligent in ſolliciting his friends in the new elections. The minority, taking advantage of this overſight, and of the general diſcontent that prevailed in the nation, obtained an equal, if not a ſuperior number of voices, by the unwearied diligence with which they exerted themſelves.

His majeſty addreſſed the new parliament at their meeting on the fourth day of December, and in his ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, that, agreeable to the advice of his parliament, by whoſe advice and concurrence he had acted, he ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the Weſt-Indies: that he needed not to inform them of the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt her Hungarian majeſty; that was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who lay under the like obligations with himſelf, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty: that he had, purſuant to the advice of his parliament, ever ſince the death of the late emperor, exerted himſelf in ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; he had endeavoured, by the moſt proper and early applications, to induce other powers, who were equally engaged with him, and united by common intereſt, to concert ſuch meaſures, as ſo important and critical a conjuncture demanded; and where an accommodation ſeemed to him neceſſary, he had laboured to reconcile thoſe princes, whoſe union would have been the moſt effectual means to prevent the miſchiefs which had happened, and to ſecure the intereſt and ſafety of the whole: that, although his endeavours had not hitherto had the deſired effect, he could not but ſtill hope, that a juſt ſenſe of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped

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the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable it to aſſiſt its friends, and defeat its enemies; and he flattered himſelf they would make it their ſtudy to proceed in their deliberations, with all poſſible vigour, unanimity and diſpatch.

The miniſter, in a very ſhort time, became ſenſible of the great advantage, which his enemies had gained over him. The addreſs was moved for in very general, or rather in very vague terms. It gave no aſſurance to his majeſty, that they would aſſiſt him in defending his electoral dominions, in caſe they were attacked.

A promiſe, indeed, was made, that they would grant ſuch ſupplies, as ſhould enable his majeſty, not only to ſupport his friends and allies, at ſuch times, and in ſuch manner, as the exigency and circumſtances of affairs ſhould require, but alſo to oppoſe and defeat any attempts that ſhould be made againſt his majeſty, his crown, and kingdoms; or in aſſiſting thoſe, who, being equally engaged with his majeſty, by the faith of treaties, or united by common intereſt or common danger, ſhould be willing to concert ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be found neceſſary and expedient for maintaining the balance of power in Europe.

Though this addreſs was far from pleaſing the miniſter, yet he did not chuſe to bring it to a diviſion. He even agreed to leave out a paragraph, which was recommended by one of the court members, approving of the manner in which the war with Spain had been proſecuted.

Great were the exultations of the minority on the victory they had gained. Mr. Pulteney attributed the miniſter's condeſcenſion to a ſenſe of guilt and a dread of puniſhment; and, by way of inſtructions to the new members, he entered into a long, but ſpirited recapitulation of all the charges which had been brought againſt him, from the time of his entering into the ſervice of the crown. He inveighed particularly againſt the egregious blunders, that had been committed in the management of the war; and, being tranſported by the violence of his paſſion, he accuſed him of an attachment to the enemies of the houſe of Hanover.

Theſe and other ridiculous charges brought againſt him, were anſwered by the miniſter with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and reſolution. He obſerved, that it was in every man's power, when an unbounded liberty of ſpeech was granted, to blacken, in general terms, the moſt unexceptionable character; and that he had as good a right to make uſe of a general defence, as his enemies had of a general impeachment: that of all the atrocious charges which had been brought againſt him, not a ſingle fact had been attempted to be proved; but he was willing to come to cloſe quarters; and, if the gentlemen on the other ſide of the queſtion had a mind to name a day for conſidering the ſtate of the nation, he would readily ſecond the motion.

The minority accepted this challenge: the addreſs, without any mention of the Spaniſh war, was voted; and the twenty-ſecond day of January was fixed for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

The miniſter, however, ſoon began to feel the effects of the coldneſs of this addreſs. His mercenary friends, ſuſpecting that his power was upon the decline, began, by degrees, to forſake him; and thoſe, who followed him from principle, imagined, that ſome ſtronger aſſurances were due to his majeſty, conſidering the noble efforts which he had lately made, and the danger to which he had expoſed his electoral dominions; eſpecially as the French had already broke the ſtipulated neutrality, and were, at that very time, threatening to take up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover.

A material inſtance of the miniſter's obſtinacy or miſconduct was, the putting up, for chairman of the committee of elections, a man, who was little beloved, and leſs eſteemed by either party, againſt one, whoſe intereſt was warmly eſpouſed by one faction, and whoſe merits were acknowledged by both. This queſtion being decided againſt the miniſter, threw a mortal damp upon the ſpirits of his friends, and inſpirited his enemies to renew their attacks with greater violence than ever.

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From this time forward they formed themſelves into regular aſſemblies, and held frequent meetings, in order to concert the means of maintaining, improving, and purſuing their ſucceſs; and the miniſter began to be ſenſible that matters muſt ſoon be brought to a criſis.

Had his own intereſt been the ſole motive of his actions, he needed not have long remained in ſuſpenſe. He might inſtantly have adopted the ſame expedient, which he ſoon after embraced. But the remonſtrances of his friends, who muſt all follow his fortune, prevailed on him to continue in the houſe, till the determination of ſome of the moſt important of the controverted elections.

Although he was well ſatisfied that his perſon was entirely ſafe, he was yet willing to leave all ſecure behind him, and to defeat any ſcheme that might have been laid for attacking him with an impeachment by any violent reſolutions. Beſides, he was deſirous to obtain for his friends, eſpecially thoſe who had followed him from principle, the beſt terms that could be obtained. Moreover, as he knew the perſons and characters of thoſe, who were to ſucceed in the new miniſtry, he was reſolved, before he reſigned, to ſtipulate the manner in which they ſhould ſerve his majeſty.

The gentlemen of the oppoſition eſteemed the Weſtminſter election to be their favourite point, becauſe it afforded the faireſt handle againſt corruption and a ſtanding army. Some riots having happened on this occaſion, the juſtices who preſided, had been obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the military power.

Mr. Murray, now lord Mansfield, and Mr. Evans, undertook to manage the cauſe of the city, while that of the ſitting members was defended by Mr. Clarke, and another lawyer. The matter was long and learnedly examined: at laſt, after a variety of ſpeeches, the election was declared void by a majority of voices. The high bailiff was taken into cuſtody, and the three juſtices, who ſent for the ſoldiers, attending at the bar of the houſe, were reprimanded on their knees.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the miniſter continued to give his attendance: he even carried ſeveral points of no ſmall conſequence againſt his enemies; and threw out ſome broad hints, that he was ſtill able to diſappoint their expectations if he thought proper.

Indeed they extremely well knew that what he hinted was very true. The oppoſition was compoſed of very different, and indeed of oppoſite ingredients. Some of the members were Jacobites; others were Papiſts, at leaſt in principle: ſome were violent Tories, who could not be reconciled to the court upon any terms: there were not a few, who were ſtaunch Whigs, of narrow views, but upright intentions, who believed the conduct of the miniſter was really prejudicial to the nation: and others again, who were moderate Whigs, of more enlarged ſentiments, though perhaps not more virtuous principles, who would have had no objection againſt treading in the ſteps which the miniſter had purſued, and who knew that the only conteſt with all men of ſenſe and all friends to the government, was about the poſſeſſion of power and the enjoyment of places. A correſpondence was now opened between theſe laſt, and ſome of the leading perſons about his majeſty; and a ſcheme was laid for the removal of the miniſter, and a change in the adminiſtration, without producing any fatal conſequences to the civil affairs of the ſtate.

The miniſter continued to give his attendance till the ſecond day of February, when the deciſion of the Chippenham election was carried againſt him by a majority only of one vote; and having been, in the courſe of the debate, treated with great ſeverity, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared, that he would never enter there again, as a member of the houſe.

Neither enemies nor friends expected this declaration ſo ſoon; but his reſolution was founded upon the beſt and moſt generous principles. He could have divided his enemies, and maintained himſelf in a dangerous uneaſy poſſeſſion of power; but he plainly foreſaw, that ſuch a ſtep would continue, if not widen, the breach in the royal family, a circumſtance that might be attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences to his royal maſter.

A meſſage had been ſent to the prince of Wales, by Dr. Thomas Secker, biſhop of Oxford, and at preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury, importing, that, if his royal highneſs would write a ſubmiſſive letter to his majeſty, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his yearly income; two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be given to pay his debts; and he and his friends ſhould be re-admitted into favour, and ſuitable proviſions ſhould be made for them all.

The anſwer of the prince was filled with proteſtations of duty; he ſaid that he was willing to throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet; but that he thought Sir Robert Walpole ſo great a bar between his majeſty and his people, that he could agree to no terms, till he was removed. It was this anſwer that determined the miniſter, to withdraw from power, and to reſign his places; which he immediately did, after having been, by his majeſty, created baron of Houghton viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford.

Notwithſtanding the plan of power in the ſucceeding miniſtry had been already ſettled, yet the ſecret was imparted but to a few; and an unuſual ferment happening in parliament, his majeſty came, on the third day of February, to the houſe of peers, and after paſſing the malt-bill, ordered the chancellor to acquaint both houſes, that it was his pleaſure they ſhould adjourn to the eighteenth of the month.

His majeſty's pleaſure in this particular, would have been altogether diſregarded, if the opinion of ſome of the moſt violent leaders of the minority had been taken. They affirmed, that an adjournment, at that time, was an expedient contrived by the late miniſter and his friends, in order to defeat the glorious purpoſes of the oppoſition: and that they ought to run all riſques, rather than agree to ſuch a meaſure.

Extraordinary conſequences muſt have attended the admitting this propoſition: conſequences that, in all probability, would have produced an almoſt total diſſolution of government. Mr. Pulteney, who was no ſtranger to the approaching coalition, but who ſtill continued to be truſted by his party, ſpoke for the adjournment with great force of reaſon; and his opinion had ſo much weight that the houſe acquieſced in it by a conſiderable majority.

Soon after the miniſter had reſigned, a great meeting of all the gentlemen in the late oppoſition was held at the Fountain tavern in the Strand, the uſual place of rendezvous upon ſuch occaſions. The intention of this meeting was, to concert the means of bringing the late miniſter to juſtice, and of carrying into execution the great conſtitutional points, for which they had contended for ſo long a time and with ſo much earneſtneſs.

The coldneſs of Mr. Pulteney and others, who were privy to the ſecret accommodation, alarmed conſiderably the ſuſpicions of thoſe, who were entirely ignorant of that circumſtance: but the duke of Argyle, who had great influence with the whole aſſembly, having in a manner, undertaken for the conduct of the leading members, they came to a reſolution of appearing at court, and of making their humble ſubmiſſion to his majeſty. Accordingly, being headed by the prince of Wales, who had long continued to countenance their proceedings, they waited on the king, who received them graciouſly, ordered the prince's guard to be reſtored, and re-admitted him into his favour.

The general meaſures of the miniſtry did not appear to be much altered by the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, but ſome changes in the higher departments of government were abſolutely neceſſary. Mr. Sandy's, member for Worceſter, who had long perſevered in oppoſing the late miniſter, and had lead on the attack againſt him in parliament, was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and a lord of the treaſury.

The earl of Wilmington was conſtituted firſt commiſſioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of earl; was declared preſident of the council, and in his room lord Carteret became ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Argyle was made maſter-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majeſty's

jeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, and field-mareſchal and commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but ſoon after conceiving ſome diſguſt, he reſigned all his employments with the utmoſt indignation.

The marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; a poſt which had been long ſuppreſſed. Mr. Pulteney was ſworn of the privy-council; but, agreeable to the promiſes which he had made to the party, declined accepting of any place. The earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the reſignation of the duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair was appointed field mareſchal of all his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates-general.

In the interim, the national ferments ran to a prodigious height. Every petty borough, whoſe repreſentative had oppoſed the late miniſter, conſidered itſelf as the prime cauſe of his removal, and thought it had a right to dictate in parliament. In conſequence of this prepoſſeſſion, addreſſes and inſtructions rolled in from all quarters of the kingdom.

The cities of London and Weſtminſter led the way, and the terms they inſiſted on not being practicable, they threatened a total diſſolution of government. A rigid place and penſion bill, excluding from parliament every ſervant of his majeſty, was conſidered as an indiſpenſable pre-requiſite. The repeal of the ſeptennial act, and the revival of triennial, if not of annual parliaments, was loudly demanded; and ſevere and ſpeedy vengeance to be taken on the late miniſter, and all his friends and adherents, was frequently theatened.

Nay, ſome of the inſtructions declared war againſt a ſtanding army; though they allowed the wiſdom of ſupporting the queen of Hungary: and many of them propoſed the diminiſhing, if not the aboliſhing almoſt all taxes; though they agreed in the neceſſity of proſecuting the Spaniſh war with the utmoſt vigour.

The oppoſition made to theſe and the like demands, which, however ridiculous, had been actually urged by the late minority, ſoon convinced the public, that Sir Robert Walpole had found means to diſconcert the party; and that the new miniſters, inſtead of purſuing the meaſures they had recommended, would continue to tread in the ſteps of their precedeſſors.

This diſcovery ſtill more enraged the people, who exclaimed with great vehemence, that they had been deceived and betrayed; and that an infamous compromiſe had been made between the old and new miniſters for ſcreening the earl of Orford. The gentlemen, who had accepted places, profeſſed themſelves ready to enter upon any meaſures for doing juſtice to the nation, and deſired their accuſers in parliament to point out the method, in which they ſhould proceed. This was a circumſtance, in which the diſcontented party themſelves were far from being agreed. They reſolved, however, without loſs of time, to begin their attack upon the late adminiſtration; and they determined to begin their attacks on them, by an enquiry into the management of the Spaniſh war, imagining them leaſt able to defend themſelves on that ſubject.

From the firſt of September, 1739, to the ſixteenth of November, 1741, about three hundred and thirty-ſeven Engliſh ſhips had been taken by the enemy, and with their crews, had been carried into the Spaniſh harbours; and the value of the captures was ſuppoſed to amount to the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds. It is certain, nevertheleſs, that the Engliſh had taken prizes from the enemy, far ſurpaſſing that ſum in value; but no allowance was made for theſe in the application preſented by the Engliſh complainants. The attack was begun by the merchants of London, who, in a moſt pompous cavalcade, went to the houſe of commons, and delivered a petition, containing an impeachment of the adminiſtration in general, and of the board of admiralty in particular.

Not long after this, the lord-mayor, alder-

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men, and common council of the city of London, preſented another petition of the like import, but conceived in terms much more indecent and injurious to the government. They even had the aſſurance to accuſe the miniſtry of a ſettled deſign to transfer the trade of England to her dangerous and powerful rival; and loaded them with many other charges of a ſtill more black and invidious nature. Petitions to the ſame effect were tranſmitted from Briſtol, Liverpool, Norwich, and moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom.

A material misfortune conſtantly attending the late miniſtry had been, that, though a great many ſhips were often in commiſſion, it was yet found impoſſible to man them with ſuch expedition, as to anſwer the impatience of the public.

To the croſſneſs of the tides, and contrary winds, joined to this inconvenience, it was entirely owing, that, in the courſe of the laſt year, Sir John Norris loſt ſeveral opportunities of intercepting the Spaniſh galleons in their paſſages from America. Some of his captains, indeed, performed exploits, which amazed the enemy, and reflected equal glory on themſelves and their country. Captain Harriſon, in the Argyle, took four prizes at Rendonnello near Vigo. The captains Barnet and Balchen, miſtaking, or pretending to miſtake, ſome French men of war for Spaniſh galleons, attacked them with incredible fury; but the miſtake being diſcovered, after the French had ſuffered very conſiderable damage, they parted good friends.

*A. D.* 1742. By this time, the Engliſh miniſtry had come to a reſolution to keep no farther meaſures with France. The conduct of the French admiral in the Mediterranean, was ſo ſtrong a demonſtration of the intentions of his court, that all their pretexts to a neutrality were become abſolutely ridiculous.

Rear admiral Leſtock had the command of the Britiſh ſquadron in the neighbourhood of Antibes, where he watched the motions of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon. But, as it was determined to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke in the Mediterranean, in the courſe of this ſummer, the ſupreme command of the fleet was beſtowed upon Mr. Matthews, who was promoted to the rank of a vice-admiral, and appointed his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to all the princes and ſtates of Italy.

Although the intereſt of the new miniſtry had procured Matthews this preferment, yet he had never diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in their favour. He was, at the time of his promotion, conſiderably advanced in years, but far from being diſqualified for action. His perſon was remarkable graceful, and his appearance ſufficiently expreſſive of his character, which was compoſed of a due mixture of courage, candour, and ingenuity. Theſe great qualities, however, were tarniſhed by ſome unhappy failings. He either was, or appeared to be proud; and his paſſions were ſometimes ſo headſtrong and violent, as entirely to get the better of his reaſon. Beſides, he had always cheriſhed an inveterate antipathy againſt Leſtock, who, in every thing but courage, was a direct contraſt to the other; and it was judged extremely impolitic in the new miniſtry, to put two men in command, whoſe private reſentment and animoſity might tempt them to neglect or ſacrifice the intereſt of their country.

Matthews, notwithſtanding his faults, was a brave and reſolute ſeamen; and the firſt exploit performed under his command, ſhewed that England was determined to ſeek her foes wherever they could be found.

Matthews ſet ſail from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line, on the ſixteenth day of April, and on the fourteenth of June, he arrived at Villa Francha, where he aſſumed the command of the combined Engliſh ſquadrons. Captain Norris, who was upon a cruize between that harbour and Cape Rous, hearing that five Spaniſh gallies from Margaretta, were then laying at St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean, thought proper to block them up; and the Spaniards beginning, as he ſaid, to fire upon him, he immediately gave orders to captain Callis, in the Duke fireſhip, to enter the harbour and burn the veſſels; and this action was attended with a degree of ſucceſs, equal to the reſolution and bravery with which the order was obeyed.

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It had been by no means cuſtomary for the civilized ſtates of Europe to burn the ſhips of an enemy in a neutral port; but, in fact, the conduct of the French in protecting the Spaniſh fleet, had deprived them of all claim to the privilege of neutrality. The news of this action, therefore, was received by the Engliſh with particular marks of joy; and the miniſters, if blameable in any particular, were thought to treat the French with too indulgent a partiality.

The next exploit performed by admiral Matthews, was ſtill more acceptable to the people of Great Britain. The king of Naples, as has been obſerved, had joined his forces to thoſe of his father; the united army amounted to about twenty thouſand: and, as the troops of the former were much better than thoſe of the latter, it was a matter of great importance to oblige his Neapolitan majeſty to adhere to the neutrality, which he profeſſed to obſerve.

With this view, Matthews ordered captain Martin, as commodore, with five ſhips of war, and eight tenders and bomb ketches, to ſail to Naples, and deliver to that court, a meſſage from the king of England, importing, that his Sicilian and Neapolitan majeſty, having violated his neutrality by joining his forces with the declared enemies of Great Britain, of the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, with whom his Britannic majeſty was in alliance, he (the commodore) was ſent to require the king of Sicily, not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, but to promiſe, in writing, not to give them any farther aſſiſtance in any reſpect; adding, that he was directed to bombard the city of Naples if his Sicilian majeſty refuſed or neglected to give the propoſed ſatisfaction.

It will ſcarcely be credited into what a conſternation ſo inconſiderable a force threw the capital of that monarch. Few cities laid more convenient for a bombardment than Naples. Though one of the fineſt in Europe, it was altogether defenceleſs towards the ſea; and its gradual aſcent of ſituation expoſed almoſt every building in it to the bombs and firing from the ſhips. The inhabitants were filled with the moſt uneaſy apprehenſions from the firſt appearance of the Britiſh fleet; but their panic became altogether intolerable, when the commodore caſt anchor before the city, on the fourth day of Auguſt, about four in the afternoon.

Not many hours before they came to an anchor, the duke de Monteallegre, his Sicilian majeſty's firſt miniſter, deſired Mr. Allen, the Britiſh conſul at Naples, to go on board the commodore and learn his intentions; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, that his Sicilian majeſty would be glad to receive the Engliſh as friends, having nothing more at heart, than to live in amity with the king of Great-Britain. The conſul, accordingly, repaired on board the commodore, who delivered to him the meſſage above mentioned; and begged he would accompany and aſſiſt captain L'Angle, who was charged with a commiſſion to carry it to court.

Hereupon the conſul directly ſet out with the captain, and arriving at the ſecretary's office about five in the evening, delivered the meſſage to the duke de Monteallegre, who having peruſed it, with great emotion, replied, that an anſwer ſhould be given upon his majeſty's return from church. The king returning about ſix, a grand council was immediateiy ſummoned; and notwithſtanding all their reſentment at ſo imperious a meſſage, they were under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the conditions of it.

It is remarkable, that, in the courſe of the negotiation, which laſted only a few hours, the duke de Monteallegre having taken the liberty to mention ſome reciprocal conditions, the commodore replied, that his orders were abſolute, and did not authorize him to grant any ſuch terms; that he expected a compliance in half an hour's time, or at fartheſt in an hour; or he ſhould be under the neceſſity of beginning the bombardment.

This reſolute anſwer produced the deſired effect. An aſſurance was given in writing, by the duke de Monteallegre, in the name of his Sicilian majeſty, that he would immediately

withdraw his troops from the army of Spain, and would not, for the future, afford them any aſſiſtance in the proſecution of the preſent war.

This promiſe was inſtantly performed. The Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled, and the Spaniſh army being thus weakened, were unable to perform any action of importance, during the remainder of the campaign.

Not long after this, Matthews having received intelligence, that the Genoeſe had ſo far favoured the Spaniards as to provide for their uſe magazines of corn at Araſſa, ſent thither captain Martin, who, about the firſt of September, deſtroyed them entirely; while the admiral himſelf took up his ſtation at Hieres Iſlands, where his ſhips lay in an excellent road, and commanded every veſſel that might attempt to enter or quit the harbour of Toulon.

The operations of the allies were greatly forwarded by the ſtrenuous manner in which the Engliſh admiral exerted himſelf. Underſtanding that ſome troops had marched out of the Neapolitan dominions, to join count Gages, who had now ſucceeded the duke de Montemar, in the command of the Spaniſh army, he preſented a remonſtrance on that head to his Sicilian majeſty, who ordered the duke de Monteallegre to deliver to Mr. Allen, the Britiſh miniſter, a declaration, importing, that the king being reſolved to obſerve the neutrality in the moſt inviolable manner, according to his engagements, he did not think he had, in the leaſt, infringed it, by ſending to the Spaniſh army the troops, which were in his ſervice, belonging to that nation: that the forces ſent were really the very regiments, which had always belonged to Spain, and which were lent to the king, in order to enable him to take poſſeſſion of Sicily: and that that body of troops having been always in the pay of his Catholic majeſty, muſt neceſſarily obey his majeſty's orders, whenever he ſhould think fit to recal them.

This apology was ſent by the conſul to the Britiſh miniſtry, who, in all probability, would not have been ſatisfied with it, had admiral Matthews been in a condition to reſent it. But the ſhips employed in diſtreſſing the Spaniſh trade, and in favouring the operations of the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, left him a fleet ſcarce ſufficient to fight that of France and Spain, ſhould it attempt to come out of Toulon.

It ſhould alſo be farther conſidered, that his Neapolitan majeſty, ſenſible of the weakneſs of his capital, from the laſt viſit paid him by the Engliſh, had cauſed ſome fortifications to be thrown up in order to defend the harbour. The Britiſh fleet, however, being ſoon after reinforced by a great number of ſhips under rear admiral Rowley, Matthews was enabled to diſtreſs the Spaniards in the moſt effectual manner, and to intercept all their ſupplies of proviſions, men and money.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to the Britiſh parliament, which aſſembled on the ſixteenth day of November, acquainted the two houſes, that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low-Countries, with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian armies, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe; and he attributed to the councils of Great-Britain, the magnanimity and firmneſs of the queen of Hungary, the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and the ſtop that had been put to the Spaniſh invaſion of Italy, to which the Britiſh fleet had in a very eminent degree contributed.

*A. D.* 1743. The houſe of commons now began to conſider the eſtimates, and ſettle the ſupplies. They voted five hundred and thirty four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds for the pay of the Britiſh troops in Flanders. They fixed the number of land-forces at twenty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ten effective men, for guards, garriſons, and other ſervices; and, for defraying the charge of theſe troops, and other ſervices in Great-Britain, the Weſt-Indies, Guernſey and Jerſey; they granted the ſum of ſix hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and

and ſixty two pounds five ſhillings and ten pence.

When theſe matters were adjuſted, his majeſty went to the houſe, on the twenty-fifth day of April, and concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, to the end that the Britiſh nation, and the common cauſe might reap the moſt beneficial fruits from the vigorous reſolutious of his parliament, he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction, with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures, that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon juſt and ſolid foundations: that he had continued a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt-Indies, in order to proſecute the great work of diſtreſſing his enemies the Spaniards, and compelling them to agree to ſafe and honourable terms of peace: and that, from the former of theſe ſquadrons, his allies in Italy had lately received, and ſtill continued to receive, the moſt ſeaſonable and effectual ſupport.

The ſituation of affairs throughout Europe, were at this time very complicated and perplexed. The queen of Hungary depended, for ſupport, on the king of England; the emperor upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: yet neither Great Britain nor France had hitherto acted as principals in the war. The queen of Hungary, who had been forced to take up arms, could not now be perſuaded to lay them down: the emperor, who had reduced her to that neceſſity, was now glad to ſue for peace; but, though he offered, in his own name, and in that of the French monarch, to evacuate all the Auſtrian dominions, his requeſt was rejected with diſdain.

The king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary, though united, at preſent, againſt the deſigns of the Spaniards, had many latent claims upon each other; nor could any thing but their common dread of the houſe of Bourbon, have prevented them from coming to an open rupture: while Spain, who was a principal in the war againſt England, riſqued even her poſſeſſion of the Weſt-Indies, on which the very being of her monarchy depended, in order to procure a ſovereignty, in Italy, for the ſon of her ambitious queen.

The princes of the empire beheld with indifference, or, rather, with a ſecret ſatisfaction, the Imperial dignity ſevered from the houſe of Auſtria, and veſted in a ſovereign, who had no power to make himſelf formidable, and who was every day becoming more deſpicable in the eyes of his own vaſſals, and more burthenſome to his allies.

His Pruſſian majeſty, notwithſtanding he was ſurrounded by the tumults of war, was cultivating, in his own dominions, the arts of peace; but ſtill with ſuch vigilance and attention, as kept him always prepared for action: while Great-Britain, bleſſed with domeſtic tranquillity, and expoſed to the attacks of no foreign foe, whom ſhe had reaſon to dread, was pouring all the thunder of her arms upon countries, disjoined from her by ſituation, and unconnected with her by intereſt.

But this delicate and critical ſituation of affairs could not long ſubſiſt. His Britannic majeſty had repeatedly plighted his faith for the ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, and no evil, he juſtly thought, could be deemed ſo dreadful, as the breach of national faith was infamous. Urged by this conſideration, he reſolved, in the courſe of the enſuing campaign, to head his troops in perſon. Accordingly, having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, and made a large promotion of general officers, he left England, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, and on the ſixth day of May arrived at Hanover.

The campaign was by this time opened between the ſeveral parties engaged in the war. Prince Lobkowitz, having taken poſſeſſion of Prague, proceeded to Egra, which was immediately inveſted; but that place had been put into ſuch a poſture of defence, that he was compelled to give up the enterprize, after a few ineffectual efforts.

In

In the interim, the campaign was equally vigorous and active in other quarters. A reſolution having been taken, that the allied army ſhould proceed from Flanders, to Germany, in order to act as auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, the Britiſh troops began their march thither in the month of February; and, on the nineteenth of May, they paſſed by the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they were joined by the Hanoverians in the pay of England. They were likewiſe in hopes of being ſoon reinforced by another body of ſix thouſand troops belonging to that electorate, as well as by the Heſſians in the ſervice of Great Britain.

His majeſty found his army full of ſpirits, and eager for action; but reduced almoſt to a ſtarving condition for want of ſubſiſtence. The French had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the upper poſts upon the Mayne; the boats below, obſtructed at once by the enemy's huſſars, and the rapidity of the ſtream, were unable to come up with proviſions; and thus the allies, by a concurrence of untoward circumſtances, were ſurrounded on all hands by a ſuperior army, commanded by a cautious and vigilant general, who had taken his meaſures ſo wiſely, that he thought the confederates muſt either run the riſk of being cut to pieces if they attempted to make a retreat, or be compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

It was, however, reſolved to attempt to make a retreat to Hanau; and, accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth day of June, the ſoldiers were ordered to ſtrike their tents, and to begin their march early next morning. The road they were to take was bounded on one hand by a mountain, on the other by the river Mayne; over which the French had been unaccountably ſuffered to throw bridges, and to harraſs the allies with the fire of their artillery. To compleat their misfortunes, the Heſſians and the Hanoverians in the electoral pay, who were coming to their aſſiſtance, had not yet arrived, and it was poſſible that the enemy might intercept them in their march.

It was generally ſuppoſed from the motions of the French, that their intention was to paſs the river at Aſchaffenburgh, and to attack the rear of the confederates in their retreat. Of this circumſtance his Britannic majeſty was ſo much convinced, that he himſelf took poſt in the rear; which was brought up by the Engliſh and Lunenburgh guards, and by the Hanoverian cavalry, with a ſmall train of artillery.

But, however, it at length appeared, that this was merely a feint of the French; and that their real deſign was to croſs the river at another place, and to oppoſe the allies in front. The confederates had not advanced above three leagues, when they obſerved a body of the enemy, amounting to about thirty thouſand, on the hither ſide of the river, and drawn up in order of battle. Before them lay a narrow paſs, a moraſs was in the center, a wood on the left, and the village of Dettingen on their right.

In this ſituation, they might eaſily have compelled the confederates either to ſubmit at diſcretion, or to fight at a very great diſadvantage, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been prompted by the natural fire of his temper, to paſs the defile, and offer the allies battle.

Some regiments of the Britiſh horſe were put in diſorder by the impetuoſity with which the French cavalry began the attack; but the infantry of the allies behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, under the eye of their ſovereign, as ſoon determined the fate of the day; the French were obliged to give way, and repaſs the Mayne with great precipitation, having loſt about ſix thouſand men killed, wounded, or taken.

The allies loſt two thouſand five hundred men in this action. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of military proweſs, was ſhot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Huſke, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction were wounded. The king expoſed his perſon to a ſevere fire of cannon as well as muſquetry; he rode between the firſt and ſecond lines with his ſword drawn, and encouraged

raged the troops to fight for the honour of their country.

As ſoon as the action was ended, his majeſty continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the twelve thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians whom he expected. The earl of Stair ſent a trumpet to mareſchal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the ſick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and it is but doing juſtice to the French general, to obſerve, that he treated them with a care and tenderneſs, that does great honour to his humanity.

The earl of Stair, being diſguſted, had, by this time, reſigned his command. He was piqued at the preference which he ſuppoſed to be given to the Hanoverian above the Britiſh officers: and the belief of that groundleſs report, which he found means to infuſe into the minds of the Engliſh, was the only detriment that the public received from his reſignation. In October the king of England returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated. The troops in Engliſh pay marched back to the Netherlands; the reſt took the route to their reſpective countries.

The death of cardinal Fleury now deprived France of her ableſt miniſter, who had, for many years, managed the affairs of that kingdom: he was always a friend to pacific meaſures; he endeavoured to accompliſh his purpoſes, by raiſing and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts; but he is accuſed of having neglected the military glory of France, and of having allowed its naval power to be almoſt annihilated.

The naval tranſactions of this year, ſo far as they regard the operations of the Engliſh fleets, do more honour to the courage than the conduct of the officers. Admiral Matthews ſtill continued to watch the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain off the harbour of Toulon, and, by turns, to cajole and intimidate the Genoeſe. The cruizers, however, did great damage to the coaſts of the enemy, and made prize of ſome of their richeſt veſſels. The courts of Verſailles and Madrid having now formed a ſcheme for delivering their fleets from their confinement, Matthews ſent an account of this project to the Engliſh miniſtry, and deſired that an immediate and proper reinforcement might be ſent him.

Some unſucceſsful efforts had been made by the Engliſh ſquadron in the Weſt Indies, under the command of commodore Knowles. He attacked La Guira, on the coaſt of the Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and make the beſt of his way for the Dutch iſland Curacoa, where he repaired the damage he had ſuffered. The ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavello, in April, which, like the former, proved abortive.

Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were ſeized with ſuch a ſudden panic, that they fired upon each other, and fled to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation. The commodore, finding it in vain to renew the attack, ſailed back to his ſtation at the Leeward iſlands, where he continued inactive, during the remaining part of the ſeaſon. On the fourteenth day of November, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of William Henry.

*A. D.* 1744. While the Britiſh miniſtry were exerting themſelves with unwearied diligence, in concerting the means of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity of Europe; France, ſtung with reſentment at the diſgrace of her arms, the waſte of her blood, and the profuſion of treaſure, which ſhe had ſo ineffectually conſumed, projected an expedition that was to have compenſated for all her loſſes and misfortunes, and to have wiped away the diſhonour which her character had ſuſtained.

Extraordinary as it may ſeem, this ſcheme was no other than an invaſion of Great Britain. All the French miniſtry, except cardinal de Tencin, who had ſucceeded Fleury as firſt favourite, were extremely averſe to any deſign of that nature. They repreſented the great improbability of France's ever being able to ſhake the throne of a family, that

owed its elevation, to the voluntary call of a whole people; who, however divided by ſome trifling differences, would, upon the leaſt proſpect of real danger, unite as one man in their defence. They mentioned the many fruitleſs attempts, which France had made for that purpoſe; the vaſt ſums ſhe had expended on theſe occaſions; the recent loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained in Germany; the great inequality between the French and the Engliſh marine; and the folly of ſacrificing the lives of many brave men in an enterprize which had no chance of ſucceeding.

His moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſeemed to liſten with pleaſure to this kind of reaſoning; and was always extremely ſhy of giving encouragement to the family of Stewart, or to any of its abettors. Tencin, however, ſtill continued to patronize them: and at laſt he formed a ſtrong party in their favour among the nobility, and they were even patronized by ſome of the princes of the blood.

Both count Saxe and Belliſle imagined it would be no difficult matter to invade England with a ſmall body of troops, and to maintain their footing till they could receive reinforcement; and Roqueſeuille, who was reckoned a good ſea-officer, engaged to undertake the conducting of the navy. Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, the ableſt ſtateſmen at the French court were ſo utterly averſe to ſuch an enterprize, that, even after the deſign was concerted, no proviſion was made for the maintenance of the troops that were to be tranſported, and who, therefore, had they landed, muſt have ſubſiſted on the ſpoils of the country till they had been cut in pieces.

At length, the cardinal de Tencin obtained his point, by urging the only feaſible argument that could be advanced on ſuch an occaſion. He ſaid, that, even on the ſuppoſition of the deſign's miſcarrying, it could not fail to affect the public credit of the Engliſh, at a time when their engagements on the continent were attended with ſo very conſiderable an expence.

The objections of the other French miniſters, appear to have been removed by this conſideration, and accordingly a reſolution was taken to treat with the old pretender for what may be called a loan of his ſon, to be employed in a deſcent upon Great Britain. Count Saxe was appointed to command the expedition. This nobleman had once been in England; and having met, as he thought, with but an indifferent reception, he was willing to repay the incivility of the natives by a new viſit of a different nature. Beſides, having obſerved that the kingdom was unprovided of ſtrong towns and fortreſſes, he had formed an idea, that it would be no very difficult matter to reduce it.

The old pretender was perſuaded to ſuffer his ſon to make the experiment: the young man embraced the offer with the greateſt alacrity: the French miniſtry began to make preparations for carrying the ſcheme into immediate execution: and the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch were propoſed in the conducting the affair.

But the greateſt difficulty they had to get over, yet remained. The finances of France were entirely unable to ſupply the ſums that would probably be neceſſary for ſuch an expedition; but as the court of Madrid was equally concerned with that of Verſailles in the ſucceſs of the enterprize, the former undertook to advance the money.

The neceſſary previous ſteps being taken, and matters properly adjuſted, the eldeſt ſon of the pretender, now in the twenty-third year of his age, departed from Rome about the end of December; and having diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Spaniſh courier, and being furniſhed with paſſports by cardinal Aquaviva, he went to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and proſecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with an audience of the French king: immediately after which, he travelled to the coaſt of Picardy, incognito.

As ſoon as the Britiſh miniſtry had intelligence of the young Chevalier's being arrived in France, they at once comprehended the deſtination of the armaments, which had been prepared at Breſt and Boulogne. They therefore ſent orders to Mr. Thompſon, the Engliſh reſident

reſident at Paris, to make a remonſtrance to the French miniſtry, on the violation of thoſe treaties, by which the pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. He was told in reply, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would not explain himſelf on that ſubject, until the king of England ſhould have given ſatisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of thoſe very treaties, which by his own orders had been ſo frequently violated.

Monſieur de Roqueſeuille ſailed from Breſt, in the month of January, directing his courſe up the Engliſh channel, with eighteen ſhips of war. They were preſently deſcried by an Engliſh cruizer, which ran into Plymouth, and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was immediately ordered to take the command of the ſquadron at Spithead, with which he ſailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by ſome ſhips of the line from Chatham, and then he found himſelf at the head of a fleet conſiderably ſtronger than that of the enemy,

Several regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſt of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair to their reſpective poſts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a poſture of defence: and directions were given to aſſemble the militia of Kent, that in caſe of an invaſion they might be ready to defend the coaſt.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage, on the fifteenth day of February, to both houſes of parliament, acquainting them, that he had received undoubted intelligence, that the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to his crown was arrived in France; that preparations were making there to invade the Britiſh dominions, in concert with diſaffected perſons in England; and that the invaſion was to be ſupported by a ſquadron of French men of war, which had been cruiſing ſeveral days on the Britiſh channel: that his majeſty had, therefore, thought proper to communicate to this parliament an intelligence of ſuch high importance to the ſecurity of his crown, and the peace and tranquillity of his kingdoms; and he doubted not from the experienced zeal, duty, and affection of his parliament, that they would ſtrengthen his hands and concur with him in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary for diſappointing and defeating ſo dangerous an attempt, and for effectually ſecuring his perſon and government, and for maintaining the religion, laws, and liberties of his ſubjects.

Hereupon an addreſs was preſented to his majeſty by both houſes, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the inſolent deſign that had been formed againſt his kingdoms; and profeſſing their fixed and determined reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport his perſon and government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal houſe, in oppoſition to the pretender, and all his other enemies whatſoever.

As it now became plain, that the clamour uſed againſt the Hanoverian troops had been the principal cauſe of the projected invaſion, the earl of Stair and the duke of Montague, in order to evince their loyalty to his majeſty, made him a voluntarily tender of their ſervices in any ſtation, which he ſhould think proper. Their offer was accepted; and the earl of Stair was re-inveſted with the chief command of all the forces in Great Britain. The duke of Montague was permitted to raiſe a regiment of four hundred horſe at his own expence; and orders were ſent to bring over ſix thouſand of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place.

In another addreſs from the parliament, his majeſty was adviſed to augment his forces by ſea and land; the Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended for ſix months, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices; a proclamation was iſſued for putting the law in execution againſt Papiſts and Non-jurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution which prudence could ſuggeſt, for ſecuring the peace and tranquillity of the nation, was taken.

In the interim, the French court proceeded with their preparations at Dunkirk and Boulogne

Boulogne, under the eye of the young pretender; and ſeven thouſand men were actually embarked. M. de Roqueſeuille ſailed up the river as far as Dungeneſs, a promontory on the coaſt of Kent, after having detached M. de Barrail, with five ſhips, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk.

While Roqueſeuille was at anchor off Dungeneſs, he perceived, on the twenty-third day of February, the Britiſh fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland, from the Downs; and, though the wind was contrary, taking the opportunity of the tide of flood, to come up and engage the French ſquadron. Roqueſeuille, who little expected ſuch a viſit, was confounded when he obſerved the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh; but the tide failing, the Britiſh admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues ſhort of the enemy.

A council of war was now called by the French admiral, in which it was reſolved to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at ſun ſet, and make the beſt of their way for the place from whence they had departed. This reſolution was accordingly executed; and their eſcape was favoured by a hard gale of wind, which ſprung from the North-Eaſt, at the time of their ſetting ſail, and carried them down the channel, at the rate of four leagues an hour.

But though this gale, in all probability, ſaved their fleet from deſtruction, yet it entirely defeated the deſign of the invaſion: a great number of their tranſports were driven aſhore and ſhattered to pieces; and the reſt were ſo much damaged, that they could not be repaired for a conſiderable time. The Engliſh were now maſters of the ſea, and kept the whole French coaſt in alarm. The deſign, therefore, was totally abandoned; the pretender haſtened to the place of his former reſidence, and the French general returned to Paris.

This proceeding having forfeited all the claim of France to thoſe pretences of neutrality, which ſhe had hitherto profeſſed, was obliged to proceed to open hoſtilities; and, accordingly, a declaration of war was actually publiſhed at Paris, on the twentieth day of March. On the thirty-firſt of the ſame month, a like denunciation of war againſt France, was publiſhed at London, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who teſtified their joy by repeated acclamations.

As a teſtimony of their loyalty, the houſe of commons brought in a bill, inflicting the penalties of high treaſon upon thoſe, who ſhould maintain correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. In the upper houſe, lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, extending the pains of treaſon to the poſterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's ſons. This clauſe was productive of a long and violent debate; but, at laſt, was approved by a conſiderable majority in both houſes, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the fifteenth day of May, with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the great preparations made by France, on the ſide of the Auſtrian Netherlands, muſt convince all Europe of the ambitious and deſtructive views of that crown, in beginning the preſent war: that it ſhould be his care, in conjunction with his allies, to purſue the moſt proper meaſures to diſappoint theſe deſigns, and to proſecute the war in ſuch a manner, as might be moſt effectual for obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace: that his good friends, the ſtates-general, had already, in purſuance of his requiſition, agreed to furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties: and had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſenſe, not only of the common danger, but alſo of the inſeparable connection of their intereſts with thoſe of Great-Britain; a diſpoſition which he would not fail to improve to the general good of the common cauſe; that he hoped the members of both houſes, upon their return to their reſpective countries, would be particularly careful to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, eſpecially at this critical conjuncture, when they were called upon by every motive of duty and intereſt, to cheriſh a more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of their religion and liberty, againſt

againſt the deſigns of their enemies both abroad and at home.

It was not a little fortunate for theſe kingdoms, that the projected invaſion miſcarried. The ſcheme had been laid with great art and ſecrecy, and was cloſely connected with another, which, had it proved ſucceſsful, muſt have given the French the entire dominion of the ſea.

The queen of Spain, impatient of the difficulties which ſurrounded her ſon Don Philip, and enraged at the detention of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon, had, by promiſing to ſuſtain all the loſs that might be ſuffered in ſuch an attempt, prevailed on the court of Verſailles to agree, that the combined fleets ſhould ſail out of the harbour, and attack that of England; after which, they were to aſſiſt in favouring the deſcent, if it happened that they came off victorious.

In conſequence of this agreement, they were perceived, on the ninth day of February, ſtanding out of the road, to the number of twenty-eight ſhips of the line: the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay, and on the eleventh, part of the fleets were engaged. Matthews attacked the Spaniſh admiral, don Navarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounted with no leſs than one hundred and fourteen guns. Rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron; the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Oſborne, and Hawke, followed the example of their commanders; but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained above five miles a-ſtern: and ſeveral captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in ſuch a manner, as plainly evinced that they were afraid to engage.

In a word, no order, no method was obſerved throughout the whole tranſaction. The French and Spaniards would willingly have avoided an engagement, as the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to them both in ſtrength and number of ſhips. M. de Court, therefore made the beſt of his way towards the Streights mouth, with a view of joining the Breſt ſquadron, but he had orders to aſſiſt the Spaniſh fleet; and, as they ſailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the Engliſh.

In this diſagreeable ſituation, he made ſail, and lay to, by turns; ſo that the Britiſh admiral could not engage them in proper order; and, as they outſailed him, he began to fear they would eſcape him altogether, ſhould he wait for vice-admiral Leſtock, who ſtill continued a-ſtern. Struck with this apprehenſion, he determined to break through the line of battle, and, accordingly, made the ſignal for engaging, which was not repeated by vice-admiral Leſtock, though he had hitherto repeated all the preceding ones. Great ſpirit and reſolution, were, nevertheleſs, ſhewn by thoſe who did engage.

The Real being quite diſabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews ſent a fireſhip to deſtroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. Four Spaniſh ſhips which had been ſuffered to paſs Leſtock, attacked the fireſhip with ſuch fury, that, before ſhe could reach the Real, ſhe was blown into the air.

The Poder, a ſhip of the line, belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron, ſtruck to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron, but was found ſo diſabled, that they deſerted and left her, and ſhe was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews. Night coming on put an end to the action; and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much ſhattered, that he was obliged to move his flag on board of the Ruſſel, commanded by captain Long.

The loſs on this occaſion was very inconſiderable, except in the death of Mr. Cornwall, captain of the Marlborough, who aſſiſted the admiral in attacking the Real, and ſuſtained, for ſome time, the whole fire of that floating battery; and who, after giving repeated proofs of the moſt heroic courage, had both his legs carried off by a chain ſhot, which put a period to his life. A noble monument was erected to his memory in Weſtminſter-abbey, by a vote of the Britiſh parliament, and at the public expence; an ho-

nour to which he was juſtly entitled, by his courageous and gallant behaviour, on this, and on ſeveral other occaſions.

The enemy appearing to leeward the next day, the admiral chaſed them till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ſhips a-ſtern. They were obſerved again on the thirteenth, at a conſiderable diſtance, and purſued till evening. On the morning of the fourteenth, a great number of them were ſeen diſtinctly, and Leſtock with his diviſion, had gained ground of them conſiderably by noon; but admiral Matthews diſplayed the ſignal for leaving off the chace, and bore away for Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had ſuſtained.

As the apprehenſions of the enemy from the Britiſh fleet were now at an end, they continued their courſe towards the coaſt of Spain. M. de Court, with his diviſion, anchored in the road of Alicant; and don Navarro ſailed into the harbour of Carthagena.

When admiral Matthews came to Minorca, he accuſed Leſtock of having miſbehaved on the day of action, ſuſpended him from his office, and ſent him priſoner to England, where, in his turn, he accuſed his accuſer. Theſe two gentlemen had long entertained a moſt implacable hatred and reſentment againſt each other; and to this mutual animoſity was evidently owing the eſcape of the enemy's fleet, to the diſcredit of the Engliſh arms, and their own diſgrace.

Had Leſtock advanced, as he might eaſily have done, to engage the enemy, in conjunction with Matthews, the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain might have been utterly deſtroyed; or had Matthews afterwards permitted Leſtock to continue the chace, and attack the enemy, while retiring in diſorder, the ſame advantage might ſtill have been obtained; but ſuch was the irreconcileable antipathy of theſe two officers, that, rather than not gratify their private revenge, they ſacrificed the intereſt of their country, while they tarniſhed their own honour.

It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that their conduct became the ſubject of parliamentary enquiry in England. The commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time, Leſtock had preferred a charge againſt Matthews, and all the captains of his diviſion, who miſbehaved in the day of battle.

In conſequence of the opinion of the court martial, the captains Burriſh, Williams, and Ambroſe, were caſhiered: vice admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted; and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy. Matthews, it is true, can by no means be juſtified; but Leſtock certainly was infinitely more guilty. Yet the latter triumphed on his trial; and the former narrowly eſcaped with his life. Such are frequently the deciſions of court martials, where the merits of the cauſe are ſacrificed to private attachments or private animoſities.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, at the meeting of the parliament on the twenty-ſeventh day of November, ſaid, that it was with great ſatisfaction he met them, particularly at ſo critical a conjuncture, when the ſtate of affairs abroad required their moſt ſerious conſideration: that the events of the laſt ſummer had been ſo various, and ſome things had fallen out, in the courſe of it, ſo much to the detriment of the common cauſe, that great attention muſt be given to thoſe particulars, and proper meaſures taken for preventing or removing all the conſequences that might thence enſue: that he had, in purſuance of their repeated advice, exerted his endeavours for the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, and in proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which he was engaged; that the queen of Hungary had ſhewn the greateſt conſtancy and reſolution; and the king of Poland, agreeable to his engagements with that princeſs, had ſent a conſiderable body of troops to her aſſiſtance: that the king of Sardinia, with a magnanimity and firmneſs ſuperior to the greateſt difficulties, had, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh fleet, reſiſted the combined forces of France and Spain that had been ſent againſt him; and, at laſt, happily defeated an enterprize, formed for his ruin, and for the reduction of Italy, and moſt of the

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ports in the Mediterranean, under the power of the houſe of Bourbon: that, though the event of the laſt campaign had not anſwered his majeſty's wiſhes, yet the vaſt deſigns of his enemies, built upon new intrigues and alliances, and a freſh addition of ſtrength, had not hitherto proved ſucceſsful, and would, he hoped, by the bleſſing of God, and the mutual and united vigour of Great-Britain and her allies, be finally diſappointed: that, in conjunction with his allies, and with their effectual aſſiſtance, and the ſupport of his parliament, he was fully determined to carry on the war in ſuch a manner, as might be moſt conducive to that important end, at which he had ever aimed, a ſafe and honourable peace; the rather, as he was firmly reſolved never to abandon his allies, nor to neglect any ſecurity that could poſſibly be obtained for the religion, liberties, and commerce of his kingdoms: that, with this view, he had always inſiſted, and was ſtill inſiſting, with his allies, particularly the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, to fix the certain proportions of force and expence to be furniſhed by each of the confederates, in the proſecution of the war: and, in a word, that, the unanimity and diſpatch of his parliament, in conducting the public buſineſs, would very materially and effectually tend to the accompliſhing theſe deſireable purpoſes.

Both houſes having preſented addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty, the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply; and it now appeared that the new miniſters would purſue the very ſame meaſures, which had been adopted by their predeceſſors. Though the national debt had been encreaſed about nine millions ſince the commencement of the war, the commons voted ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and ſalt taxes, the ſinking fund, and an additional duty on wines.

*A. D.* 1745. The earl of Cheſterfield ſet out for the Hague in the month of January, with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to perſuade, if poſſible, the ſtates-general to become parties in the war. About the ſame time a quadruple alliance was ſigned at Warſaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers. By this treaty, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces. It was further ſtipulated, that, as the kingdom of Bohemia was actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould ſend to its defence, an army of thirty thouſand auxiliary troops: that his Britannic majeſty and the ſtates-general ſhould pay to that prince, an annual ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; two thirds to be furniſhed by Great-Britain, and one third by the United Provinces: that, as ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be free from danger, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould march ten thouſand men to the Netherlands, or to any other place within the empire, which the king of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general ſhould think moſt proper; for which a ſubſidy of ninety thouſand pounds ſhould be continued to be paid, according to the former proportions: that if, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould draw a war upon himſelf, he ſhould be ſupported by all his allies: that no peace ſhould be made without his conſent, and without procuring for him proper ſatisfaction: and that the empreſs of Ruſſia, the republic of Poland, and all the other powers of Europe, ſhould be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue in force even after the war was at an end.

The affairs which engaged the attention of parliament being finiſhed, the ſeſſion was cloſed on the ſecond day of May; and the king, having appointed a regency, immediately ſet out for his German dominions. To give the greater weight to the earl of Cheſterfield's negotiation at the Hague, he ordered the baron Schwigeldt, his Hanoverian miniſter in Holland, to declare, that, perſiſting in his deſign of continuing, and even redoubling his efforts for the defence of the common cauſe, and for the ſupport of the ſtaggering ſyſtem of Europe, he was reſolved to take part directly, as elector, in

in the plan of operations which was to be concerted with Holland, and to furniſh to it his contingent of German troops, independent of the ſuccours which he propoſed to give to her Hungarian majeſty: that, beſides, he would give orders for the march of another body, which ſhould be employed as neceſſity ſhould require: that with regard to the electoral troops, which were to join the allies upon the Rhine, they ſhould act either ſeparately or jointly, in the Low-Countries, or in the empire, as ſhould be agreed on between him and their High-Mightineſſes: that, for theſe reaſons, his Britannic majeſty, as elector of Hanover, demanded to be admitted and acknowledged upon the footing of a principal contracting party, in any thing that ſhould be concerted againſt the common enemy: and that he had furniſhed the ſaid baron de Schwigeldt with the neceſſary and full powers to aſſiſt at the conferences, which the allies ſhould hold at the Hague, for their mutual ſecurity and defence.

This declaration of his Britannic majeſty was extremely noble and diſintereſted, and his magnanimity was the more remarkable, as the events of the laſt campaign had proved ſo unfavourable to the houſe of Auſtria. Maillebois was ſtill in Germany at the head of a numerous army, with which he overawed the neutral princes, and oppreſſed the friends of the queen of Hungary.

The event of another campaign was ſincerely deſired by the people of England. His majeſty's engagements with the queen of Hungary were as ſtrong, if not ſtronger, than ever. The nation had been conſiderable gainers by the war at ſea, and their loſs by land had been very inconſiderable.

But what operated moſt ſtrongly in determining their judgment, was the conſideration, that ſhould a peace be concluded at preſent, the reduction of the French power, which had been the principal motive for England's commencing hoſtilities, muſt be left unaccompliſhed; and that ambitious people would not fail to embrace the firſt opportunity of renewing the war, with greater advantages than thoſe of which they were at preſent poſſeſſed.

From the weight of theſe conſiderations the allies determined to make their utmoſt efforts in oppoſing the French in the Auſtrian Netherlands, of which the latter had determined to make an entire conqueſt. The French army amounted to ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery: that of the allies exceeded not fifty three thouſand.

On the ſeventh of April the duke of Cumberland, as commander in chief, arrived at the Hague, and, after holding a conference with the ſtates, he poſted to Bruſſels, where he found prince Waldec, commander of the Dutch troops, and the mareſchal count Konigſegg, an Auſtrian general.

The king of France ſeemed reſolved to ſtake his crown on the fate of the campaign, and he accordingly repaired to the camp in perſon. The Dauphin, though he had been married to the ſecond infanta of Spain, but in the preceding February, could not be perſuaded from accompanying his father. The nobility, who attended them, ſeemed to have no other ambition than that of demonſtrating their profound reſignation to the will of their ſovereign; and the mareſchal duke de Noailles, notwithſtanding his ſeniority and high quality, was proud to command under count Saxe, who was at once a foreigner and a proteſtant.

The French founded their hopes of ſucceſs on the opinion, which the world ſeemed to entertain of the abilities of this great general. He continued for ſome time to amuſe the allies with feints, marches, and countermarches; but at laſt, on the twenty-ſeventh day of April, he ſat down before Tournay, on the river Schelde, which was defended by a garriſon of eighty thouſand men, and ſuppoſed to be one of the ſtrongeſt places of the Dutch barriers.

As ſoon as the duke of Cumberland was made acquainted with this incident, he reſolved to march to the relief of the place. With this view he advanced to Soignies, his right extending to Bougnies, and his left to Moubry,

Moubry, within muſket ſhot of the enemy. Mareſchal Saxe had foreſeen the intention of the allies, and beſides, he had heard that the Duke of Cumblerland was determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to retrieve the glory of the Britiſh arms, which had been tarniſhed by the inactivity of the laſt campaign. By ſome delays, which are frequently unavoidable in the councils of confederate armies, Saxe had found time to make the moſt excellent diſpoſition, by intrenchments and batteries, in which the ſituation of the ground afforded him no ſmall aſſiſtance.

The two armies were ſeparated by a rivulet, which lay on the left of the allies and the right of the French; which laſt were poſſeſſed of Antoin, where a moſt dreadful battery was erected. In their centre was another battery of the ſame kind; and before them lay the village of Fontenoy, intrenched and moſt formidably fortified. The intermediate ſpace between the two armies, was a gentle riſing ground, which the allies had to aſcend, and which the French had interſected with lines, that were filled with troops; while the like fortifications ſecured the Wood of Barri, which lay on their left.

The French king was poſted at the bridge of Calonne, which he might eaſily repaſs in caſe of a defeat, and which was defended with entrenchments, well mounted with cannon, and ſupported with the flower of his nobility and army. In a word, never was attack made under more diſadvantageous circumſtances than that of the allies upon the French forces, and never was army better ſecured than that of the French, being ſurrounded with no fewer than two hundred and ſixty-ſix pieces of artillery, all of them mounted, and pointed againſt the confederates.

The driving of the enemy from all their little poſts, ſo as to be able to get into the plain, was the firſt object that engaged the attention of the allies; and this ſervice was allotted to the Engliſh. Accordingly, on the thirtieth day of April, ſix battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, with five hundred pioneers, ſix pieces of cannon and ten haubitzers, were detached from each wing for that purpoſe; and after an obſtinate ſtruggle, the exploit was happily accompliſhed: the enemy were diſlodged from all their poſts, and repulſed to the heights, near their camp, where they drew up afreſh, and began to form new intrenchments. The confederate generals then went upon the ground, from which the French had been driven, and having carefully ſurveyed it, came to a reſolution to attack the enemy early next morning, which was the firſt day of May.

The Engliſh and Hanoverians, who compoſed the right wing, were ordered to form in four lines before the village of Vizon. The left wing, conſiſting of Dutch and Auſtrians, was commanded to advance in three columns; the firſt to march by the village of Vizon; the ſecond through the heart of it; and the third to ſtretch into the plain between Fontenoy and Antoin; the former of which places prince Waldeck had undertaken to attack.

In order to facilitate theſe operations, the duke of Cumberland commanded Brigadier Ingoldſby, with four battalions, and three ſix pounders, to attack a fort in the front of the village of Vizon, which was mounted with cannon. Lieutenant general Sir James Campbell was ordered to cover the infantry of the right wing commanded by lieutenant general, Sir John Ligonier; and Sir James had inſtructions to extend himſelf along the plain, from the wood towards the village of Fontenoy; an expedient which would have greatly favoured prince Waldeck's attack: but upon Ingoldſby's being able to carry the fort of Vizon, the ſucceſs of the whole in a great meaſure depended.

Orders were given to Brigadier Ingoldſby to take an Hanoverian regiment along with him, and as that lay at ſome diſtance, he was under a neceſſity of waiting for it. This gave the enemy an opportunity to ſtrengthen the fortifications about the fort, in conſequence of which the brigadier was obliged to conſult with his officers, in what manner the fort ſhould be attacked; and the ill

fortune of the day was in a great meaſure owing to this delay.

In the interim, Sir James Campbell's leg was carried off by a cannon ball, which put an end to his life. By this accident, and the dreadful fire made by the enemy, the Engliſh infantry under Sir John Ligonier were left expoſed, but were, nevertheleſs, formed with incredible diſpatch: and the duke of Cumberland, putting himſelf at their head, marched up to attack the left wing of the French at Antoin; while prince Waldeck, with the Hanoverians, and twelve Dutch battalions, moved, at the ſame time, to aſſault Fontenoy.

The intrepidity and good conduct of the attack which the duke of Cumberland made upon Antoin, has, perhaps, never been excelled on any occaſion. Notwithſtanding the incredible fire of the French, which ſwept off whole ranks at a time, both officers and men advanced as if they had been invulnerable, and poured in their fire upon the enemy at the diſtance of thirty paces.

The French infantry being quite broke by the violence of the attack, they were obliged to quit the field, and retire behind the fort and the village. Upon this, the French generals ordered their cavalry to advance, while their infantry, which had been formed anew, opened a concealed battery, which deſtroyed the Engliſh in greater numbers than ever.

If brigadier Ingoldſby's attack upon Vizon had been attended with ſucceſs, the Engliſh would have gained a complete victory, notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages; or, had the Dutch, under prince Waldeck, done their duty, the French king and his ſon would, in all probability, have been taken priſoners. But the duke being obliged to advance through a hollow way, commanded by the fort, which Ingoldſby ſhould have ſtormed, the Engliſh were thereby expoſed to all the fire from that battery, as well as to a great number of croſs fires, which plied them on all hands, and did prodigious execution.

It has never been urged, even by the enemies of prince Waldeck, that he was deficient either in courage or conduct; but the Dutch behaved with moſt ſhameful puſillanimity, and, inſtead of ſupporting the Auſtrians in the attack, fled almoſt at the firſt diſcharge, and retired from the field with the utmoſt precipitation.

His royal highneſs being thus ſurrounded with the engines of death on all hands, ordered his men to file off towards Fontenoy and the fort near the wood; but here the enemy's fire was almoſt as hot as ever, and the troops fell into ſome confuſion. His royal highneſs however, ſoon re-formed them, and again advanced to the attack; and this was made in ſuch good order, and with ſuch intrepidity, that the braveſt troops of France were driven off the field.

The determined and cool behaviour of the Engliſh being obſerved by mareſchal Saxe, who ſaw that neither the fire from his troops nor batteries was able to diſorder them, or prevent them from advancing, he ſent a meſſage to the French king and the dauphin, deſiring them to repaſs the bridge of Calonne.

It ought to be acknowledged, in juſtice to the characters of theſe princes, that their courage ſaved their troops from a total defeat. They had been on horſeback ſince ſeven in the morning, and had exerted themſelves with great activity, not only in animating, but in forming their men. They now declared, that, let the event be what it would, they were firmly reſolved not to repaſs the bridge; and they continued to give their orders with the utmoſt deliberation and preſence of mind, notwithſtanding a conſtant fire of cannon to which they were expoſed.

The Engliſh forces, in the mean time, continued to preſs on, and the more they advanced, the more the ground ſtraightened, and conſequently the more deep and impenetrable their column grew. They had now an opportunity of returning the fire of the French, and the execution they did with their muſkets was equally dreadful and incredible. Had they been able to have made themſelves maſters of Fontenoy, which now lay upon their right, the battle muſt have decid-

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ed in their favour; but as the French made their greateſt efforts on that quarter, and the Dutch had deſiſted from the attack on the front of the village, the Engliſh were obliged to advance; and this they did with ſuch ſurprizing reſolution, that they puſhed whole ſquadrons againſt the place where the French king and the dauphin were poſted; and the crouds of thoſe who fled before the Engliſh, for ſome time ſeparated theſe princes from each other.

At this time, prodigious numbers of noblemen and officers flying to their king's aſſiſtance, occaſioned the ſlaughter to fall heavy upon them. Battalions upon battalions, and ſquadrons upon ſquadrons, preſented themſelves before the Engliſh; but they were as often obliged to retire with the loſs of their braveſt men.

At laſt a reinforcement of troops arrived from Dowy, but theſe, like the others, were forced to give way; and while Saxe was obſerving the ſituation of Fontenoy, the attack from the French ſoon became promiſcuous and irregular, while the Engliſh continued to keep up their fire with the moſt aſtoniſhing reſolution, and in defiance of all danger.

Mareſchal Saxe began now to turn his thoughts on the beſt way of effecting a retreat. Perceiving that his maſter was in danger of being ſurrounded, he ordered the troops that were poſted in Antoin, to evacuate the place and repair to the bridge. The Dutch, upon this, might have eaſily taken poſſeſſion of Antoin; but the beſt part of them had fled from the field of battle, and ſuch of them as remained, were at too great a diſtance to know any thing of the matter.

The Engliſh cavalry now no longer ſupported the infantry, being prevented from joining them by the fire from Vizon as well as Fontenoy; but they little imagined that the enemy in this laſt place had now expended their whole ſtock of ball, and were obliged, at preſent, to fire only with powder.

Though the Engliſh were unacquainted with this circumſtance, the French, who thought they knew it, had determined to retire to the bridge of Calonne, and there to make their laſt ſtand, the rather as the houſhold troops were ſtill unbroken, and a great number of regiments had ſuſtained little damage.

They were even preparing to carry their intention into execution, when count Saxe ordered four pieces of cannon to be planted in the front of the Engliſh column, and an attack to be made upon it from both ſides at once. This new aſſault put an end to the diſpute. The Engliſh being moved in front by the fire of the artillery, and aſſailed on both flanks with irreſiſtible fury, were no longer able to maintain their ground, and their ranks being diſordered, the houſhold troops, the guards, and moſquetairs, broke in upon them, and obliged them to think of retreating in the beſt manner they were able.

This reſolution being formed, they began, about one o'clock, to retire to the ground between the wood and Fontenoy; and this they reached, without any other confuſion than what was occaſioned by the inequalities of the road through which they paſſed. Mareſchal Saxe, indeed, ordered them to be purſued by the French cavalry; but theſe were ſoon obliged to deſiſt by the gallantry of the Engliſh and Hanoverian guards. From that ground they continued their march to Bruffoel, and from thence to Leſſines in the neighbourhood of Aeth, having left their wounded in the field of battle, to the mercy of the conquerors.

The loſs of the allies in this battle, was about ſeven thouſand men, including a great number of officers; and, among theſe, lieutenant-general Sir James Campbell, major-general Ponſonby, the colonels Carpenter and Douglas, and lieutenant-colonel Gee. The victory coſt the French an equal, if not a greater number of lives than the allies. The duke de Gramont, and three other lieutenant generals were killed, as were four major generals, and three brigadiers. Two of their lieutenant-generals were wounded, three major-generals, and thirty-ſix brigadiers and colonels of regiments, the greateſt part of whom died of their wounds.

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His Pruſſian majeſty had, in the interim, made great progreſs in the recovery of Sileſia. The campaign began in January, when a party of Hungarian freebooters, who had invaded that province, were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month, the Pruſſian general, Lehwald, defeated a body of twelve thouſand Auſtrians, commanded by general Helſrich: the town of Ratiſbon was taken by ſtorm; and the king entered Sileſia in May, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men.

The duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, with twenty thouſand Saxons, having reinforced Prince Charles of Lorraine, he advanced into Sileſia by the defiles of Landſhut; and was attacked by his Pruſſian majeſty at Friedberg, on the confines of Bohemia. The battle was maintained with great obſtinacy from morn till noon, when the Saxons giving way, prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loſs of ten thouſand men, killed and wounded, together with his artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards.

This victory, however complete, was far from being deciſive; for, though the victor had transferred the ſeat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raiſing contributions in that country, the Auſtrians reſolved to venture another engagement. Their intention was to ſurprize him in his camp at Sladentz, which they attacked on the thirteenth day of September at day break; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that, notwithſtanding their repeated efforts, during the ſpace of four hours, they were repulſed with conſiderable damage; and retreated to Jeromire, leaving five thouſand killed upon the ſpot, beſides two thouſand that were taken, with twenty pieces of cannon and a number of ſtandards.

The event of theſe battles, was, however, by no means diſagreeable to his Britannic majeſty, who then reſided at Hanover. He had never approved of that implacable ſpirit of revenge, which the queen of Hungary had ſhewn againſt his Pruſſian majeſty; and, in order the more plainly to manifeſt his ſentiments, he entered into a convention with his nephew, by which he engaged that the king of Pruſſia ſhould retain poſſeſſion of Sileſia, in the ſame manner in which it was ceded to him by the treaty of Breſlau. He likewiſe promiſed, not only to guaranty that province himſelf, but to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to have it guarantied by the empire, and by all other powers in Europe.

During the courſe of this year, the Britiſh navy performed ſeveral ſervices of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe in general, as well as to Great-Britain in partiular. In the Mediterranean, admiral Knowles had ſucceeded Matthews in the command. He had bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia, the capital of Corſica, and made prize of ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips; but he could not prevent the arrival of the rich Havannah ſquadron at Corunna.

In the Eaſt-Indies, commodore Barnet took a great number of French ſhips richly laden; and commodore Townſend, in the neighbourhood of Martinico, found means to intercept about thirty ſhips belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ſhips of war, two of which were deſtroyed.

Very extraordinary ſucceſs alſo attended the Engliſh privateers. But the moſt important atchievement was the reduction of Louiſburgh, the capital of Cape-Breton in North-America, a place of great conſequence, which the French, at a great expence, had fortified in a very ſtrong manner.

We come now to the recital of the hiſtory of a rebellion, the moſt unprovoked, the moſt daring, and, conſidering the little encouragement it met with, the moſt alarming of any that appears in the Engliſh annals: a rebellion, which was as fatal in its event, as it was proſperous in its commencement; and which, notwithſtanding the few calamities it occaſioned, confirmed in the hand of the ſovereign the ſcepter which it meant to ſhake; by conciliating ſtill more to him the affections of his people.

It manifeſtly appeared that the ſpirit of Jacobitiſm had not been greatly diminiſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in 1715.

The

The miſcarriage of the projected invaſion in 1744, has already been mentioned. The unanimity diſcovered, upon that occaſion, not only by the parliament, but even by the whole nation, in defending his majeſty's perſon and government, had ſo greatly damped the expectations of the pretender, that he ordered his ſon Charles to lay aſide all thoughts of reſuming the enterprize.

But the young gentleman was deaf to the advice of his father. Fired by the ambition of his temper, and by the extravagant repreſentations of ſome needy fugitives, he reſolved once more to renew the attempt; eſpecially as the French court ſeemed very well diſpoſed to favour his undertaking.

The nature of public credit in England is ſo extremely delicate, that the government is always extremely cautious of publiſhing any thing that may tend to its prejudice. The embarkation of Charles was notified in the French papers in the month of July; the place of his deſtination was likewiſe known: but the undertaking appeared ſo romantic, that the nation, in general, could ſcarcely give credit to it.

Nevertheleſs, orders were diſpatched to the Engliſh miniſters abroad to repreſent the matter to the ſeveral courts, where they reſided, as an attempt of the pretender againſt his majeſty's crown and kingdom; and the Dutch were given to underſtand, that it was more than probable, that the ſix thouſand men, would ſoon be demanded, which by agreement they were to furniſh in caſe England ſhould be invaded.

Several of the pretender's agents, among whom was Sir Hector Maclean, had been ſeized in their paſſage from France to Britain; but though the miniſtry were aſſured of Charles's being ſailed, they could not learn the particular place in which he intended to land. Some of the chieftains had tranſmitted to the government of Scotland, letters which they had received from the young pretender, inviting them to join him; but the lord admiral, and the reſt of the Scottiſh miniſtry, ſeemed to ſlight the information; nor could they be induced, by any means, to believe it, till the duke of Argyle ſhewed them a letter from Cameron of Lochiel, which ſerved to put the matter beyond all diſpute. His intelligence, however, gained but ſlow credit, either at Edinburgh or at London; and nothing farther was done, than to order Sir John Cope, who commanded the forces in Scotland, to advance into the north, and cruſh the inſurrection, before it had time to gain any conſiderable ground.

Accordingly, Cope ſet forward without loſs of time. His orders were to proceed directly to what is called the Chain, the road between Inverneſs and Fort William, Fort Auguſtus being ſituated in the middle between both; and to attack the rebels, who were ſuppoſed to be lying on the weſtward of the Chain, in the neighbourhood of Glenſinnan, where their ſtandard was erected. On his arrival at Dalwhinny, he received intelligence, that the rebels had taken poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong paſs, called Carrieroch, which lay on the eaſt ſide of the Chain, and commanded the road that led to Fort Auguſtus.

Upon this he called a council of war, who agreed in opinion, that, as the rebels amounted to about ſixteen hundred, and the paſs was ſo remarkably ſtrong, it could not be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs.

The young chevalier, on the fourth day of September, entered Perth, one of the chief towns of Scotland, and commonly deemed the key of the Highlands. In his march thither, his army was greatly increaſed. The marquis of Tullibardine had ſent him ſeveral reinforcements, which he had raiſed among the tenants of the Athole eſtate; and he was alſo joined by lord George Murray, lord Nairn, and many other gentlemen of the country.

Charles, upon his departure from Perth, directed his march towards Dunblane. On the fourteenth day of September he paſſed the Forth, at a place called Frew, in ſight of Gardiner's dragoons; and, after making a feint, as if he intended to proceed to Glaſgow, ſuddenly wheeled about, and advanced towards Edinburgh.

Cope, having taken ſhipping at Aberdeen, had, by this time, landed at Dunbar with his army; and, on the nineteenth of September,

he began his march towards Edinburgh, and encamped at night between that city and Haddington. Here he was joined by the two regiments of dragoons, who had retired on the approach of the rebels to the capital. He was likewiſe reinforced by a body of volunteers under Mr. Drummond, late lord provoſt of Edinburgh; a gentleman, who by procuring intelligence of the motions of the rebels, did him the utmoſt ſervice.

Cope took poſſeſſion of colonel Gardiner's houſe, and ſecured the paſs on the ſouth-weſt angle of the field; and, as the camp was acceſſible only on three other quarters, two defiles on the ſouth-eaſt, and one on the north-weſt angles, he ordered theſe to be guarded by parties of dragoons, who, at the ſame time, were inſtructed to patrole all night, and bring intelligence of the enemy's motions.

They learnt that the firſt line was compoſed of five companies of Laſcelles's regiment, with two of Guiſe's, in the center; two ſquadrons of Gardiner's on the right, and a ſquadron of Hamilton's on the left, five companies of Highlanders, and the volunteers under Mr. Drummond in the center.

By the nature of the ground, and this diſpoſition of the forces, the king's army could be attacked only in front; and, leſt the rebels, after routed, ſhould retire to Edinburgh, and ſhut the gates of the city behind them, Cope ſent a meſſage to general Gueſt, who commanded in the caſtle, deſiring him to beat down a part of the town wall, in order to admit his army in purſuit of the fugitives.

On the twenty-firſt day of September, early in the morning, the patroles of the royal army reported, that the rebels were moving towards the Eaſt; but they varied their motions ſeveral times, till at laſt they formed, ſo as to outflank the royaliſts on the left. Cope was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance than he ordered ſome artillery to be brought from the right, in order to annoy them: but, unfortunately, the countrymen, who were employed in bringing up the cannon, imagining their ſervices had not been properly rewarded, had rode off with their horſes.

Hereupon, colonel Whiteford, who directed the artillery on the right, began to fire on the rebels; and though that, at firſt, did ſome execution, they yet formed themſelves into three columns with ſurprizing dexterity. Their left column, conſiſting of about twenty in front and thirty in depth, ran reſolutely upon the king's cannon on the right. Whiteford ſtill kept up his fire, and ſeveral of the rebels fell; nevertheleſs they continued to advance with incredible rapidity; and, all the way, maintained an irregular fire, and as faſt as any of them dropt, again cloſed up their ranks.

Colonel Whiteford who thought they began to ſtagger, called out to colonel Whitney to attack them in flank with his dragoons. The ſame orders were at the ſame time ſent him by Sir John Cope. Whitney, accordingly, marched out, and wheeling his ſquadron, got within piſtol ſhot of their flank; but, after receiving a ſingle diſcharge from the Highlanders, his men ſtopt ſhort, and abſolutely refuſed to advance.

The earl of Loudon, the colonel, and other officers, exerted their utmoſt endeavours in perſuading them to preſs on to the attack; but all their exhortations were vain and ineffectual: the rear flank ran away and were followed by the reſt, while the colonel, who, behaved with great gallantry, was wounded in the retreat.

As the general found it impoſſible to hinder the ſcandalous flight of the dragoons, he went up to the foot, and endeavoured by their means, to remedy the matter. "For "God's ſake," ſaid he, "gentlemen, behave "like Britons; give them another fire, and "you'll make them run—don't let us be "beat by ſuch a parcel of banditti." All his exhortations, however, were to no purpoſe: the foot, after giving an irregular fire, turned about to the right; and, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of their officers, fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

The foot being thus fled, the general rode back to the dragoons, whom he found had been

been ſtopt by the walls of Mr. Erſkine's encloſures. Here he once more renewed his entreaties, beſeeching them to form again and return to the charge; but nothing could overcome the panic, with which they had been ſeized. All he could do was to keep them in a body, and to make them retreat, in ſome tolerable order to Berwick, where, after lying one night on the road, they arrived in a ſtate of ſafety that did them infinite diſhonour.

The bravery of the rebels was ſo extolled, in conſequence of the victory of Preſton, that nothing was thought ſo difficult or arduous, which they could not, with eaſe, attempt and accompliſh; and had they marched ſouthward, during the preſent conſternation, the conſequences might have been more fatal than was generally imagined,

In a little time after this, the rebels were joined by a ſmall reinforcement, under Gordon of Glenbucket, and the lord Ogilvie, and their numbers now amounting to about ſix thouſand men the pretender reſolved to march into England. As a prelude to this meaſure, he iſſued a proclamation, requiring all ſuch, as did not join him, to furniſh his troops with proviſions, horſes, arms and money.

His majeſty, who before this time was returned to England, had received the moſt warm and affectionate addreſſes from the city, the lieutenancy, and the merchants of London, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, expreſſing their abhorrence and deteſtation of the preſent unnatural rebellion, and promiſing to exert their utmoſt endeavours in defending his majeſty's perſon and government, and in ſupporting the public credit of the nation.

Similar addreſſes were alſo preſented by almoſt every town, county, and corporation in the kingdom. Many of the principal nobility and gentry offered their ſervices in the military capacity. The duke of Montague received a commiſſion for raiſing a regiment of light horſe in Northamptonſhire; the duke of Kingſton raiſed another in Nottinghamſhire and Yorkſhire: the dukes of Bedford, Bolton and Ancaſter, the marquis of Granby, the earls of Hallifax, Berkeley, and Cholmondely, the viſcounts Falmouth and Harcourt, the lords Edgecombe, Gower, and Herbert, raiſed, each of them, regiments in the ſeveral counties where their intereſts lay.

An aſſociation was formed by the gentlemen of the county of York, who ſubſcribed the ſum of forty thouſand pounds, and raiſed a body of volunteers, who were of excellent uſe in the ſequel. The arrival of the duke of Cumberland, who returned about this time from Holland, contributed to quicken the general ſpirit of loyalty; and all ranks of men ſeemed unanimouſly to concur in expreſſing their zeal for the preſent royal family; and the protection of their own rights civil and religious.

At the time the rebels entered England, they are ſaid to have amounted to ſix thouſand foot and two hundred and ſixty horſe. The duke of Perth commanded as general in chief; lord George Murray, as lieutenant general: lord Elcho was made colonel of what they called the life guards: and the lords Pitſligo and Balmerino, who had lately joined them, acted, the former as colonel of huſſars, the latter, as colonel of the Perthſhire and Angus horſe. With regard to the clans, who were incomparably their beſt men, they were regimented under ſeveral leaders, and the flower of them kept about the young pretender's perſon.

The Engliſh cruiſers, in the mean time, took two French ſhips, with about four hundred men, and among thoſe, Charles Ratcliff, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who had ſuffered for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715. All their vigilance and activity, however, could not prevent a ſmall body of French from landing in Scotland, under the command of John Drummond, brother to the titular duke of Perth.

A proclamation was, at this time, iſſued for apprehending and bringing to trial, all jeſuits and popiſh prieſts, who ſhould be found within ten miles of the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and a reward of one hundred pounds was offered to be paid

paid on the conviction of each of them.

The proper officers likewiſe received orders that the coaſt ſhould be carefully watched, and, upon the firſt approach of the enemy, that all horſes, oxen, and other cattle ſhould be driven to the diſtance of twenty miles from the place where the enemy ſhould attempt or appear to intend to land. The militia of the maritime counties, together with thoſe of London, and the Tower Hamlets were raiſed; and proper ſignals were fixed, by firing of guns, or otherwiſe, that, in caſe an invaſion ſhould take place, an immediate alarm might be given.

After the reduction of Carliſle, the progreſs of the rebels, and the continuance of the preparations in the French ports, ſeemed to render theſe precautions the more neceſſary. The rebels, having left a garriſon in Carliſle, under the command of one Hamilton, who had been a kind of under-agent to the duke of Gordon, ſet out on the third of March for Penrith, from whence they proceeded to Lancaſter, which they entered on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, after which the whole army took poſſeſſion of Mancheſter.

The rebels hoped, at this place, to have received a very conſiderable reinforcement, as this was eſteemed the moſt diſaffected town in the kingdom. Great, however, was their ſurprize and diſappointment, when they found that, after exerting their utmoſt endeavours, they could not raiſe above eighty men, who were afterwards incorporated into one body, under the pompous appellation of the Mancheſter regiment. This was commanded by Mr. Townly, a gentleman of ſome family in that neighbourhood, and who had once been an officer in the armies of the king of France.

The king had by this time given directions for the raiſing another army, conſiſting of three regiments of cavalry and fifteen of infantry, to be commanded by the duke of Cumberland, and, under him, by Sir John Ligonier. This army was afterwards encreaſed to thirteen thouſand, and took poſt at Litchfield, which was deemed the moſt proper place for intercepting the rebels in their march to the ſouth. At the ſame time, Wade, whoſe army returned in a very fatigued condition to Newcaſtle, was advancing towards Lancaſhire; but his troops were rendered abſolutely uſeleſs, by the ſlow and dilatory manner in which he proceeded.

As the expectations of the rebels, of a great increaſe of their numbers in England, were now entirely fruſtrated, they held a ſerious conſultation, in what manner they ought to proceed; and it was unanimouſly agreed, that they ſhould ſtrike off to the left, and, by taking poſſeſſion of Cheſter and Liverpool, open to themſelves a paſſage into Wales, where they hoped that conſiderable reinforcements would join them.

This ſcheme, however, they ſoon found to be impracticable. Cheſter and Liverpool had been properly ſecured, and were determined to hold out to the laſt extremity, and the duke of Cumberland had given orders for breaking down the bridges leading into Wales.

Hereupon they changed their reſolution; and, after amuſing the king's forces with different feints, and dividing themſelves into ſeveral parties, their main body leaving Stockport on the right, and Warrington on the left, proceeded to Macclesfield, from thence to Congleton; and advancing with incredible rapidity, the whole of them entered Derby on the fifth day of Decemher, by which means they had gained a day's march on the duke's army on the London road.

As ſoon as the citizens of London were informed, that, notwithſtanding the vigilance and activity of the duke, the rebels had it in their power to advance to the metropolis, many of them were filled with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions. Even the miniſtry ſeemed to be conſiderably alarmed. A council was held at St. James and a reſolution taken, that the ſtandard of England ſhould be erected on Finchley Common, for aſſembling an army, to be commanded by the king in perſon, and under him, by field mareſchal Stair: that all the regular troops about London, with the aſſociated regiments, the trained bands, and the militia, ſhould march to that camp; and that

that a numerous train of artillery ſhould be drawn out of the Tower for the uſe of the forces. It was owing to theſe vigorous reſolutions, that the pretender altered his opinion, and inſtead of advancing to London, determined to return into Scotland, where he heard his affairs had taken a very favourable turn.

Hereupon, after remaining only one night at Derby, he began his march early in the morning; and though Wade with his army had, for ſome time, been at Doncaſter, and conſequently nearer Mancheſter than the rebels, yet the latter retreated with ſuch amazing rapidity, through Aſhburne, Leke, Mancheſter, Leigh, and Wigton, that they had almoſt reached Preſton, before Wade had advanced to Wakefield.

His royal highneſs, who then lay in the neighbourhood of Coventry, was no ſooner imformed of their retreat, than, putting himſelf at the head of all the horſe and dragoons, he immediately ſet out in queſt of the enemy; while his foot was ordered to follow with as much expedition as poſſible.

The duke commanded the dragoons to diſmount and attack the rebels on foot, and this they did with great alacrity. After a few vollies on both ſides, the dragoons retired in order to re-charge. The rebels, conſtruing this into a flight, abandoned their defenſible ſituation; and ruſhing upon the king's forces, maintained a moſt deſperate engagement for the ſpace of an hour; then they retired behind the ditch, and being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, continued their march to their main body, which had now arrived at Penrith.

Though few of the rebels were killed in this ſkirmiſh, about ſeventy of them were made priſoners. Of the king's forces forty were killed or wounded; and among the latter four officers, colonel Honeywood, captain Eaſt, and the cornets Owen and Hamilton.

The rebels held a conſultation at Penrith, whether they ſhould return with their whole force, and ſurprize the duke's cavalry. This meaſure was warmly recommended by ſome of the moſt violent chieftains; but lord George Murray and the more moderate leaders, oppoſed it. They repreſented the favourable turn which their affairs had lately taken in Scotland, as a motive for ſparing the lives of their men; and they urged the ſtrong probability of the duke's being joined by his infantry, before they could attack him. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, they reinforced the garriſon of Carliſle, and returned into Scotland over the rivers Eden and Solway.

This is a conciſe hiſtory of the expedition of the rebels into England; an expedition, which, when all circumſtances are conſidered, would appear incredible to poſterity, were not all the facts which attended it, confirmed by the moſt unqueſtionable authority. That ſix or ſeven thouſand men, unprovided with horſes, magazines, and even many of them with arms, ſhould march from the extremities of Scotland, to within eighty miles of London, through a country, which hated their manners and deteſted their cauſe; and ſhould return to Scotland, without loſing above fifty men, by death or deſertion, is equally true and aſtoniſhing.

On the twenty-firſt day of December, the duke of Cumberland with his whole army inveſted Carliſle, and, on the thirtieth, the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The priſoners, amounting to about four hundred, were diſtributed in different goals in England, and the duke immediately returned to London.

But the moſt dangerous, as well as the moſt powerful perſon engaged in the rebellion, was the famous Simon Fraſer lord Lovat, whoſe character was a ſtrange compound of abſurdities and abilites. In his younger years he had been guilty of a rape upon a woman of quality and fortune; a crime for which he was capitally convicted and proſcribed.

About this time the Fox man of war, which had been ſtationed in the road of Leith, and been of excellent ſervice to the government, was loſt in a ſtorm, and all her crew periſhed. Soon after the Hazard ſloop, which had been no leſs uſeful in the northern parts was taken by the rebels, and the harbour of Montroſe was fortified with her guns.

The pretender, who was now joined by the Frasers, under the master of Lovat, and the French troops under lord John Drummond, had laid siege to the town of Stirling, which after a feeble resistance, submitted to the enemy; but the castle, commanded by general Blakeney, continued to make a bold and resolute defence, and indeed the governor seemed to laugh at their ineffectual attempts.

A considerable body of forces now assembled at Edinburgh, under the command of general Hawley, in order to relieve Stirling-castle; and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth of January. Next day they rendezvoused at Falkirk, and on the seventeenth the rebels were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces. The enemy had taken possession of a hill on the right, and Hawley, in order to drive them from that eminence, sent two regiments of dragoons to attack them, but the first volley of the rebels broke their ranks, and they retreated with precipitation, and falling in among the infantry, put them also in confusion. The rebels followed their success, and the royal army, after making one irregular discharge, fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery to the enemy. It was now judged expedient to send a commander to the army in Scotland, in whom the soldiers could place some confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose.

*A. D.* 1746. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland had, by this time, put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, consisting of thirteen regiments of infantry, five regiments of dragoons, one regiment of light horse, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but, after blowing up the magazines, crossed the Firth with the utmost precipitation.

His royal highness having secured the important posts of Sterling and Perth with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

During his stay at this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of rebels surprized a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about twenty of them were cut in pieces. Several advanced parties of militia met with the same fate. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, but the enemy were compelled to retire, by a body of Hessians, which marched to its relief.

On his royal highness's birth day, the fifteenth of April, the royalists halted at Nairn. A council of war was now held by the rebels; and they embraced a very prudent, though a very desperate resolution, namely, to march by night to Nairn and attack the king's army, whom they supposed after celebrating the duke's birth day, would be at least buried in sleep, if not intoxicated.

There was some degree of plausibility in this scheme, and lord George Murray undertook to conduct it. The rebels then lay at Culloden; and, being obliged to take a circuit, they had a march of above ten miles to perform, before they could reach Nairn. They proceeded, however, with admirable secrecy, till they came within three miles of the royal army, when, through the darkness of the night, one of their divisions lost its way. Nevertheless the other continued to advance within a mile of the king's troops, when lord George Murray apprehending, from the neighing of a horse, that their march was discovered, and perceiving that one of their divisions had fallen back, or mistaken its way, ordered a retreat. The pretender was no sooner informed of this, than he exclaimed in a violent passion, that he was betrayed; but, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, the men wheeled about, and returned to their camp at Culloden, by eight o'clock in the morning on the sixteenth.

This fact is most assuredly true, though the incident was not mentioned in the account published

publiſhed by the government, of the battle of Culloden; and the fatigue which the rebels had undergone, contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of the day. On the ſixteenth of April, early in the morning, the whole royal army marched from Nairn, in four columns; three of them, formed by the foot, of five battalions each; and one of horſe on the left; the artillery and baggage being on the right of the firſt column. After proceeding about eight miles, the advanced guards obſerved the rebels at ſome diſtance, making a motion towards them. Upon this the king's army immediately formed, and marched within a mile of the rebels, whom they perceived to be poſted in a line with Culloden houſe, and partly defended by ſome old cottages and walls.

The cannonading began about one o'clock in the afternoon. The artillery of the rebels was ill ſerved, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, the front line advanced to the charge, and about five hundred of the clans attacked the duke's left wing, with their uſual impetuoſity. One regiment was diſordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the ſecond line, ſupported the firſt, and ſoon put a ſtop to their career, by a ſmart fire, that killed a great number. At the ſame time, Kingſton's and Hawley's horſe pulled down the park wall that covered their flank, and falling in among them ſword in hand, totally routed them.

Not a ſingle ſhot was fired by the French piquets on the left, who ſtood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched out of the field in order, with pipes playing: the reſt were routed with great ſlaughter, no leſs than two thouſand of them having fallen in the action and purſuit. The king's forces had been highly exaſperated by their former loſſes and diſgraces, and to this reſentment was owing the greatneſs of the carnage. Lord Robert Kerr, ſon to the marquis of Lothian, and about three hundred others of the king's army, were ſlain on the field of battle.

The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle: the lord Balmerino ſurrendered himſelf a few days after. The marquis of Tullibardine likewiſe followed his example; but the moſt extraordinary part of the priſoners were four ladies, who had been very inſtrumental in procuring friends to the pretender; and one of them, in particular, the lady Mackintoſh, though her huſband was at that time an officer in the king's army, had compelled great numbers of her clan to take part with the rebels.

Immediately after the battle, the duke of Cumberland proceeded to Inverneſs, of which he took poſſeſſion. He then advanced to Fort Auguſtus, and having received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the clans and chieftains, returned to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The vanquiſhed adventurer, upon his retreat from the field of battle, held a conference with ſome of his principal adherents, but finding his affairs deſperate, he deſired each of them to conſult his own ſafety, while he himſelf, aſſuming various diſguiſes, the better to elude the ſagacity of his purſuers, continued to wander about, a wretched fugitive, for the ſpace of four months, during which, he underwent a greater train of hardſhips and calamities than perhaps any other perſon ever ſurvived. At laſt, on the tenth day of Auguſt, he embarked on board a French frigate, called the Bellona of Nantz; and, after having been chaſed by two Engliſh men of war, arrived in ſafety at Roſcau near Morlaix in Bretagne.

As it now became abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome examples of juſtice, bills of indictment for high treaſon were found by the county of Surry againſt the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino. Theſe noblemen were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter-Hall, the lord chancellor preſiding as lord high ſteward on the occaſion.

Kilmarnock and Cromartie confeſſed their crime, and, in pathetic ſpeeches, recommended themſelves to his majeſty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty; he denied his having been at Carliſle, at the time mentioned in the indictment; but this exception was over-

over-ruled; then he moved a point of law in arreſt of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his council. Being told, however, that this plea was altogether frivolous, he thought proper to acquieſce; and ſentence of death was paſſed upon him and his two aſſociates. Cromartie's life was ſpared, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill in the month of Auguſt following.

The earl of Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine perſonal accompliſhments; he had been educated in Revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the deſperate ſituation of his fortune, and partly from reſentment to the government, on account of his being deprived of a penſion, which he had for ſome time enjoyed. He was attended to the ſcaffold by Dr. Foſter, the famous diſſenting preacher, and by a clergyman of the church of England, to whom he was nearly related. Foſter's enemies pretended, that he had all along flattered his lordſhip with the hopes of a pardon, provided he kept up his ſhew of penitence to the laſt. This calumny, for it was probably no other, received ſome countenance by Kilmarnock's raiſing his head after it was laid upon the block, and looking round among the ſpectators; notwithſtanding which, he died as became a man and a chriſtian.

The behaviour of lord Balmerino, on this ſolemn occaſion, though very different from that of Kilmarnock, was far from ſuch as his enemies reported. He would, it is well known, could he have obtained it, have accepted of a pardon from the crown; but finding all his applications ineffectual, he prepared himſelf for death with great fortitude and reſolution. The moſt accurate obſervers could not diſcover in his eye or geſture the ſmalleſt ſymptom of concern, much leſs of fear: but he was ſo far from being inſenſible, that he was ſeen to check his natural boldneſs, leſt the ſpectators ſhould think it indecent. He maintained his political principles to the laſt. Kilmarnock ſeemed to be convinced of the guilt of his conduct, but Balmerino had undoubtedly acted upon principle.

By this time, lord Lovat had, by the indefatigable zeal of his purſuers, been taken, and together with Murray of Broughton, brought priſoners to London.

As the behaviour of lord Lovat had been moſt ſingularly atrocious, a reſolution was taken to proſecute him to the utmoſt extent of the law: it was at the ſame time determined, that, in the courſe of his trial, the whole train of the rebellion ſhould be laid open to the public, and this could be done no way ſo effectually, as by making ſecretary Murray, who was now likewiſe a priſoner, an evidence for the crown.

As Murray poſſeſſed thoſe ſentiments of honour which are the characteriſtic of a gentleman, he would willingly have excuſed himſelf from the diſagreeable taſk of appearing in the character of an informer; but, as he had very little regard for Lovat himſelf, to whoſe dilatory and wavering conduct he imputed, in a great meaſure, the ruin of their cauſe; and as he had few or no diſcoveries to make, but what had already been made by the earl of Traquair, he was the leſs backward in becoming an evidence againſt Lovat.

Lovat's cunning had, however, been ſo great, that the government found it difficult to proceed againſt him, as they had done againſt the other lords, by way of indictment; and the commons were, therefore, obliged to impeach him before his peers. When he was brought to the bar of the upper houſe, he appeared to be full of age and infirmities. He had all the indulgence that could poſſibly be expected: council and ſollicitors were readily aſſigned him; and he was even allowed to receive the rents of his eſtate, as if he had lain under no accuſation of treaſon.

His trial was long and ſolemn, and during the courſe of it, the evidence againſt him was clear and convincing, as was all the particulars of his character and conduct.

In the courſe of his examination, Mr. Murray behaved with great candour and ingenuity, explaining, in the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, the firſt origin and progreſs of the rebellion; and by his evidence, and that of other witneſſes, as well as by ſeveral letters, ſome of them in Lovat's own hand, that nobleman's guilt was inconteſtibly proved.

Lord

Lord Lovat made a long ſpeech in extenuation of the crime of which he was accuſed. He ſaid that he had once been in a condition to do ſome ſervice to the government: that, ſhould his life be ſpared, he might ſtill have it in his power to promote the intereſt of the ſame cauſe: that mercy as well as juſtice belonged to ſovereigns: and that, if his majeſty would extend his mercy to him, he would ſhew his loyalty, and deſerve more than twenty ſuch heads as his were worth.

The favours he had received from the late king was a point on which he particularly inſiſted, but that circumſtance he was told, tended only to render his ſubſequent conduct the more inexcuſable; and in ſpite of all his endeavours to ward off the fatal ſentence, he was condemned by the unanimous conſent of his peers.

After his lordſhip was ſent back to the Tower, he made ſome attempts to procure a pardon; but finding his applications were wholly ineffectual, he at once diſcovered his natural diſpoſition, and avowed himſelf a Jacobite, and a Papiſt. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was remarkably chearful, and even facetious. He ſurveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jeſted with the executioner; and after having repeated ſome paſſages from the claſſicks, intimating that he died a martyr for the liberty of his country, he laid his head upon the block with the utmoſt indifference. From this laſt ſcene of his life, a ſtranger to his real character would be tempted to judge of it much more favourably than it appears to have deſerved.

Courts of judicature were opened in Southwark, and in the North of England, for the trial of the rebels of inferior note. Out of forty-three, who were condemned at London, no more than ſeventeen were executed; and in other parts of the kingdom a ſtill leſs number in proportion; but a great many of them were tranſported to America.

Charles Ratcliff eſq; commonly called earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was beheaded on the the eighth day of December, in conſequence of a rule of the court of king's bench, for being concerned in the rebellion in the year 1715; ſentence of death having at that time paſſed againſt him.

*A. D.* 1747. In the courſe of this year, the naval force of Great-Britain was very ſucceſsful in the Weſt-Indies. Rear admiral Knowles, with a ſquadron of eighty ſhips and two frigates, attacked Fort Louis, on the ſouth-ſide of Hiſpaniola, which, after a ſhort, but vigorous defence, was ſurrendered and demoliſhed. After this he made a fruitleſs attempt upon St. Jago, in the Iſland of Cuba, and then returned to Jamaica, exceedingly mortified at his diſappointment, which he attributed to the miſconduct of captain Dent; but a court-martial, which was afterwards held in England to enquire into the conduct of that gentleman, acquitted him with honour.

Mr. Knowles, being upon a cruize off the Havannah, with ſeven ſhips of the line, in the month of September, fell in with a Spaniſh ſqurdron of nearly the ſame ſtrength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola, when an engagement enſued, which continued from two o'clock in the Afternoon, till eight in the evening, when the enemy loſt two of their capital ſhips, the reſt of their fleet getting ſafe into the Havannah. Here again admiral Knowles charged ſome of his captains with miſbehaviour, and their conduct, on their return to England was ſtrictly examined by a court-martial. Two of the captains were cenſured, nor did the admiral himſelf eſcape unreprimanded for ſome neglects he had been guilty of in the courſe of the action. In conſequence of this affair, a kind of party quarrel aroſe among the officers of the admiral's ſquadron, which ended in the death of captain Innes, who was ſhot by captain Clark, in a duel fought between them in Hyde Park: but as it appeared, by unqueſtionable evidence, that captain Innes had given the challenge, the other received his majeſty's pardon.

The Britiſh cruizers were ſo diligent and ſucceſsful in the courſe of this year, that they took no leſs than ſix hundred and

forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards.

On the tenth day of November the new parliament met, when the ſupplies for the enſuing year amounted to upwards of eight millions five hundred thouſand pounds; of which ſix millions and a half were raiſed on a loan by ſubſcription, chargeable on a new ſubſidy of poundage exacted from all merchandize imported into Great Britain, which was ſubſcribed for immediately on opening the books; and above two millions more offered, an extraordinary inſtance of the goodneſs of the national credit. The reſt was raiſed by a million taken from the ſinking fund, the continuing the land tax, at four ſhillings in the pound, and the malt duty.

*A. D.* 1748. The ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed on the thirteenth day of May, when his majeſty acquainted both houſes that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned at Aix la Chapelle, by the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that a general reſtitution of the conqueſts which had been made during the war, was the baſis of this accommodation. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament, his majeſty, having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, ſet out for his German dominions.

In the month of March in this year, the duke of Cumberland had aſſembled the allied forces in the neighbourhood of Breda; but notwithſtanding the magnificent promiſes which had been made by the United Provinces, and the court of Vienna, they did not amount to above one hundred and ten thouſand men. The French, therefore, whoſe numbers were greatly ſuperior, were enabled to inveſt Maeſtricht without oppoſition; and accordingly, on the third day of April, they opened their trenches before that place.

The garriſon conſiſted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the command of the baron D'Aylva, who defended the place with the utmoſt ſpirit and reſolution. He annoyed the beſiegers in repeated ſallies; but they were reſolved to overcome all oppoſition, and carried on their approaches with indefatigable perſeverance. They attacked the covered way, in which they actually made a lodgment, after an obſtinate diſpute, which coſt them two thouſand men; but next day the bravery of the garriſon compelled them to abandon it.

But the ſigning of the preliminary articles at Aix la Chapelle, (as above noticed) put a ſudden ſtop to theſe hoſtilities. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the honour of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's arms, the town of Maeſtricht ſhould be ſurrendered to his general, on condition that it ſhould be reſtored with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly entered the place on the third day of May, when the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and a ſuſpenſion of arms immediately took place.

The Ruſſian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-ſeven thouſand, had, by this time, arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial majeſties, on the twentieth day of May. They then proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after having marched ſeven hundred miles from the beginning of the year. The French king declared that he would deſtroy the fortifications of Maeſtricht and Bergen-op-zoom, if they proceeded any farther. This affair was, therefore, referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, on the ſecond day of Auguſt, ſigned a convention, importing, that the Ruſſian troops ſhould march back to their own country, and that the French king ſhould diſband an equal number of his forces.

The ſeaſon being far advanced before they had notice to return, the Ruſſians were provided with winter quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they remained till the ſpring, when they returned into Livonia. Thirty-ſeven thouſand French troops were, in the mean time, recalled from Flanders, into Picardy, and the two armies continued inactive till the concluſion of the definitive treaty. The ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed at London, and in the capitals of all the contracting powers: orders to abſtain from hoſtilities were ſent to the reſpective admirals in the different parts of the world; and a communication of trade and commerce was open-

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ed between the nations which had been at variance.

The plenipotentiaries ſtill continued at Aix la Chapelle, adjuſting all the articles of the definitive treaty, which, at length, was concluded on the ſeventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which was now expreſsly confirmed, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna.

It was covenanted by the contracting parties, that all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored: that the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria, that the king of Great Britain ſhould, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction, to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conqueſts which his Britannic majeſty ſhould have made in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, before or after the preliminaries were ſigned: that the aſſiento contract, with the article of the Annual ſhip, ſhould be confirmed for four years, during which, the enjoyment of that privilege had been ſuſpended ſince the commencement of the preſent war: that Dunkirk ſhould remain fortified on the land ſide, and towards the ſea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for the dutchy of Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, as he at preſent poſſeſſed them; and they likewiſe engaged to maintain the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia in the poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, according to the Pragmatic Sanction. The other articles regarded the forms and time fixed for the mutual reſtitutions, as well as for the termination of hoſtilities in different parts of the world.

Thus, after an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure, a war was concluded, in which Great Britain and France, the principal parties concerned, had gained nothing but the experience of each others ſtrength and reſources. France perceived that the riches and force of Great Britain were much greater than had been imagined; and Great Britain was convinced that the power of France, acting in the Low Countries, and in its own neighbourhood, was almoſt irreſiſtible.

The continual diſputes between England and Spain, to which the war had been originally owing, were mentioned in the treaty only for the ſake of form; while each nation, otherwiſe than being conſiderably weakened, found itſelf exactly in the ſame ſituation in which it had been at the commencement of hoſtilities.

His Britannic majeſty had, by this time, returned to England, and the parliament meeting on the twenty-ninth day of November, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, that the definitive treaty of peace had been ſigned by all the parties concerned in the war: that he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects, and for procuring to his allies, the beſt terms and conditions, that the ſituation of affairs would admit: that he took much ſatisfaction in being able to tell them, that he had found a good diſpoſition in all the parties engaged in the war, to bring this negotiation to a happy concluſion: that from theſe circumſtances, they might promiſe themſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of a peace, provided they made a right uſe and improvement of it: that as great a progreſs had been made in reducing the public expences, as the nature of the caſe would allow; and he only deſired them to grant him ſuch ſupplies as might be requiſite for the current ſervice of the year, for their own ſecurity, and for fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been already contracted, and laid before them: that times of tranquillity were moſt proper for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening themſelves againſt future events; and he muſt recommend to them, as the moſt effectual means for theſe purpoſes, the improving of the pub-

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lic revenue, and the maintaining the naval force of the kingdom in due ſtrength and vigour: that thoſe brave men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, were certainly proper objects of parliamentary favour and protection; and he hoped they would deem it their duty, as well as intereſt, to convert their moſt ſerious attention towards the advancing of commerce, and the cultivating the arts of peace.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes; though that of the lower was not carried without a violent oppoſition.

*A D.* 1749. About this time the attention of the public, was engaged by an incident of a ſingular nature. Some young gentlemen of Oxford, were charged with ſeveral treaſonable practices, and, in particular, with having drank the pretender's health. The report of this affair being induſtriouſly circulated, the vice-chancellor, heads of houſes, and proctors of the univerſity, thought proper to publiſh a declaration, ſignifying their abhorrence of all ſeditious practices; importing their determined reſolution to puniſh all offenders to the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the ſtatutes; and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the univerſity.

Notwithſtanding theſe wiſe and ſalutary regulations, the government gave orders for the delinquents to be taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger of ſtate, and two of them being tried in the court of King's-Bench and found guilty on the cleareſt evidence, were ſentenced to walk through the courts of Weſtminſter, with a paper on their foreheads, denoting their crime; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be impriſoned for two years, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour for ſeven years after the expiration of the term of their impriſonment.

Great rejoicings were made throughout England, France and Holland, on account of the peace of Aix la Chapelle; and indeed, all the powers who had been engaged in the war ſeemed to give evident proofs how heartily tired they were of it, by the great expence and magnificence with which they celebrated the peace.

On the twenty-ſecond day of June, prince George, (his preſent majeſty) the Margrave of Anſpach, the dukes of Bedford and Leeds, and the earls of Granville and Albemarle were elected nights of the garter; and on the twenty-ſixth Sir Peter Warren, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Howard, Sir Charles Amyand Poulet, Sir John Mordaunt, and Sir John Sackville, were inſtalled knights of the Bath, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of ſeveral eminent perſons, and among the reſt, Charles Seymour duke of Somerſet; John duke of Montague; Richard Temple Viſcount Cobham; John Lindſay earl of Crawford; admiral Sir John Norris, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, ſo famous for his oppoſition to the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole.

Murders and robberies were ſo frequent, during this year, in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter, that a proclamation was publiſhed offering a reward of one hundred pounds over and above all other rewards, to be paid by the lords of the treaſury, upon the conviction of any murderer or robber in thoſe cities, or within five miles thereof. Violent riots and tumults alſo prevailed throughout the kingdom at this period, which were evidently owing to the numbers of unprovided perſons diſcharged from the army and navy. The moſt dangerous inſurrection happened at Briſtol, where great numbers of people from Glouceſterſhire and Somerſetſhire aſſembled, cut down the turnpikes, and committed various other outrages. Many of them were well armed, and bid defiance to the magiſterial power for ſome conſiderable time; but at length, ſix troops of dragoons being ſent down againſt them, they were obliged to diſperſe, and the quiet of the country was reſtored.

The parliament meeting on the ſixteenth day of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that it was with a particular pleaſure that he met them

them, at a time when the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of quiet and tranquillity: that the good effects reſulting from hence were already apparent in the flouriſhing condition of commerce, and the riſe of public credit, which naturally laid the ſureſt foundation for an increaſe of ſtrength, and of laſting proſperity to his kingdoms: that he had not failed, during the courſe of this ſummer, to avail himſelf of every opportunity to cement and preſerve the peace; and that it was his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power to preſerve it inviolable, and religiouſly to adhere to the engagements he had entered into.

Both houſes of parliament having preſented very dutiful addreſſes to his majeſty in anſwer to this ſpeech, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates for the enſuing year. Soon after this, the people of England were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, by two ſhocks of an earthquake; the firſt on the eighth day of February, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon, was felt all over the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent; ſome chimnies were thrown down, and in many places the waters were agitated to a very conſiderable degree.

*A. D.* 1750.

At half an hour after five o'clock, on the morning of the eighth of March, the town was alarmed a ſecond time, by a ſhock more ſevere than the former, attended with a hollow ruſtling noiſe, as if cauſed by wind, and the violence of it awaked numbers of people out of their ſleep; but providentially no miſchief happened, except the throwing down ſome chimnies, and damaging ſome old houſes. The ſhock was ſo violent in ſome places, that the people ran from their beds and houſes almoſt naked, in the utmoſt confuſion. There was obſerved, preceding the ſhock, a continual, though confuſed lightning, till within a minute or two of its being felt, the flaſhes of which were very ſtrong.

It was felt in Eſſex, Kent and Surry, as well as in moſt parts of Middleſex; and the panic, which was univerſal in the four counties, was conſiderably increaſed, by the predictions and admonitions of a fanatic ſoldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly propheſied that the next ſhock would lay the cities of London and Weſtminſter in ruins; the fanatic, however, happened to be miſtaken; but the two ſhocks which had already been felt, had brought a ſerious air upon every face. The pulpits and preſs were employed in calling a degenerate people to repentance, and in deprecating the wrath of heaven. "In after ages (ſays a modern wri-
"ter) it will ſcarcely be believed, that on
"the evening of the eighth day of April,
"the open fields, that ſkirt the metropolis,
"were filled with an incredible number of
"people, aſſembled in chairs, in chaiſes,
"and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited
"in the moſt fearful ſuſpence, until morn-
"ing and the return of day diſproved the
"truth of the dreaded prophecy. Then
"their fears vaniſhed: they returned to their
"reſpective habitations in a tranſport of joy:
"they were ſoon reconciled to their aban-
"doned vices, which they ſeemed to reſume
"with redoubled affection, and once more
"bade defiance to the vengeance of hea-
"ven."

On the eighteenth of March, between five and ſix o'clock in the evening, a ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Goſport, Portſmouth, and the Iſle of Wight, which greatly alarmed and terrified the inhabitants. Several other places in Europe, particularly France and Germany, were viſited with this dreadful calamity; and the iſland of Cerigo in the Archipelago, was almoſt deſtroyed, and above two thouſand of the inhabitants periſhed.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the twelfth day of April, and after thanking the houſe of commons for the ſupplies they had granted, and the attention they had ſhewn to the public welfare, in reducing the national intereſt, he ordered the parliament to be prorogued; ſoon after which, having appointed a regency to rule the kingdom in his abſence, his majeſty ſet out for his German dominions.

On the twentieth day of April died Sir Samuel Pennant, lord mayor of London, whoſe

death was occaſioned by an infectious fever which prevailed in Newgate, and was from thence carried to the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, where it was catched by a great number of perſons, and proved fatal, not to his lordſhip only, but to Sir Daniel Lambert knight and alderman; to Sir Thomas Abney, a judge of the common pleas; to Mr. Clark a baron of the exchequer; to many of the lawyers that attended the ſeſſions; to a greater part of the Jury, and to a large number of others who happened to be preſent.

In the month of July, the prince and princeſs of Wales, and lady Auguſta, now princeſs of Brunſwic, made a tour to the Weſt of England, and were every where received with the utmoſt honour and reſpect, and ſoon after their royal highneſſes viſited Southampton and the Iſle of Wight, where their reception was equally reſpectful and affectionate. Soon after midſummer, this year, arrived the firſt parcel of Herrings, which were caught off Shetland, by the buſſes of the newly incorporated Society of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery.

*A. D.* 1751. His majeſty returned from his German dominions in the month of November, and on the ſeventeenth day of January opened the parliament with a ſpeech in which he acquainted both houſes with his having concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, whereby ſuch particular differences as could not be ſettled by a general treaty, had been amicably adjuſted. He alſo took notice of his having, in conjunction with the empreſs queen and the ſtates general, concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria; both which treaties, he ſaid, ſhould be laid before them. He repreſented all the contracting powers in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, as determined to preſerve the general peace; and then concluded with an exhortation to unanimity, the improving the trade and commerce of the nation, and the putting the laws in force againſt the diſturbers of the internal peace and police of the kingdom.

On this ſpeech, loyal and affectionate addreſſes were preſented to the throne, by both houſes; after which the attention of the commons was engaged in conſidering a caſe of a very delicate and intereſting nature. Lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon to earl Gower, and one of the repreſentatives for Weſtminſter, having, in the courſe of the former ſeſſion, accepted of the place of a lord of admiralty, his ſeat in parliament was thereby vacated; and having again declared himſelf a candidate, he met with a powerful opponent in the perſon of Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, who was powerfully ſupported by the friends of the prince of Wales, and by all thoſe who aſſumed the name of independent electors.

An incident happened at this time which was of no ſmall detriment to his lordſhip's intereſt. A company of French players having obtained leave to act in the little theatre in the Hay market, had been pelted by the audience; and ſome young noblemen and gentlemen having been incautious enough to eſpouſe their cauſe, and to draw their ſwords upon the audience, it was affirmed in print, and even certified by affidavit, that lord Trentham was of the number.

Notwithſtanding that this allegation was afterwards proved to be an infamous falſhood, yet it tended greatly to his lordſhip's prejudice. Nevertheleſs it appeared, that he had a majority upon the poll; and the other candidate, therefore demanded a ſcrutiny, which the high bailiff, who was returning officer, readily granted.

The affair was carried on with great zeal on both ſides; and ſuch was the implacable animoſity of the two parties, that it was with the greateſt difficulty the more moderate among them, could prevent the more furious and headſtrong from, ſometimes, coming to blows. Each was attended with council, managers, and agents: and all the arts of deceit and engines of violence were employed to eſtabliſh and overturn the validity of votes. The party of Sir George was the moſt noiſy and boiſterous; and the high bailiff, during the whole of their election, appeared to be moſt in their intereſt; a circumſtance, which gave him ſo much credit with the mob, that matters were conducted with tolerable order.

Information

Information having been given that the high bailiff was obſtructed in the execution of his office; he was ſent for to the houſe of commons, and a ſtrict charge was given him, that if any perſon ſhould preſume to moleſt him in the exerciſe of his duty, he ſhould inform againſt ſuch daring offenders. Notwithſtanding this intimation, the high bailiff proceeded with great prudence and circumſpection; but all his moderation could not appeaſe the clamours of Sir George's friends, who uttered a great many inſolent expreſſions, of which the other party threatened to complain.

This matter, however, remained in ſuſpence during the whole of that ſeſſion; the concluſion of which was no ſooner notified by the firing of the tower guns, than Mr. Crowle, one of Vandeput's council, told his antagoniſt, that all his threats were but now *bruta fulmina*, as the power of the houſe was totally expired.

By this time, the expectations of both parties were raiſed to the higheſt degree; but great was the ſurprize of Vandeput's adherents, when they ſaw the high bailiff return his competitor. Two petitions were immediately preſented to the houſe againſt this return; one from Sir George's friends, the other from himſelf; and both of them complaining of the high bailiff's injuſtice and partiality.

Lord Trentham, who had taken his ſeat in the houſe, in anſwer to theſe complaints, produced letters from the heads of Vandeput's party, dated the very night before the making of the return, and directed to the high bailiff, whoſe equal and diſintereſted conduct they greatly applauded. He likewiſe inſiſted, that, for his own vindication, the matter ſhould be brought under the conſideration of the houſe; and accordingly both parties were appointed to be heard on the ſixth day of February.

A motion was, in the mean time, made and carried, that the high bailiff ſhould be called to the bar of the houſe, in order to give an account of what he had done in conſequence of the injunction laid upon him by the houſe in the courſe of laſt ſeſſion; and whether and from whom he had received any obſtruction in the execution of his office. The bailiff accordingly made his appearance; and he named Mr. Crowle, the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholſterer, as the perſons who had been moſt forward to obſtruct him in the diſcharge of his duty. Theſe three perſons were therefore ſummoned to the bar; Mr. Crowle received a reprimand from the ſpeaker on his knees, and Gibſon was committed to Newgate, but releaſed in a few days, on his preſenting an humble petition, profeſſing his ſorrow for having incurred the diſpleaſure of the houſe.

The houſe then proceeded to conſider the caſe of Mr. Murray, and after a ſhort debate, they came to the following reſolutions, that it appeared to the houſe, that the honourable Alexander Murray, eſquire, on the fifteenth day of May laſt, being the day of returning a member to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, attended by a mob, did, before the return was made, come to the houſe of Mr. Badwin, the deputy high-bailiff of the ſame city, and then and there declared in a menacing and inſulting manner, that he, and a thouſand more, had ſworn, that the high-bailiff ſhould make his return in the middle of Covent Garden, and not in the portico: that he was a fool he had not ordered the iron rails before the portico to be cut down the night before; for that he had been told by council, that if he had done it, and had not taken the rails away, it would have been no more than a treſpaſs; and that, for a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pounds, they might have been made good again; and that, had it not been for ſome faint-hearted fellows, it would have been done, or words to that effect: that the ſaid Alexander Murray, immediately after the return was made, appeared in Covent Garden church yard, while the returning officer was in the veſtry, near the place where the return was made, at the head of a mob, who ſeemed to be for Sir George Vandeput, and did then utter words exciting and inflaming the

ſaid

ſaid multitude to inſult and murder the returning officer; and afterwards, as the returning officer was going away, the ſaid Alexander Murray, perſevering in his wicked purpoſes, did, at the head of the ſaid mob, again excite them to acts of violence, ſaying, with imprecations, "will nobody knock the "dog down! will nobody kill the dog! or words to that effect.

A reſolution was at the ſame time taken, that Mr. Murray ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate; and that he ſhould be brought to the bar of the houſe, to receive his ſentence upon his knees. This laſt act of humiliation was impoſed upon him by the influence of the younger and more violent members, who heard he had declared, that he would not ſubmit to ſuch an indignity.

Their information ſeems to have been well founded: for when Mr. Murray was brought to the bar, he actually refuſed to kneel; a circumſtance that greatly alarmed the moderate members, who, had they been apprized of his previous declaration, would never have agreed to the laſt reſolution. Now, however, that the reſolution was taken, they could not diſpence with the priſoner's compliance, whoſe former crime was greatly aggravated by his preſent obſtinacy, and who had thus dared, in a manner, to ſet the commons at defiance.

But ſtill they were puzzled to determine what puniſhment they could inflict upon him more ſevere than impriſonment. Some of the more violent members, indeed, recommended more rigorous meaſures; but the committee, to whom the affair was referred, gave it as their opinion, that there was no precedent of the houſe having exerciſed a more extenſive power.

Hereupon it was reſolved, that Mr. Murray having, in a moſt inſolent and audacious manner, at the bar of the houſe, abſolutely refuſed to be upon his knees in compliance with their former reſolution, had been guilty of a high and moſt dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the houſe: that, for this offence, he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate: and that, while there, he ſhould not be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, or paper, nor be indulged in the privilege of having any perſon admitted to him without the leave of the houſe. Theſe reſolutions were ordered to be put in execution; and accordingly that night, or rather morning (for it was one before the houſe roſe) Mr. Murray was carried to Newgate.

He was ſeized with a ſlight indiſpoſition, not long after his commitment, and the phyſicians reporting that his health was in danger, the houſe conſented to his being removed from Newgate, and taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; but he had the reſolution to reject this offer, and continue in priſon till the end of the ſeſſion: by the concluſion of which, being delivered from his confinement, he made a kind of triumphant proceſſion to his own houſe, accompanied by the ſheriffs of London with a large train of coaches, attended all the way by the acclamations of his party, and ſurrounded by people carrying flags and ſtreamers as the emblems of liberty.

During the courſe of this ſeſſion, the nation ſuſtained a terrible blow in the death of the prince of Wales, who expired on the tenth day of March, about ten in the evening. He had catched cold about three weeks before in his gardens at Kew; and having neglected, through hurry of buſineſs, to have it removed, it was ſtill farther encreaſed by his coming very warm from the houſe of peers with the windows of his chair open.

A pleuriſy was the conſequence of this cold, which his phyſicians, however, were far from apprehending to be mortal; and upon the application of proper remedies, he was even thought to be in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour before his death; when a large abſceſs upon his lungs, which had been long gathering, was ſuppoſed to burſt, and to be the immediate cauſe of his death.

In all the different relations of life, the character of the prince of Wales was not only irreproachable, but even worthy of the higheſt eſteem and veneration. A dutiful ſon, an affectionate parent, a tender huſband, an indulgent maſter, a warm friend, and a generous patron; he captivated, by an irreſiſtible energy, the hearts of all who had the honour

honour of his acquaintance. Poſſeſſed of a conſiderable ſhare of learning himſelf, he took a pleaſure in encouraging the learned and ingenious. When independent, he diſtinguiſhed them by his friendſhip and countenance; when their circumſtances required it, by his munificence and bounty. He had ſtudied the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution with much greater accuracy than, conſidering his numerous avocations, could reaſonably be expected; and had he lived to aſcend the throne, the people muſt neceſſarily have been happy under his government, if they had not rendered themſelves otherwiſe.

An almoſt total extinction of party ſpirit was the conſequence of the death of the prince of Wales. The tender affection expreſſed by the king towards the princeſs and her children, and the dutiful ſubmiſſion which they ſhewed to him, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people in general, that all party-diſtinctions ſeemed at once to be annihilated.

On Wedneſday the twenty-ninth day of May, the royal aſſent was given to the memorable act of the Britiſh legiſlature, "for "regulating the commencement of the year, "and for correcting the Calendar now in "uſe; that is, for aboliſhing the OLD and "eſtabliſhing the NEW STILE, which was "already in uſe in moſt other parts of Chriſ-"tendom." This act was modelled with great ſkill and learning, by the earl of Macclesfied, and has been productive of many excellent conſequences; in particular, the correſpondence between the Engliſh and foreign merchants, has been and will be greatly facilitated, with reſpect to the dates of letters and accounts. This act is of ſo much conſequence, that the following clear and conciſe account of the grounds on which the new regulation proceeds, cannot be unacceptable to our readers.

By the Julian account, ſo called from its being framed by Julius Cæſar, the year is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty five days and ſix hours. The odd hours added together amounting every fourth year to a day, three years ſucceſſively, conſiſt each of three hundred and ſixty-five days, and the fourth year, which is called Leap year, of three hundred and ſixty-ſix.

But the true ſolar year conſiſting of only three hundred and ſixty-five days, five hours, forty-nine minutes and ſixteen ſeconds, there is an over-reckoning of ten minutes and forty four ſeconds in every year, which of conſequence has made a variation of one day in every one hundred and thirty-four years that have paſſed ſince the firſt ſettling this account; by which means the vernal equinox, or ſun's entrance into Aries, is now on the tenth of March, which in Julius Cæſar's time was on the twenty-fourth.

Pope Gregory III. finding the Julian account to be erroneous, reſolved upon a reformation of it, which he finiſhed in the year 1582, and which, from him, is called the Gregorian account, or new ſtile.

The pope, in his reformation, looked no farther back than the council of Nice, which was held in the year 325; and finding the vernal equinox was then on the twenty-firſt of March, he ordered ten days in the year 1582 to be omitted, which was done by calling the fifth of October, (his birth day) the fifteenth; ſo that the vernal equinox, which otherwiſe would have been on the eleventh, fell on the twenty-firſt of March.

And to prevent errors of the like nature for the future, he ordered the ſubſtracting three days from every revolution of four hundred years, which was to be done by omitting the twenty-ninth day of February at the end of the three centuries, and at the end of the fourth century to retain it.

This is the reaſon that before the twenty-ninth day of February 1700, the difference between the old and new ſtile was only ten, whereas ſince that time it has been eleven days.

We will now give a ſhort abſtract of this memorable act, which is of ſo great importance, that it ought to be particularly noticed in every Hiſtory of England.

In the firſt place, it is enacted, that the old computation of the year, by which it begins on the twenty-fifth of March is not to be made uſe of, throughout all the Britiſh dominions, after December the thirty-firſt

1751, but the firſt of January next following is to be reckoned the firſt day of the year 1752, and every year for the future to begin on the firſt of January, inſtead of the twenty-fifth of March. In the ſecond place, the ſeveral days of each month, after the firſt of January 1752, are to go on in the ſame order as uſual, till the ſecond day of September incluſive; but the natural day next immediately following the ſaid ſecond of September 1752, inſtead of the third, is to be called the fourteenth of September, omitting only for that time the eleven intermediate nominal days of the preſent Calendar. And the ſeveral natural days that ſhall follow the ſaid fourteenth of September, are to be reckoned forward in numerical order, as uſual, and ſo on continually.

All acts, deeds, notes, &c. after the firſt of January 1752, to be dated according to the new ſupputation. And the fixed terms of Hilary and Michaelmas, and all courts, &c. that are to be held on any certain day of a month, to be kept on the ſame nominal day, after the ſecond of September 1752, when the eleven days are dropt that they were kept on, according to the old method, that is, eleven days ſooner than the ſame are now kept.

For keeping the days of the year in the ſame regular courſe as near as may be to the true motion of the ſun, the years of our Lord 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, or any hundredth years in time to come (which, according to the preſent method, would be leap year, as every fourth year is) except only every fourth hundredth, whereof the year 2000 to be the firſt, are not to be deemed leap years, but common years, of three hundred and ſixty-five days. And the years 2000, 2400, 2800, and every fourth hundredth year, to be leap years of three hundred and ſixty-ſix days.

New rules are fixed, and a calendar annexed, for keeping Eaſter according to the full moons by which it is regulated, and the other moveable feaſts depending on Eaſter; and the fixed feaſts and faſts to be kept on the ſame nominal days as now. All the moveable feaſts, the moveable terms of Eaſter and Trinity, and moveable fairs, marts, &c. to be governed by Eaſter and the other moveable feaſts, as uſual, but according to the new calendar, and to be held on their reſpective days accordingly.

Fixed fairs or marts, after the ſaid ſecond of September, not to be held on the ſame nominal day, but the ſaid natural day as before, that is, eleven days later than the nominal day by the new computation.

Opening and incloſing of commons of paſture not to be accelerated by the act, but to commence on the ſame natural day they would have happened if the act had not been made, viz. eleven days later than it would have happened by the new computation, to begin on the fourteenth of September above-mentioned.

The payment of rents, annuities, or money payable by virtue of any contract already made, or which ſhall be made before the ſaid fourteenth of September 1752, or otherwiſe; the time of the delivery of goods or merchandize, &c. the commencement or expiration of leaſes; the attaining the age of twenty one years, &c. by any perſon now born, or who ſhall be born before the ſaid fourteenth of September; or the expiration of any apprenticeſhip or other ſervice; none of theſe, &c. to be accelerated or anticipated by the act, but to be on the ſame natural days as they ſhould have been if this act had not been made; and the ſum to be paid for the intereſt of money, ſhall be according to the true number of natural days, and ſhall not be at all affected by this act.

The king went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fifth day of June, where, after having thanked the parliament for the prudence and diſpatch, with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, he ordered them to be prorogued to the thirteenth day of Auguſt. In April prince George, eldeſt ſon to the prince of Wales, had been inveſted with the dignity of that title as well as that of earl of Cheſter; and was ſoon after choſen governor of the Free Britiſh fiſhery; an honour, which he received with the greateſt affability and complaiſance.

The royal family of England now ſuſtained two other very conſiderable loſſes beſides that of

of the prince of Wales; in the prince of Orange, who died on the eleventh day of October, in the forty-firſt year of his age; and Louiſa, queen of Denmark, youngeſt daughter to his Britannic majeſty, who expired on the nineteenth of December, in the twenty-ſeventh year of her age. By the conſtitution of the United Provinces, the princeſs dowager of Orange was inveſted with the government as governantee, till her ſon ſhould arrive at the years of maturity; and, during that interval, all the powers which her huſband had enjoyed devolved upon her.

The death of the queen of Denmark, was occaſioned by a rupture ſhe had contracted by ſtooping too haſtily, while far advanced in her pregnancy. She was a princeſs of exemplary piety and virtue, and bore her fate with becoming reſignation; having taken a tender and affectionate leave of her huſband and children, of whom ſhe left behind one ſon and three daughters.

One miſs Blandy was executed this year, for poiſoning her father, an eminent attorney at Henley upon Thames. One Jefferies, a young woman, with Swan, her lover, were executed for murdering her uncle, a wealthy tradeſman, who had retired from buſineſs, and with whom ſhe had lived for a conſiderable time. A large mob aſſembled at Tring in Hertfordſhire, and ſeizing an old woman and her huſband, under the notion of their having commerce with the devil, treated them with ſuch inhumanity, by ducking and beating them, that the woman died on the ſpot, and the man with difficulty eſcaped with his life. For this murder one Colley was hanged. Two felons, Welſh and Jones, were diſcovered to be the authors of a rape and a murder, for which one Coleman, a Brewer's clerk, had unjuſtly ſuffered. Thoſe wretches were preſent at Coleman's execution, heard the declaration of his innocence, and drew the cart from under him. Both of them were hanged, confeſſing the crime.

*A. D.* 1752. A petition was preſented to the commons on the twentieth day of March, by the merchants of London, who alledged, that ſeveral foreigners had, of late years, been induced to come over to England, in order to obtain private acts of parliament for their naturalization, with a view to gain ſome advantages to themſelves in point of trade, particularly to avoid the payment of the duties of aliens on the goods and merchandizes, which they imported from foreign parts into this kingdom: and that having obtained ſuch acts, they returned back to their own country, where they conſtantly reſided, and conſequently bore no part of the public taxes, nor, in any manner, contributed towards the ſupport of the ſtate, or at all anſwered the intention of the legiſlature. They, therefore, prayed, that this abuſe of the favour of parliament might be prevented, by reſtraining, for the future, the benefit of naturalization to the time, during which foreigners ſhould reſide within this realm, in ſuch manner and under ſuch limitations as to the houſe ſhould appear fit.

The reaſonableneſs of this petition was ſuch, that the houſe thought proper immediately to grant it; and a clauſe, accordingly, to that purpoſe was inſerted in a naturalization bill, which was then depending, and has continued ever ſince to be added to every bill of that nature. Nothing of importance paſſed in the upper houſe during this ſeſſion, which, on the twenty-ſixth day of March, was cloſed by a ſpeech from his majeſty, who, having appointed a regency to rule the kingdom in his abſence, ſoon afterwards ſet out for his German dominions.

An affair of a very ſingular nature at this time engroſſed the attention of the public. Sir Peter Warren, who was extremely popular in the nation, having happened to drop a hint, that he ſhould not be diſpleaſed if he was choſen an alderman of London, the inhabitants of Billingſgate ward, which happened to be vacant, immediately elected him.

As ſoon as this event was made known to the lords juſtices, they gave it as their opinion, that his accepting the office of alderman muſt be conſidered as inconſiſtent with his duty as an admiral, and that there was no precedent of a knight of the bath having ſerved in that ſtation. Sir Peter therefore declined

declined the intended honour; paid his fine of five hundred pounds to be excuſed from ſerving; and preſented the inhabitants of the ward with two hundred guineas for the benefit of the poor.

But ſuch was the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, that equally regardleſs of the opinion of the lords juſtices and of Sir Peter's refuſal, they ſtill inſiſted on his ſerving: and it is hard to ſay, how far they might have carried their obſtinacy, had not Mr. Beckford, one of the richeſt merchants in London, declared himſelf a candidate and been elected alderman.

For a long time paſt the fatal effects of clandeſtine marriages had been a ſubject of complaint in England. Every day produced hearings in the court of chancery, and appeals to the houſe of peers, concerning the validity of thoſe marriages; on account of the irregularity of which the innocent offſpring were ſometimes cut off from ſucceſſion to eſtates, though the mutual conſent of the parents had been given to their marriages.

It was alſo in the power of men and women of the moſt infamous characters, to ruin the ſons and daughters of the greateſt families in England, by the frequent opportunities of marrying in the Fleet and other unlicenſed places; which were ſo numerous, that marrying was become as much a trade as any mechanical profeſſion. Some ſhocking inſtances of this kind having lately been diſcovered gave occaſion to a bill, which was introduced into the upper houſe, for preventing the practice of clandeſtine marriages, and which, after undergoing ſome ſlight alterations, was ſent down to the commons, where it met with a moſt furious and violent oppoſition, but was at laſt paſſed by a great majority, and in the end received the royal aſſent.

*A. D.* 1753. Sir Hans Sloan, the famous phyſician and naturaliſt, being dead, his collection of curioſities was offered to the public for twenty thouſand pounds; and which was readily accepted. The library of the late earl of Oxford was purchaſed for half that ſum; and theſe two being joined to the Cottonian and Royal libraries, were converted into the Muſæum, which is now to be ſeen at Montague-houſe, under the direction of its truſtees and governors, who conſiſt of many of the principal perſons in the kingdom.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the ſeventeenth day of June, with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the ſtate of foreign affairs had received no material alteration ſince their meeting; and that they might depend upon his purſuing the ſame principles and ends, which he had then declared to them: that to preſerve the peace, and conſult the real proſperity of his people, and, at the ſame time, to aſſert and maintain the honour and juſt rights of his crown and kingdoms, were the objects of all his meaſures: that he had nothing to deſire of them, but what he was perſuaded, they wiſhed for themſelves: that he hoped they would exert their utmoſt endeavours, in their ſeveral counties, to promote the true intereſt and happineſs of his people, to encourage induſtry, to preſerve good order and regularity in the ſtate, and to make his ſubjects ſenſible of the bleſſings they enjoyed; by which means his government would be eſtabliſhed in the moſt peaceable and effectual manner.

There happened in the beginning of this year, an event, which, though in its own nature unworthy of hiſtorical notice, deſerves to be recorded, as it ſerves ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh people. A young woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended, that, on the firſt day of January, as ſhe was coming home at night, ſhe was met under Bedlam-wall by two men, who pulled off her gown, cap, and apron; and having ſecured her mouth with a gag, threatened to kill her if ſhe made the leaſt noiſe: that they dragged her along to the houſe of one Wells near Enfield-Waſh, where a woman robbed her of her ſtays: that ſhe was then forced into a cold, damp room, where ſhe was confined for a month without any other ſuſtenance than a few ſtale cruſts of bread, and about a gallon of water: that all theſe hardſhips were impoſed upon her in order to make her turn proſtitute: that, nevertheleſs, ſhe

ſhe was enabled to preſerve her virtue: and that having, at laſt, found means to make her eſcape through a window, on the twenty-ninth of the month, ſhe ran home almoſt naked to her mother, who lived near Moorgate.

Abſurd, improbable, nay incredible as this ſtory was, yet it ſo powerfully operated on the paſſions of the common people, eſpecially the enthuſiaſts of all denominations, that large ſubſcriptions were raiſed for proſecuting the ſuppoſed delinquents. Warrants accordingly were immediately iſſued for apprehending Wells, miſtreſs of the houſe at Enfield-Waſh, the maid ſervant, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gipſey woman, whom Canning charged with having robbed her of her ſtays.

There being no kind of evidence to convict Wells of the felony, ſhe was puniſhed as a bawd. Hall, being intimidated by the juſtice who examined her, turned evidence for Canning, and Squires was convicted of the robbery, although ſhe produced undoubted evidence to prove that ſhe was at Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire that very night in which the felony was ſaid to have been committed; and during the courſe of the trial, Canning and her witneſſes contradicted themſelves in many particulars.

Notwithſtanding this, the prepoſſeſſion of the common people in favour of Canning was ſo great, that the moſt palpable falſhoods, advanced by her and her adherents, were admitted as unqueſtionable truths; while the witneſſes for Squires were ſo overawed by the rabble, that they durſt not enter the court: and thoſe who had reſolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, were inſulted in ſuch a manner, that even their lives were ſometimes endangered.

Sir Criſpe Gaſcoigne, who was, at this time, lord mayor of London, behaved with that ſpirit of juſtice and impartiality, which ought ever to animate the chief magiſtrate of ſuch a metropolis. Conſidering the improbability of the charge, the heat, paſſion, and furious zeal, with which it was proſecuted; and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily ſent up from the country by perſons of undoubted veracity, he, in conjunction with ſome other worthy citizens, determined to oppoſe the torrent of popular prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy. The affair was referred to the attorney and ſollicitor-general, who having examined the witneſſes on both ſides, made their report in behalf of Squires; and his majeſty granted his pardon to the poor old creature.

But the affair was, by this time, arrived at ſuch a height, as to divide the whole kingdom into two parties, who were inflamed againſt each other with a moſt violent ſpirit of animoſity. Subſcriptions were opened, and large ſums raiſed, on one ſide, to proſecute for perjury the perſons, on whoſe evidence the pardon had been obtained. Thoſe, on the other hand, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the gipſey, reſolved to ſupport her witneſſes, and uſe every method in their power to detect Canning's impoſture.

Bills of perjury were preferred on both ſides. The evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted: Canning at firſt abſconded, but afterwards ſurrendered to take her trial; and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was tranſported to America.

In the month of April of this year, Dr. Cameron, brother to the famous rebel, Lochiel, having, notwithſtanding his attainder, ventured over to Scotland, in order (as was reported) to reclaim ſome money which had been embezzled by the highlanders, was apprehended, and conducted to London, where the identity of his perſon being proved, he received ſentence of death, which he accordingly ſuffered at Tyburn, and behaved with an aſtoniſhing degree of courage and reſolution.

About this period ſome very alarming inteſtine commotions were produced by the exportation of corn, which had hitherto proved ſo advantageous to the kingdom. A large party of colliers and others of the rabble having aſſembled in a body, made an attack upon the city of Briſtol; and though treated by the magiſtrates with the utmoſt

lenity, they began to plunder ſome loaded veſſels that were lying in the harbour. Nevertheleſs they were repulſed for that time by the officers of the peace, the city being deſtitute of regular forces. Next day the rioters renewed their attack with redoubled fury; and the tumult was carried to ſuch a height, that the citizens were obliged to call to their aſſiſtance a troop of the Scotch grey dragoons, who immediately quelled the inſurgents, a great number of whom were wounded, and ſeveral killed.

Inſurrections of a like nature happened in Yorkſhire, on account of the turnpikes, many of which were demoliſhed by the rabble. At Leeds the civil power having ſent for a detachment of dragoons to ſupport the collectors of the tolls, the mob were ſo enraged at this circumſtance, that they broke into the town, and attacked the troops, who being forced to fire in their own defence, wounded upwards of twenty of the rioters, and killed nine.

At the meeting of the parliament on the fifteenth day of November, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the events of this year had not made it neceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration, relating to foreign tranſactions: that the public tranquillity, and the ſtate of affairs in Europe, remained on the ſame footing, in which they were at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; and they might be aſſured of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace; that he was ſorry to be obliged again to mention to them a ſubject, which at once reflected diſhonour on the nation, and created great danger and miſchief to his good ſubjects; that it was with the utmoſt regret he obſerved that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder were of late rather encreaſed than diminiſhed: he was ſenſible works of reformation were not to be effected at once: but every body ought to contribute their aſſiſtance; and that he would chearfully concur in and ſupport, whatever ſhould be found expedient, either in this or in any other reſpect, for the welfare and happineſs of his people.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes, who proceeded to diſpatch the public buſineſs with an unanimity, which, till this period, had hardly been ever known.

*A. D.* 1754. Mr. Pelham, who died in the beginning of March, was not only ſincerely lamented by his ſovereign, but alſo regretted by the nation in general, to whoſe good will and affection he had recommended himſelf by his open and ingenuous behaviour, even while he was purſuing meaſures, which ſome of them did not entirely approve. England, it may be affirmed, never enjoyed ſuch a ſtate of political tranquillity, as during the time he had the direction of the treaſury; and he is, perhaps, the only inſtance of a miniſter, who made great virtues ſerve in the place of great abilities.

The candour which he originally poſſeſſed, inſtead of being effaced, as but too commonly happens, was rather improved by the many departments of buſineſs through which he paſſed: and his freedom from art procured him more friends, than the moſt artful was ever able to gain. Of a tenacious memory, rather than of a quick apprehenſion, he was ſomewhat ſlow in the acquiſition of knowledge; but when he had once acquired it, he was never known to forget a ſingle fact, that could be of any uſe to him in the conduct of life. His underſtanding was rather clear than bright, ſo that he was ſeldom deceived by the falſe glare of the medium, through which objects were preſented to his view.

He was a very young man when he entered into life, and having ſerved, for ſome time, in the army, he retained to the laſt, that frankneſs of behaviour and converſation, which is ſo peculiar to men of merit in that profeſſion. His diſintereſtedneſs was ſeen in the ſtate of his private fortune, which, conſidering his natural frugality, the many great poſts he had enjoyed, and the vaſt opportunities he had of making money, was far from being affluent at the time of his death. His

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great principle in government was to avoid party of every kind; and, though his maxims were very different from thoſe of Sir Robert Walpole, yet he preſerved ſo remarkable a regard to the character and memory of that miniſter, that he often declined the vindication of his own meaſures, becauſe in the purſuit thereof, he muſt neceſſarily have reflected on Sir Robert's conduct.

But a ſhort time before his death, he had formed the plan of the new parliament, and imparted it to his majeſty, who had thought proper to honour it with his approbation. A reſolution was, therefore, taken, to admit of as few deviations from this ſcheme as was poſſible.

The duke of Newcaſtle, brother to Mr. Pelham, was appointed firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded as ſecretary of ſtate by Sir Thomas Robinſon, who had long reſided as ambaſſador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was ſtill retained by the earl of Holderneſs; and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed, as uſual, by the lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, until a proper perſon could be found to ſupply that important poſt; but in the courſe of the ſummer, it was conferred upon Mr. Legge, whoſe good character and great abilities, has ſince been univerſally acknowledged.

At the ſame time alſo, many other alterations were made. Sir George Lyttleton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hilſborough, comptroller of the houſhold, Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became treaſurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townſend accepted the place of a lord of admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, made maſter of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was raiſed to the dignity of an earl. The place of lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was beſtowed upon Sir Dudley Rider, whoſe office of attorney-general was ſupplied by the honourable William Murray.

The miniſtry carried their elections for the new parliament almoſt univerſally. The ſpirit of oppoſition was now almoſt entirely extinguiſhed; and the words of court and country party, which uſed to produce ſuch terrible effects, had incurred the contempt not only of perſons of ſenſe and underſtanding, but began to be out of faſhion even among the populace.

The new parliament was opened on the tenth day of May, by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other peers, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Mr. Onſlow being choſen and preſented as ſpeaker to the lower houſe, and approved as ſuch by the commiſſioners, the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to the parliament, importing, that his majeſty had given them this early opportunity of coming together, in order to compleat, without loſs of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the ſatisfaction of his good ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of their aſſembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June, this ſhort ſeſſion was cloſed, and the parliament prorogued to the eighth day of Auguſt.

The anſwers which had been received from the court of Verſailles, relative to complaints which had been made of encroachments in America, being merely of the evaſive kind; the Engliſh miniſtry ſent peremptory orders to their governors in that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohio. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, the provinces of Virginia and Penſylvania took the matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration; but, while they deliberated, the French proſecuted their deſigns on the other ſide of the mountains in the moſt vigorous manner.

They ſeized Logs-town, which the Virginians had built on the river Ohio; ſurprized the Block-houſe and Truck-houſe, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds; and deſtroyed all the Britiſh traders, except two, who found means to eſcape. At the ſame time, M. de Contrecœur, with a thouſand

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men and eighteen pieces of cannnon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had built on the banks of the Ohio, and took by aſſault a Britiſh fort, which the Virginians had erected on the forks of the Menangahela, that empties itſelf into the river Ohio.

*A D.* 1755. His majeſty ſent a meſſage to the parliament, on the twenty-ſeventh day of March, by Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, importing, that the king having at the beginning of the ſeſſion declared, that his principle object was to preſerve the public tranquillity, and at the ſame time protect thoſe poſſeſſions, which conſtituted one great ource of the wealth and commerce of his kingdoms; he now found it neceſſary to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the preſent ſituation of affairs made it requiſite to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the general peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatſoever that might be made to ſupport and countenance any deſigns, which might be formed againſt his majeſty and his kingdoms; his majeſty doubted not but his faithful commons, on whoſe affection and zeal he entirely relied, would enable him to make ſuch augmentations, and to take ſuch meaſures for ſupporting the honour of his crown, and the true intereſts of his people, and for the ſecurity of his dominions in the preſent critical conjuncture, as the exigency of affairs might require; in doing which, his majeſty would have as much regard to the eaſe of his good ſubjects, as ſhould be conſiſtent with the welfare and ſafety of the public.

Admiral Boſcawen ſet ſail on the twenty third day of April, with eleven ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, having on board ſix thouſand land forces, to attend the motions of the enemy; but more certain and particular intelligence being brought with regard to the ſtrength of the French fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a great quantity of warlike ſtores, and four thouſand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieſkau, admiral Holborne was detached with ſix ſhips of the line and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boſcawen; and a great number of capital ſhips were put in commiſſion.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the twenty-fifth day of April, with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he informed them, that he had religiouſly adhered to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatſoever; but that he could never entertain the thought of purchaſing the name of a peace at the expence of ſuffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up what juſtly belonged to Great Britain, either by ancient poſſeſſion or by ſolemn treaties: that the vigour and firmneſs of his parliament, on this important occaſion, had enabled him to be prepared for ſuch events as might happen: that if reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be procured, he would be ſatisfied, and in all events rely on the juſtice of his cauſe, the effectual ſupport of his people, and the protection of the divine Providence. The ſpeech being finiſhed, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament, by command of his majeſty.

Whilſt the deſtination and probable fate of the Engliſh and French ſquadrons engaged the attention of all Europe, preparations for a war were carrying on in England with an unparalleled ſpirit of zeal and alacrity. Still the French court flattered itſelf, that Great Britain, anxious for the ſafety of his majeſty's German dominions, would refrain from hoſtilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the Britiſh miniſtry, who made no ſecret, that their admirals, particularly Boſcawen, had orders to fall upon the French ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them. Mirepoix, alarmed at this intimation, declared that his maſter would conſider ſuch a ſtep as a formal declaration of war; and that all Europe ſhould be kindled into a flame by the firſt gun that was fired.

So far, however, was this menace from intimidating the Engliſh, that it only made them redouble their preparations for war. A

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hot preſs for ſeamen was begun in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were offered, not only by the government, but by all the conſiderable cities and towns in England to ſuch as ſhould inliſt voluntarily into his majeſty's ſervice. Other branches of the public buſineſs were forwarded with equal ſpirit; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the people to lend their money to the government, that, near four millions were immediately ſubſcribed, inſtead of one million, which was to be raiſed by way of lottery.

Affairs on the continent were at this time in ſuch a ſituation, that his majeſty's preſence in Germany was become abſolutely neceſſary; and many people were filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions, leſt the French ſhould intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return.

Two regiments being taken on board at Plymouth, by admiral Boſcawen, he immediately ſailed towards the banks of Newfoundland; and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet came to the ſame ſtation, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe. But the thick fogs which prevail upon thoſe coaſts, eſpecially at that ſeaſon of the year, prevented the two ſquadrons from ſeeing each other; and part of the French fleet eſcaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilſt another part of them went round, and got into the ſame river through the ſtreights of Belleiſle, by a way which ſhips of the line had never been known to attempt before.

Whilſt the Engliſh fleet, however, lay off Cape Race, which is the ſouthermoſt point of Newfoundland, and ſeemed to be the moſt proper ſtation for intercepting the enemy, two French ſhips, the Alcide of ſixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys, pierced for ſixty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, and having eight companies of land forces on board, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two ſixty-gun ſhips of the Engliſh ſquadron; and, after a ſmart engagement, which laſted ſome hours, and in which captain, afterwards lord Howe, behaved with the greateſt ſkill and intrepidity, were both of them taken, having about eight thouſand pounds in money on board, and ſeveral officers of rank and engineers.

Although the expectations of the miniſtry were by no means anſwered by this action, yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of great ſervice to the public credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now ſaw plainly that the government was reſolved to keep no farther meaſures with the French, but juſtly to repel force by force, and put a ſtop to the proſecution of their ambitious ſchemes in America.

The French, who at firſt affected to refrain from making repriſals on our ſhipping, would gladly have choſen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their encroachments on our ſettlements, till they had accompliſhed their grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a communication from the Miſſiſſippi to Canada by a line of forts, many of which they had lately erected, and had deſtroyed one of ours on the Ohio; whilſt the exact aſcertaining the boundaries of Nova Scotia, was the pretence with which they ſought to amuſe the court of Great Britain.

As ſoon as the news of this engagement was heard at the court of France, the marquis de Mirepoix was recalled from London, and monſieur de Buſſy from Hanover, where he had juſt arrived to attend the king of England in a public character. They complained loudly of Boſcawen's attacking their ſhips, as a breach of national faith: but it was retorted on them, with irreſiſtible force, on the part of England, that the encroachments in America had rendered repriſals both juſtifiable and neceſſary; and the Engliſh council had reſolved to make theſe repriſals, in conſequence of the moſt mature deliberation.

With a view to animate the Engliſh ſailors in the moſt effectual manner, and encourage the workmen in the dock yards to proceed with alacrity, the duke of Cumberland went this ſummer to Portſmouth, where he was received with the greateſt honours; and the lord Anſon, with other lords of the admiralty,

ralty, viſited that place, and ſeveral other ports of the kingdom, in order to forward the maritime preparations.

The Engliſh cruizers, in the mean time, were ſo ſucceſsful in annoying the enemy, that, before the end of the year, they had taken three hundred of their merchant ſhips, and about eight thouſand of their ſailors. By theſe captures the Britiſh miniſtry anſwered many purpoſes: they deprived the French of a great body of ſeamen, and with-held from them a very large property, which ended in the total ruin of many of their traders, and the general diſtreſs of all their people.

The French merchant ſhips outward bound were inſured at the rate of thirty, and their homeward bound at the rate of fifty per cent. while the Engliſh paid no more than the common inſurance. This intolerable burden was ſeverely felt by all ranks of people amongſt them; their miniſtry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, grew every day more and more contemptible.

The aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's bay in New England, paſſed an act in the beginning of this year, prohibiting all commerce with the French at Louiſburg; and early in the ſpring they raiſed a body of troops, which was tranſported to Nova Scotia, to co-operate with lieutenant-governor Lawrence, in driving the French from the forts on the frontiers of that province, which for ſome time paſt they had occupied.

Major-general Braddock, before he left England, had received, in the hand writing of colonel Napier, a ſet of excellent inſtructions from the duke of Cumberland, and ſuch as did honour to the military ſkill of that prince. By theſe inſtructions, the reduction of Crown Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces, while the attempt upon Niagara, was, in a great meaſure, referred to general Braddock.

But, in the moſt eſpecial manner, his royal highneſs, both verbally, and in his writing, frequently adviſed him to be particularly careful of an ambuſh or ſurprize. Inſtead of profiting by this ſalutary advice, his conceit of his own abilities made him ſcorn to aſk the opinion of any of his officers; and the Indians, who would have been his ſafeſt guides through the dangerous defiles he was obliged to paſs, ſoon began to deſert from him, in conſiderable numbers, from mere diſguſt at the haughtineſs of his behaviour.

Under all theſe accumulated diſadvantages, he began his march from Fort Cumberland on the tenth day of June, at the head of about two thouſand men, for the meadows, where colonel Waſhington had been defeated in the preceding year. Upon his arrival at that place, he learned that the French at Fort Du Queſne, which had been lately built on the river of the ſame name, near its confluence with the Monangahela, were waiting for a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops.

Upon this intelligence, he was induced to haſten his march. Accordingly, that he might advance with the greater diſpatch, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the proviſions, ſtores, and heavy baggage, as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would permit; while he himſelf, with the other twelve hundred, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, proſecuted his march with ſo much expedition, that he ſeldom took any care to reconnoitre the woods and thickets through which he was to paſs.

He arrived within ten miles of Fort Du Queſne, on the eighth day of July; and though colonel Dunbar was then near ſixty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir Peter Halket, earneſtly beſought him to proceed with circumſpection, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army by way of advanced guard, in caſe of ambuſcades, he yet reſumed his march the next day, without ſo much as endeavouring to procure the leaſt intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the enemy, or even taking the neceſſary precaution to ſend out ſcouts to viſit the roads and thickets, which lay in his front and on each ſide of him.

He was advancing with this amazing degree of negligence, when, about noon, he was ſaluted with a general diſcharge upon his front

front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy ſo artfully concealed among trees and buſhes, that not one of them could poſſibly be diſcovered, and who had cunningly given the whole army time to enter the defile before they began to fire. The van guard was immediately ſeized with a panic, and falling back upon the main body, threw them into irretrievable confuſion: ſo that moſt of them fled with the utmoſt precipitation, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to ſtop them, many of whom behaved in the moſt gallant manner.

We ought, however, to do juſtice to general Braddock, by acknowledging, that his courage was at leaſt equal to his imprudence; for, inſtead of ordering a retreat, till he could ſcour the thickets and buſhes from whence the fire came, with grape ſhot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or cauſing flanking parties of his Indians to advance againſt the enemy, he obſtinately continued upon the ſpot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men, who remained with him, to form regularly, and march on to the attack.

In the interim, numbers of his men fell thick about him, and almoſt all his officers were ſingled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and chiefly aim at the officers, eaſily diſtinguiſhed them by their dreſs.

The general's courage ſeemed to increaſe with his danger, till at length, after having had five horſes ſhot under him, he received a muſket ſhot through his right arm and lungs, of which he died four days after, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant colonel Gage and another of his officers. When he dropped, the confuſion of the few that remained was turned into a precipitate and diſorderly flight, though no enemy attempted to purſue them, or even appeared in ſight.

The enemy now made prize of all the artillery, ammunition and baggage, and likewiſe ſeized the general's cabinet, with all his letters and inſtructions, of which the French court afterwards availed themſelves in the declarations and memorials which they preſented.

But the moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this affair, is, that the Provincials, ſo much deſpiſed by the general, that he always made them march in the rear, were not only leſs affected with the panic, and preſerved their ranks better than the regulars, though the fire fell as heavy upon them as upon any of the reſt, but even offered to cover the fugitives: and when the latter refuſed to ſtand their ground, ſaying, that, though they were willing to advance againſt an open enemy, they would not ruſh blindly on againſt brakes, and buſhes, that were lined with unſeen deſtruction; the former alone bravely formed, and advanced againſt the Indians; and that the regulars were not entirely deſtroyed, was wholly owing to this gallant behaviour.

In this unfortunate enterprize, the loſs of the Engliſh amounted to about one half of the army. The officers, in particular, ſuffered much more than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe. Sir Peter Halket was killed by the very firſt fire, at the head of his regiment; and the ſame fate ſoon afterwards attended the ſon of governor Shirley, who was ſecretary to the general.

Neither the loſs which the enemy ſuſtained, nor the number of men they had in the engagement, could ever be diſcovered; but the French afterwards pretended, that their number, in the whole, did not amount to above four hundred men, moſtly Indians; and that their loſs was altogether inconſiderable, as it probably was, becauſe they lay concealed in ſuch a manner, that the Engliſh knew not which way to direct their ſhot.

The Engliſh fled with ſuch precipitation, that they never ſtopped till they met the rear diviſion, which was inſtantly ſeized with the ſame panic; ſo that the army retreated without halting till they arrived at Fort Cumberland, though the enemy did not endeavour to purſue, nor even appeared in ſight, either in the battle, or after the defeat.

In all probability this was, upon the whole, the

the moſt extraordinary victory that ever was gained and the fartheſt retreat that ever was made. This ſeems to be the cleareſt account that has yet been given of this unhappy affair, which, though recent in memory, is darker, and related with a greater variety of circumſtances than many occurrences which have happened ſeveral centuries ago.

By this time they began to apprehend that the year was too far advanced to proceed to the attack of Crown Point; as it would have been neceſſary, in that caſe to build a fort in the place, where the camp then was, in order to preſerve a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced and ſupplied with freſh ſtores of ammunition and proviſions. A reſolution was therefore taken to delay the attempt till next year, and in the mean time, to return to Albany, for which place the general immediately ſet out with his whole army. Though the expedition had failed in its main object, general Johnſon's conduct had been at once ſo prudent and ſpirited, that it was highly applauded, not only by the Americans, but likewiſe by the whole Engliſh nation. The parliament preſented him with five thouſand pounds, and he was advanced to the dignity of a baronet.

The ſame degree of approbation, however, did not attend governor Shirley. The preparations for his expedition were not only deficient, but ſhamefully ſlow; though it was well known, that his ſucceſs muſt, in a great meaſure, depend upon his beginning his operations early in the ſpring; as may be eaſily inferred from the ſituation of our fort at Oſwego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara.

During the courſe of this year the miniſters of the two contending powers were buſily employed at moſt of the courts of Europe; but their tranſactions were kept extremely ſecret. The French endeavoured to infuſe into the Spaniards a jealouſy of the ſtrength of the Engliſh by ſea, eſpecially in America; and the Spaniſh court ſeemed inclined to undertake the office of mediator: but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly acquainted with the ſtate of affairs between England and France, ſeconded the repreſentations of the Britiſh miniſtry, which demonſtrated, that however willing Great-Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, ſhe could not agree to any ſuſpenſion of arms in America, which France demanded as a preliminary article, without endangering the whole of her intereſt in that part of the world; and that the encroachments and injuſtice of the French, were the immediate cauſe of the captures which had been made by the Engliſh.

All farther talk of the mediation of Spain was hereupon dropt, and the miniſtry of Verſailles had recourſe to the princes of Germany; among whom they found means to bring over to their intereſt the elector of Cologne, who agreed to their forming magazines in his territories in Weſtphalia.

This was a ſufficient demonſtration of their deſign againſt Hanover, which they ſoon after made his Britannic majeſty, who was then in his electoral dominions, an offer of ſparing, upon his promiſing that affairs ſhould be adjuſted to their ſatisfaction in America: but this propoſal being rejected with diſdain, the count d'Aubeterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of Vienna, entered into a ſecret negotiation with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen; and gave broad intimations, that if ſhe would ſecond the views of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, his beſt aſſiſtance againſt the king of Pruſſia ſhould be at her ſervice.

As there was not the leaſt ſhadow of a doubt, even at the time of his Britannic majeſty's ſetting out for his German dominions, that the French would endeavour to invade Hanover, in caſe of a war between them and England, which ſeemed not only inevitable, but near at hand; it was natural for his majeſty to take the moſt effectual methods to ſecure his poſſeſſions on the continent, by making alliances among the princes of Germany.

About this time, another treaty with Ruſſia was ſet on foot, but this did not take effect during his majeſty's reſidence at Hanover. On the fifteenth day of July, an expreſs arrived

rived from admiral Boſcawen, with an account of his having taken two French ſhips of war, the Lys and the Alcide.

Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Portſmouth on the twenty-firſt of July, with eighteen men of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which, however, eſcaped him, and got ſafe into the harbour of Breſt, on the third day of September.

Commodore Frankland ſailed from Spithead, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, for the Weſt-Indies, with four men of war, furniſhed with inſtructions to commit hoſtilities upon the enemy, as well as to protect our ſugar iſlands from any inſults they might offer: orders were iſſued to all our ſhips of war to make repriſals upon the French, by ſeizing their ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them; and the duke de Mirepoix, ſet out for Paris, without taking leave, on the twenty-ſecond of July.

As a war was now, in ſome degree commenced, his majeſty thought proper, perhaps for that reaſon, to return to his Britiſh dominions ſooner than uſual; for he left Hanover on the eighth day of September, and arrived at Kenſington on the fifteenth, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he had begun during his abſence, was concluded on the laſt day of the ſame month.

Though the Engliſh continued to diſtreſs the French trade, not only in the ſeas of America, but alſo in thoſe of Europe, by taking every ſhip they could meet with, and detaining them, their crews, and cargoes; yet the French, partly from a conſciouſneſs of their want of power by ſea, partly that they might have a pretext to repreſent England as the aggreſſor, were ſo far from retorting theſe hoſtilities, that their fleet which returned from America, having, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, taken the Blandford man of war, with governor Lyttleton on board, going to Carolina; they ſet the governor at liberty, as ſoon as the court was informed of the ſhip's being brought into Breſt, and releaſed both the ſhip and crew in a ſhort time afterwards.

The end propoſed to be anſwered by this artifice, was, however, eaſily diſcovered; eſpecially as their preparations for a land war were ſtill carried on with redoubled diligence, and their utmoſt arts and efforts were employed, though in vain, to perſuade the Dutch and Spaniards to join them againſt Great-Britain.

The naval preparations in England for the approaching rupture were at the ſame time carried on with more vigilance than ever: ſeveral new ſhips were put in commiſſion, and many others taken into the ſervice of the government: the exportation of gun-powder was prohibited: the bounty to ſeamen was continued; and the number of thoſe that either entered voluntarily, or were preſſed, encreaſed daily, as did likewiſe the captures from the French, among which was their ſhip the Eſperance, of ſeventy guns, taken as ſhe was going from Rochfort to Breſt to be manned.

When the Britiſh parliament aſſembled on the thirteenth day of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, that the moſt proper meaſures had been taken to protect our poſſeſſions in America, and to recover ſuch parts of them as had been uſurped or invaded: that to preſerve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general flame from being lighted up in Europe, he had always been ready to accept of reaſonable and honourable terms of accomodation; but that none ſuch had been offered by France: that he had alſo confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert his people's right to a ſatisfaction for hoſtilities committed in time of profound peace; and to diſappoint ſuch deſigns, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reaſon to think he had formed againſt his kingdom and dominion: that he believed no impartial power could object to proceedings ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of his people: that his good brother the king of Spain beheld with concern theſe differences; and the part which he had taken in the common welfare of Europe, made him earneſtly wiſh the preſerva-

tion of the public tranquillity, and had induced him to give the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his firm reſolution to continue in the ſame pacific ſentiments: that he himſelf had greatly encreaſed his naval force, and augmented his army in ſuch a manner, as might be leaſt burthenſome to his ſubjects: and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and another with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, which ſhould be laid before them.

It was but a ſhort time after Sir Thomas Robinſon had enjoyed the office of ſecretary of ſtate, before it was generally perceived, that, though a man of integrity and virtue, and a favourite with the king, his talents were not equal to the duties of his office. Much leſs were they ſo at a juncture, when the nation was on the point of being plunged into a difficult and expenſive war, which would require the utmoſt ſkill and capacity of an able politician to conduct, ſo as to give ſatisfaction to the public.

Although Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt had hardly ever agreed in any thing elſe, they commonly united in oppoſing his meaſures; and their ſuperior intereſt in the houſe of commons, and univerſally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always formed ſuch a powerful party, as greatly retarded the public buſineſs.

It was not a little extraordinary to obſerve two perſons, who held conſiderable places under the government, one of them being paymaſter-general, and the other ſecretary at war, oppoſe, upon almoſt every occaſion, a ſecretary of ſtate, who was ſuppoſed to know and ſpeak the ſentiments of his maſter; but the truth is, they conſidered him as altogether unqualified for the poſt he enjoyed.

It was not long before Sir Thomas diſcovered his want of ſufficient influence in the great council of the nation; and he, therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth day of November, very wiſely and dutifully reſigned the ſeals of his office to his majeſty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas maſter of the wardrobe, with a penſion to him during his life, and after his death, to his ſons. Lord Barrington ſucceeded Mr. Fox as ſecretary at war; Sir George Lyttleton was made chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge; and Mr. Pitt, and moſt of the other gentlemen in the oppoſition, were moved from their places.

The commons now began to provide for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Fifty thouſand ſeamen, including nine thouſand one hundred and thirty-eight marines were voted, together with two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds for their maintenance; and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three land forces, with nine hundred and thirty thouſand ſix hundred and three pounds, ſix ſhillings and ninepence for their ſupport. An hundred thouſand pounds were granted as a ſubſidy to the empreſs of Ruſſia: fifty-four thouſand one hundred and forty pounds to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and ten thouſand to the elector of Bavaria.

In this interval, not only the people of Great Britain, but the whole world, was thrown into the deepeſt conſternation by a dreadful earthquake, which, on the firſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal; and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins.

As ſoon as the news of this great calamity arrived in England, it excited an apprehenſion, leſt it ſhould hurt our public credit, conſidering the vaſt intereſt which the Engliſh merchants had in the Portugueſe trade; but providentially it afterwards appeared to be very inconſiderable; the quarter in which the Engliſh chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouſes, having ſuffered the leaſt of any part of the city; and moſt of the Britiſh merchants then reſiding there, having with their families, gone to their country houſes, to avoid the inſults, to which they might have been expoſed from the Portugueſe populace, during the celebration of their AUTO DA FE, which was to be held the very day on which the earthquake happened.

About ten o'clock in the morning, the two firſt ſhocks were felt, which continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the Tagus roſe perpendicularly above twenty feet,

feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed in leſs than a minute. Great numbers of houſes, of which the city then contained about thirty-ſix thouſand, extending in length near ſix miles, in form of a creſcent, on the aſcent of a hill, upon the north ſide of the river Tagus, within nine miles from its mouth, were thrown down by the repeated concuſſions, together with ſeveral public buildings, monaſteries and magnificent churches.

But the ruin of this moſt flouriſhing capital of the Portugueſe dominions, was more immediately effected, by a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, partly raiſed by a ſet of impious ruffians, who, unawed by the tremendous ſcene at that very inſtant paſſing before their eyes, with a wickedneſs ſcarcely to be paralleled, ſet fire even to the falling edifices, to encreaſe the general conſternation, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already deſolated fellow-citizens. Of three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, which Liſbon was then ſuppoſed to contain, about ten thouſand periſhed by this calamity; and the ſurvivors, deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to retire to the open fields, and there endeavour to accommodate themſelves in the beſt manner they were able.

As ſoon as the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Madrid, had tranſmitted to his majeſty an account of this melancholy event, he ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, acquainting them with the particulars, and deſiring their concurrence and aſſiſtance in ſpeedily relieving the unhappy ſufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to the honour of Britiſh humanity, unanimouſly voted, for the uſe of the diſtreſſed ſubjects of Portugal, a free gift of an hundred thouſand pounds.

The merit of this action is not a little enhanced by the conſideration, that, though the Engliſh themſelves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a conſiderable part of the ſum was remitted in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland; ſupplies, which came very ſeaſonable for the poor Portugueſe, who were in great want of the neceſſaries of life.

His moſt Faithful majeſty was ſo touched with this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that, as a proof of his gratitude, he ordered Mr. Caſtres, the Engliſh reſident at his court, to give the preference, in the diſtribution of theſe ſupplies, to the Britiſh ſubjects, who had ſuffered by the earthquake. Accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the proviſions, and two thouſand pounds in money, were ſet apart for that purpoſe: and his Portugueſe majeſty returned his thanks, in the warmeſt terms, to the king and people of Great Britain.

*A. D.* 1756. Whilſt the public buſineſs engaged the attention of the parliament of Great Britain, the whole ſyſtem of affairs in Europe, took a new and a ſudden turn. His Pruſſian majeſty, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities, both of a military and political nature, had joined the moſt indefatigable application; by means of which he had procured intelligence, that a negotiation was carrying on between the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, and Verſailles, in order to effect his ruin; and he plainly perceived, that if once the Ruſſians, in the pay of Great Britain, ſhould get footing in Germany, his ſituation muſt be very precarious; the rather, as her Czariſh majeſty had offered to ſend, to the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, twenty thouſand troops more than what had been ſtipulated. He, therefore, publicly and ſolemnly proteſted againſt the introduction of any foreign troops into Germany; and declared, that he would draw the ſword againſt the French as readily as againſt any others.

The ſituation of the king of Pruſſia in Germany, with regard to the Ruſſians, was now the very ſame as that of his Britannic majeſty, with regard to the French. Though the latter ſtill continued to preſerve the appearance of a good underſtanding with the court of Berlin, yet nothing was to be expected from their friendſhip; and though her Ruſſian majeſty appeared ready to fulfil her engagements with Great Britain, yet, the experiment was too dangerous to be made, on the conſideration of her increaſing connections with France.

As neceſſity alone had been the inducement for his Britannic majeſty to apply for Ruſſian

Ruſſian auxiliaries, it was natural for him to fall in with the views of his nephew; eſpecially as the preventing the introduction of foreign troops into Germany was now become their common intereſt.

Theſe two monarchs, therefore, immediately concluded a convention, importing, that having maturely conſidered, that the differences which had lately ariſen in America, might eaſily extend much farther, and even reach Europe; having, moreover, always the welfare and ſafety of Germany, their common country, much at heart: and being extremely deſirous to maintain its peace and tranquillity; they had, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining this ſalutary end, agreed upon a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops, of any nation whatſoever, to enter into Germany, or paſs through it, during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, defend her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted. Their majeſties, likewiſe ſeized this favourable opportunity to adjuſt the differences that had ſubſiſted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Sileſian loan due to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and the indemnification claimed by the ſubjects of his pruſſian majeſty for their loſſes by ſea during the late war; ſo that the attachment laid on the ſaid debt was agreed to be taken off, as ſoon as the ratifications of this treaty ſhould be exchanged.

The houſe of commons, towards the latter end of January, took into conſideration the laws in being relating to the militia of the kingdom; and finding them inſufficient, ordered a bill to be prepared and brought in.

Hereupon, a bill for this purpoſe was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to the houſe on the twelfth day of March, by the Hon. Charles Townſend Eſq; who, to his honour, was one of its chief promoters, and after undergoing many amendments, it was, on the tenth day of May, paſſed and ſent to the lords: but ſeveral objections being ſtarted againſt it by ſome of the peers, who alledged, that it required a great number of other amendments, which it would be impoſſible to make in the courſe of this ſeſſion, it was thrown out by a majority of fifty-nine voices againſt twenty three, after a very long debate.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the vigorous and effectual ſupport they had given him; and acquainted them, that the injuries and hoſtilities, which had been for ſome time committed by the French againſt his dominions and ſubjects, were then followed by the actual invaſion of the iſland of Minorca, tho' guarantied to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he, therefore, found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France: and that he relied on the divine protecton, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects in ſo juſt a cauſe. This ſpeech being finiſhed, the parliament was prorogued by the lord chancellor, agreeable to his majeſty's command.

Orders were now iſſued for the ſubjects of Great Britain to quit the dominions of France; the fortifications of Dunkirk were began to be repaired; many Engliſh veſſels were ſeized in different pors of that kingdom, and their crews ſent to priſon. At the ſame time, an edict was publiſhed, inviting the French ſubjects to fit out privateers; offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they ſhould take from the enemy; and promiſing, that his majeſty would take the privateers at prime coſt, in caſe a peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded.

Great numbers of artificers and ſeamen were employed in equipping a formidable ſquadron of ſhips at Breſt; and collecting a ſtrong body of forces, as well as a conſiderable number of tranſports, they threatened to invade Great Britain without loſs of time.

While

While the people of England were terrified with the apprehenſions of an invaſion, the French were employed in preparing for an expedition, which ſucceeded according to their wiſh. In the beginning of the year advice had been brought, that a French ſquadron would ſoon be ready to ſail from Toulon; and this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, as well from the Engliſh miniſters and conſuls reſiding in Spain and Italy, as by the foreign gazettes.

From theſe accounts it appeared that the Toulon ſquadron conſiſted of twelve or fifteen ſhips of the line, with a greater number of tranſports; that they were ſupplied with proviſion for two months only, and, therefore, could not be intended for America; and that ſtrong bodies of troops were aſſembling from all parts of France, in Dauphiny, and Provence, in order to be embarked.

Notwithſtanding Minorca appeared plainly, from this circumſtantial information, to be the place of their deſtination; notwithſtanding the extenſive and advantageous commerce carried on by the ſubjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean; no care was taken to detach thither a ſquadron of ſhips ſufficient to protect the trade, and defeat the deſigns of the enemy. That important taſk was left to a few inconſiderable ſhips and frigates, which could anſwer no other purpoſe, than that of conveying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders by taking the merchant veſſels of the enemy.

Very little regard was paid by the miniſtry to the remonſtrance of general Blakeney, deputy governor of Minorca, who, in ſucceſſive letters, repreſented the weakneſs of the garriſon which he commanded in St. Philip's caſtle, the principal fortreſs on the iſland. Far from ſupplying the garriſon with a proper reinforcement, they did not even ſend thither the officers belonging to it, who, to a conſiderable number, were in England upon leave of abſence; nor even till the French armament was ready to make a deſcent upon the iſland, were orders given for any veſſel to tranſport them.

The object of the enemy's expedition being, at length, univerſally known, the miniſtry ſeemed to rouſe from their lethargy, and, like perſons ſuddenly awaked, they acted with hurry and precipitation. Inſtead of ſending out a ſquadron, which, in all reſpects, ſhould be ſuperior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and giving the command of it to an officer of approved courage and experience, they aſſigned no more than ten ſhips of the line for this ſervice, beſtowing the command of them upon admiral Byng, who had never met with any occaſion to ſignalize his courage, and whoſe character in the navy was far from being popular: but Mr. Weſt, the ſecond in command, was a gentleman univerſally reſpected for his experience, abilities, and perſonal bravery.

There were no hoſpital or fire ſhips provided for this expedition; and the ſhips in general were in a very indifferent condition. They ſailed from Spithead on the ſeventh day of April, having on board a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major general Stuart, the lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca, about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortreſs.

One would be apt to imagine, that, notwithſtanding the repeated intelligence which had been received, the miniſtry of England were ſtill ignorant of the enemy's force and deſtination; for the inſtructions delivered to admiral Byng implied, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he ſhould endeavour to learn, whether any French ſquadron had paſſed through the Streights; and, that being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably intended for North America, he ſhould immediately detach rear-admiral Weſt to Louiſbourgh on the iſland of Cape Breton, with ſuch a number of ſhips, as might make their armament ſuperior to that of the enemy, when they were reinforced by the ſhips at Halifax.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the ſecond day of May, where he found captain Edgecumbe, with the princeſs Louiſa ſhip of war, and a ſloop, who acquainted him, that

that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galiſſoniere, amounting to thirteen ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports, carrying a body of fifteen thouſand land forces, had ſailed from Toulon on the tenth day of April, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of Minorca, from whence he had been obliged to retire at their approach.

Two ſucceſſive orders had been received by general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, from the ſecretary at war, with regard to his ſparing a battalion of troops, to be tranſported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to the garriſon of Minorca: but, as theſe two orders appeared equivocal, if not contradictory, a council of war was ſummoned: and the majority gave it as their opinion, that no troops could be ſent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to ſupply the deficiency in the little ſquadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his ſeamen and marines, under the command of captain Scroop, to aſſiſt in the defence of St. Philip's.

The admiral diſpatched an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty with an account of theſe particulars, and, in his letter, made uſe of ſome impolitic expreſſions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He ſaid, that if he had been ſo happy as to have arrived at Minorca before the enemy had effected a landing, he flattered himſelf he ſhould have been able to prevent their getting a foot on that iſland.

He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for ſupplying the fleet with neceſſaries; that the careening wharfs, pits, and ſtorehouſes, were entirely decayed, ſo that he ſhould find it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to clean the ſhips that were foul; and this was the caſe with thoſe which had been for ſome time cruizing in the Mediterranean, as well as ſome of thoſe which he had taken out with him.

He aſſerted, that it would be extremely imprudent, even if it ſhould be found practicable, to throw any men into St. Philip's caſtle, which could not be ſaved without a land force ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege; and that, therefore, a ſmall reinforcement would only encreaſe the number, which muſt, at laſt fall into the hands of the enemy.

He urged, that ſuch engineers and artillery men in Gibraltar, as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impoſſible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two ſhores near the entrance of the harbour, ſo as to command the paſſage up to the ſally port of the fortreſs; and he ſaid that his own ſentiments perfectly agreed with this opinion.

The admiral, however, determined to make ſome attempts towards relieving the garriſon of St. Philip's, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties. Strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe's ſhips, and reinforced by a detachment from Gibraltar, he ſet ſail from that place, on the eighth day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the force and deſtination of the enemy, which he had already received.

The admiral now detached captain Hervey with three ſhips a-head, to take a view of the harbour's mouth, and land, if poſſible, a letter for general Blakeney, acquainting him, that the fleet was arrived to his aſſiſtance. Before the attempt could be made, the French fleet being deſcried to the ſouthward, and the wind blowing ſtrong off ſhore, he recalled the ſhips, and formed the line of battle.

The enemy, to the number of ſeventeen ſhips, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order about ſix in the evening, but about ſeven tacked in order to gain the weather gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preſerve that advantage, as well as to make ſure of the land-wind in the morning, imitated their example, being then about five leagues off Cape Mola.

The enemy were out of ſight at break of day; but two tartanes appearing cloſe to the rear of the Engliſh fleet, they were purſued by ſignal. One of them eſcaped, and the other

other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private ſoldiers, part of ſix hundred, who had been ſent out in three tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's fleet.

Soon afterwards, the French re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on both ſides; and about two o'clock admiral Byng diſplayed a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind, and begin the engagement. Rear-admiral Weſt perceiving, that, conſidering his great diſtance from the enemy, it was impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, and cloſing down under the enemy, attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the ſhips, which oppoſed him, were, in a little time, driven out of the line.

In all human probability, the Engliſh fleet would have obtained a complete victory, had he been properly ſeconded by the van; but the other diviſion did not bear down, and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, rear-admiral Weſt could not improve his advantage, without expoſing himſelf to the danger of ſeeing his communication with the reſt of the line entirely cut off.

The Intrepid, in admiral Byng's diviſion, had, in the beginning of the action, been ſo greatly damaged in her rigging, that ſhe could not be managed, and drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition; a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confuſion, and for ſome time interrupted the action.

Though Mr. Byng commanded a fine ſhip of ninety guns, it is evident that he made little or no uſe of his artillery; but kept aloof, either from a too rigid obſervance of diſcipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very cooly replied, that he would not fall into the error committed by admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line of battle, and ſingly expoſed himſelf to a fire which he could not ſuſtain, by his own precipitation.

Mr. Byng, on the contrary, declared againſt acting, except with his line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the diſorder which had happened among ſome of his ſhips, heſitated ſo long, and kept at ſuch a wary diſtance, that though he received a few ſhots in his hull, he could not be ſaid to be properly engaged during the whole action.

The French commander appeared to be equally inclined to put an end to the engagement; part of his ſquadron had been fairly driven from the line of battle; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuſe to try the experiment of a cloſer fight with an enemy ſo expert in naval operations: he therefore availed himſelf of Mr. Byng's heſitation, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been defeated.

Admiral Byng, hereupon, made the ſignal for purſuing; but the French ſhips, being clean, he could not come up and cloſe them again, ſo that they retired at their leiſure. Then he put his ſquadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy, and next morning they were quite out of ſight of the Engliſh fleet.

The number of the killed, including captain Andrews of the Defiance, amounted to forty-two, and about one hundred and ſeventy were wounded. Three of his capital ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging, that they could not keep the ſea, without the moſt imminent danger of foundering: a great number of his ſeamen were ill; and there was no veſſel that could be converted into an hoſpital ſhip for the ſick and wounded.

It was a conſiderable time after admiral Byng's letter to the admiralty, giving an account of this engagement, was received, before it was made public; and, when it appeared, was curtailed of ſeveral expreſſions and whole paragraphs, which either reflected on the conduct of his ſuperiors, or tended to his own vindication.

It is not our buſineſs to determine what could induce the miniſtry to adopt an expedient, which appeared liable to ſo many exceptions:

ceptions: certain it is, that on the ſixteenth day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders ſailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to ſuperſede the admirals Byng and Weſt, in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron: and Mr. Byng's letter was not publiſhed till the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month, when the effects it produced were ſuch as muſt have been wiſhed by his moſt ſanguine enemies.

On this occaſion, the populace took fire like a train of the moſt inflammable materials, and broke out into ſuch a torrent of rage and indignation againſt the devoted admiral, as had hardly ever been obſerved on any former occaſion.

The emiſſaries of the miniſtry took care to foment the popular clamour by every means in their power, and artfully endeavoured to vindicate their patrons, by throwing the whole blame of the miſcarriage on the unhappy admiral. They inveighed againſt his inſolence, his folly, his cowardice, and his miſconduct. They even preſumed to make their ſovereign, in ſome meaſure, an inſtrument of their calumny, by aſſerting, that from the contents of the admiral's firſt letter dated from Gibraltar, his majeſty had prognoſticated his miſbehaviour.

They ridiculed and refuted the reaſons he had given for returning to that fortreſs after his ſhameful rencounter with the French ſquadron; and in order to inflame the people with the moſt implacable reſentment, they repreſented, in the moſt dreadful light, the conſequences of loſing Minorca, which muſt now be reduced through his treachery or want of reſolution. In a word, they exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenouſly in maintaining and encreaſing the popular deluſion, that the admiral's effigy was hanged and burnt in different parts of the kingdom, while no notice was taken of the miſconduct of the miniſtry.

Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders, who ſucceeded to his command in the Mediterranean, were accompanied by the lord Tyrawley, whom his majeſty had appointed to ſuperſede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar, that gentleman having incurred the diſpleaſure of the miniſtry for not having underſtood an order, which appeared, in ſome degree, unintelligible to himſelf and the whole council of war.

A letter from the ſecretary of the admiralty was, at the ſame time, ſent to Mr. Byng, giving him notice he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in ſuch a manner as diſcovered a conſciouſneſs of having done his duty, and a laudable deſire to vindicate his own conduct.

In England, the loſs of Minorca was ſeverely felt, and conſidered as a national diſgrace; but, inſtead of producing dejection and deſpondence, it excited an univerſal clamour of rage and reſentment, not only againſt Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French ſquadron; but alſo in reproach of the adminiſtration, which was taxed with having neglected the ſecurity of Minorca.

Sir Edward Hawke, being diſappointed in his hope of encountering la Galiſſioniere, and relieving the Engliſh garriſon of St. Philp's, at leaſt aſſerted the empire of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their ſquadron in the harbour of Toulon. Underſtanding that the Auſtrian government at Leghorn had detained an Engliſh privateer, and impriſoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ſhips of war to inſiſt, in a peremptory manner, on the releaſe of the ſhip, effects, crew, and captain: and without even waiting the orders of the court of Vienna, they thought proper to comply with the admiral's demand.

Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool, was the perſon in whoſe behalf the admiral thus effectually interpoſed. Wright, though a ſtranger to a ſea-life, had, in the laſt war, equipped a privateer, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command ſuitable to his genius, he would have deſerved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have beſtowed upon their boaſted Gue Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of ſpirit was the occaſion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay

at

at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a ſmall ſhip of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebeque, mounted with ſixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, with a view to interrupt the Britiſh commerce, took her ſtation within ſight of the harbour.

This inſult was too much for a man of Wright's gallant diſpoſition to endure: notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoiſted his ſails, engaged him within ſight of the ſhore, and, after a very obſtinate diſpute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threeſcore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the ſpot, he obliged them to ſheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave officer would, no doubt, have ſignalized himſelf by many other exploits, had he not, in the ſequel, been overtaken, in the midſt of his career, by a dreadful ſtorm, in which he and all his crew periſhed, by the foundering of the ſhip.

Sir Edward Hawke, having ſcoured the Mediterranean, and inſulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he ſet ſail for England with part of his ſquadron, leaving the reſt in that bay for the protection of our commerce, which, in thoſe parts, ſoon began to ſuffer extremely from French privateers, with which the Mediterranean now abounded.

The garriſon of Minorca, under general Blakeney, arrived at Portſmouth in the month of November; and, though his merit ſeems to have been over-rated in the ſame proportion as the miſconduct of the unhappy Byng was exaggerated, his behaviour was ſo acceptable to his ſovereign, that he was raiſed to the rank of an Iriſh baron.

*A. D.* 1757. After the parliament had enquired into the loſs of Minorca, a court-martial was appointed for the trial of admiral John Byng; which, after examining witneſſes for the crown and priſoner, came to ſeveral reſolutions, importing on the whole their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the Engliſh and French fleets, did not do his utmoſt endeavours to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged; nor to aſſiſt ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as were engaged, which it was his duty to have aſſiſted; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of St. Philip's caſtle. They, therefore, unanimouſly agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament; and as that article preſcribed death, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court; adjudged the ſaid admiral to be ſhot to death, at ſuch a time, and on board ſuch a ſhip, as the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct. But as it appeared by the evidence of the officers, who were near the admiral's perſon, that no backwardneſs was diſcernable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confuſion, either in his countenance or in his behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and diſtinctly, without ſeeming under the influence of timidity; and as they had reaſon, from other circumſtances, to believe, that his miſconduct did not ariſe from cowardice or diſaffection, they recommended him as a proper object of the royal mercy, in the moſt unanimous and earneſt manner.

In conſequence of the repreſentation made by the lords of the admiralty, his majeſty referred the ſentence to the conſideration of the twelve judges, who unanimouſly averred its legality. This report being tranſmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordſhips iſſued a warrant for executing the ſentence of death, which was accordingly done, on the fourteenth of March, on board the Monarque, a third rate ſhip of war, then at anchor in Portſmouth harbour; when his reſolute, yet compoſed, manly and chriſtian like behaviour, greatly affected all the beholders.

Tho' the promotion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge had given great ſatisfaction to the people, who had the utmoſt reliance on their virtues and abilities; yet the old junto found

them very unfit for their purpoſes. Theſe patriot miniſters could neither be perſuaded, cajoled, nor intimidated into meaſures, which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country. They oppoſed, both in council and parliament, every thing which they deemed inconſiſtent with the honour of the crown, and prejudicial to the rights of the people. They nobly maintained, even in office, their independency and candour, and greatly evinced, that he is beſt miniſter to the ſovereign, who acts with the greateſt probity to the ſubject. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne, were ſuppoſed to have concealed from, or miſrepreſented, the characters of theſe faithful ſervants, to their royal maſter; and to have declared, that with ſuch colleagues, it may be impoſſible to conduct the machine of ſtate. The deſired effect was at length produced by the frequent repetition of theſe ſuggeſtions.

By his majeſty's command, Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, on the ninth of April; and Mr. Legge, the office of chancellor of the exchequer. The board of admiralty was changed, and ſeveral other removals made in different parts of the adminiſtration.

The honours conferred upon theſe diſcarded patriots, by the people in general, will tend, equally with their own conduct, to perpetuate their memory. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man, in vindication of their integrity; every tongue declared their praiſe, and a great number of reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, incloſed in golden boxes, as teſtimonies of their peculiar veneration.

Great and violent was the antipathy which the people conceived againſt thoſe ſycophants, who, by their inſidious repreſentations, had baniſhed from the councils of their ſovereign, and the ſervice of their country, gentlemen, who were ſo well qualified to direct the one, and promote the other. A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, ſollicited the king to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Accordingly, his majeſty was pleaſed to redeliver the ſeals to the former, on the ninth of June, and in five days, the latter was reſtored to his former office. Thus was effected by the importunity of the public, that, upon which the public reſted the ſecurity and honour of the nation, as well as the hopes of a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue to a war, hitherto attended with diſgraces and misfortunes.

The cuſtody of the great ſeal was delivered to Sir Robert Henley, and the earl Temple was made lord privy ſeal. The duke of Newcaſtle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commiſſioners of the exchequer; lord Anſon, the admirals Boſcawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, were placed at the board of admiralty; the earl of Thomond was appointed treaſurer of his majeſty's houſhold, and Mr. Fox was made pay maſter of all his majeſty's land forces.

When the miniſtry was thus ſettled, a deſcent on the coaſt of France was determined, in order to deſtroy the enemy's ſhipping; which muſt prevent them from ſending any ſuccours to America, and draw part of the French forces from Germany, to the defence of their own coaſt.

Great expedition was now uſed in the fitting out a powerful fleet, and ten regiments were marched to the iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of ſixteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, were put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. Sir John Mordaunt was placed at the head of the land forces, and they were commanded to act in the ſtricteſt unanimity with each other.

This powerful armament, which for ſome time paſt had aſtoniſhed all Europe, ſailed from Spithead, on the eighth day of September, and on the twelfth, the fleet made the iſle of Oleron, and orders were given by Sir Edward Hawke for proceeding to Baſque-road. On the twenty third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe, in the Magnanime, ſtood toward the iſle of Aix, ſituated at the mouth

mouth of the river Charente. The fortifications on this iſland were not finiſhed, and the number of cannon and mortars did not exceed thirty-two; the garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred men, and the whole iſland was about five miles in circumference. In about an hour the fort ſtruck, and ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and demoliſh the fortifications. This conqueſt, though trifling in itſelf, was conſidered by the troops as a happy omen of further advantages. But, inſtead of landing the troops that night, ſeveral days were ſpent in councils of war, and ſounding the coaſt; by which means the enemy was alarmed, and ſoon after all hopes of a deſcent laid aſide. Such was the iſſue of an expedition, which had attracted the notice of all Europe, and thrown the inhabitants of the French coaſt into the utmoſt confuſion. Sir John Mordaunt was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and diſmiſſed the ſervice.

The expectations of the people were by no means anſwered by the tranſactions in America. The enemy remained maſters of all the lakes, which gave them an opportunity of practiſing on the Indians of different tribes, on the greater part of whom they prevailed by various means, to act in their favour. By the loſs of Oſwego, the whole country of the five nations was abandoned to the mercy of the French general; by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the great Carrying place, a paſſage was open to our ſettlements, on the German flats, and along the Mohock's river, which before the end of the campaign, the enemy deſtroyed by fire and ſword.

The attempt upon Crown Point was, in the interim, laid aſide, and an expedition to Louiſbourgh ſubſtituted in its place. On the ninth of July admiral Holborne, with the ſquadron and tranſports under his command arrived at Hallifax. Six thouſand men under the command of lord Loudon, joined the Engliſh forces, which now amounted to twelve thouſand. Several ſmall veſſels were now ſent out to diſcover the ſtrength of the enemy at Louiſbourg, and brought the unwelcome news, that there were at that time in the iſland of Cape-Breton ſix thouſand regular troops, three thouſand militia, together with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour of Louiſbourgh. The expedition was, therefore, laid aſide, till a more proper opportunity ſhould offer, in conſequence of this information.

Lord Loudon's departure gave the French general an opportunity of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. He reduced Fort William Henry, the garriſon of which, notwithſtanding the articles of capitulation, were cruelly uſed by the ſavages, and many of them murdered in a moſt ſhocking manner. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſions and artillery, together with the veſſels on the lake, and then returned to Montreal, without making further attempts on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies.

Being now freed from the care of the tranſports, the admiral ſailed for Louiſbourgh with fifteen ſhips of the line, four frigates, and a fire ſhip. On the twentieth of Auguſt, they appeared before the harbour, and ſaw the French admiral making the ſignal to unmoor. Holborne being greatly inferior in ſtrength to the enemy did not chuſe to hazard an engagement, and therefore returned to Hallifax; but being reinforced about the middle of September with four ſhips of the line, he again ſailed for Louiſbourgh, with a deſign to draw the enemy to a battle. But their admiral was too prudent to hazard an engagement, the loſs of which would inevitably expoſe all the French colonies to the attempts of the Engliſh. The Britiſh ſquadron continued cruizing before the harbour of Louiſbourgh until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm. In twelve hours they were driven within two miles of the rocks and breakers on the coaſt of that iſland, when the wind happily ſhifted, and ſaved the whole ſquadron from deſtruction, except the Tilbury, which was loſt upon the rocks, and about half the crew periſhed. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted, others threw their guns over board,

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and the whole returned to England in a very ſhattered condition.

The affairs of the Eaſt Indies had, by this time, undergone a conſiderable alteration. On the thirty-firſt of January, admiral Watſon and colonel Clive appeared with two ſhips before Calcutta, to revenge the cruelties inflicted on their countrymen during the preceding years, and were received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. In the mean time, colonel Clive had inveſted the town; and made his attack with ſuch vigour, as greatly contributed to the reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort was ſurrendered, the brave captain Coote took poſſeſſion of it with his majeſty's troops, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, with abundance of ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions. Thus the Engliſh, with the loſs of only nine ſeamen and three ſoldiers killed, were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes on the Ganges.

Not many days after, Hughly, a city of great trade higher up the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinite detriment to the Nabob; and his ſtorehouſes of ſalt, and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army, were deſtroyed and burned.

The vice-roy of Bengal, being provoked at theſe misfortunes, aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, determined to exterminate the Engliſh, and take ample vengeance for his late diſgraces. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp, in his way to Calcutta, on the ſecond of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately applied to the admiral for a reinforcement; whereupon, ſix hundred men under the command of captain Warwick, were immediately draughted from the different ſhips. The colonel drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and attacked them with ſuch intrepidity, that the vice-roy retreated, after a feeble reſiſtance, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; alſo four elephants, five hundred horſes, and a very conſiderable number of draught bullocks.

This ſucceſs ſo greatly intimidated the Nabob, that he made ſeveral conceſſions for the honour and advantage of the company, which were ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed with his own hand.

He laid himſelf under an engagement, in this treaty, not to diſturb the Engliſh, in any of thoſe privileges ſpecified in the Mogul's phirmaud; that all their merchandize ſhould paſs and repaſs through Bengal duty free; that all the Engliſh factories ſhould be reſtored; and that all damages ſhould be repaired. The chief object of Clive's attention was the reduction of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the river than Calcutta, and the moſt important poſſeſſed by them in the bay of Bengal. With this view, he began his march at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans, and ſixteen hundred Indians; where, on his firſt arrival, he took poſſeſſion of all the out-ports, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral.

The admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived, on the eighteenth of March, within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury men of war; when they found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours, while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land ſide, and playing vigorouſly from the batteries he had raiſed. Their united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmit. A flag of truce was waved over the walls and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tyger, and colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took poſſeſſion in the afternoon.

The director, counſellor, and inferior ſervants of the ſettlement, were, by the treaty of capitulation, allowed to depart with their wearing apparel; the jeſuits were permitted to take away the ornaments of the church

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and the natives to remain in the full exerciſe of their liberties; but the garriſon were to remain priſoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable: but the ruin of the principal ſettlement of the enemy on the Ganges, was the chief advantage which accrued from the capture.

The Britiſh commanders, having reduced the Nabob to reaſonable terms, and deſtroyed the power of the French, entered on meaſures to compel the vice-roy to a ſtrict obſervance of the late treaty. Accordingly, a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power, and the conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander. Mr. Watts, ſecond in the council at Calcutta, communicated the project to him.

The plan having been fully concerted, a detachment was ſent on the nineteenth of June to attack Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river, forming the iſland of Caſſimbazar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and the colonel waited three days in expectation of receiving advice from Ali Khan. But being diſappointed of the intelligence he expected, he marched from the fort of Cutwa, paſſed the river on the twenty-ſecond, and the ſame day attacked the army of the vice-roy, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, with his own forces only, Ali Khan not chuſing as yet to declare his intention openly. The attack was carried on with great vigour, and the enemy, after a ſhort conteſt, totally routed. The Nabob's camp-baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon were taken; and thus a ſmall number of men obtained a complete victory over a numerous army.

In purſuit of the advantage he had gained, the colonel marched to Muſcalavat, the capital of the province, where he was joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It had been agreed, that this traiterous chief (for we can ſay no other) ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of Nabob, and accordingly, colonel Clive proceeded to depoſe the Suza-jud-Douza, viceroy of Bengal, and ſubſtitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as Suza or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa. Soon after the Suza-jud-Douza was taken and put to death by his ſucceſſor, who complied with all the conditions which he had, before his elevation, ſtipulated with the company; but this was the effect of neceſſity.

By the reduction of Chandenagore, together with this alliance, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal, and its dependencies; the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored; a new ally was acquired, whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements: above two millions ſterling were paid to the company, beſides a variety of other advantages, which need not be particularly ſpecified; we ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that in the ſhort ſpace of fourteen days, a remarkable revolution was effected; the Eaſt India company, and ſome few individuals enriched, by means, whether juſt or unjuſt, we leave to the determination of our readers. Soon after this event, admiral Watſon, who had acquired a ſolid reputation for courage and conduct, fell a ſacrifice to the intemperature of the climate.

While the Eaſt Indian world was agitated in the manner above mentioned, a treaty was concluded with the king of Pruſſia, who had made himſelf maſter of the electorate of Saxony, and was oppoſed by the forces of the empreſs queen of Hungary, thoſe of the Czarina, and the whole army of France. The latter had taken poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Cleves, and the county of Merk, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries; and the rendezvous of their troops under the prince of Soubiſe, was appointed at Neuſs in the electorate of Cologne, where, before the firſt day of April, a large body of forces was actually aſſembled.

A ſtorm now threatened Hanover, to avert which, orders were diſpatched to recruit the troops of that electorate; to furniſh the magazines with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men, under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who arrived at Hanover on the ſixteenth of April, and immediately repaired to the allied army, which having been joined by three Pruſſian

regiments, now conſiſted of thirty-ſeven ſquadrons. The duke ſoon after his arrival, removed the camp of the allies to a convenient ſpot of ground between Bielefeldt, and Hervorden. On the thirteenth of June, having received advice, that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops to file off on his his right to Burghotte, he cauſed his army to march that evening towards Hervorden, which was reinforced with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horſe. The van guard of the French army attacked the rear of the allies, and put them at firſt into diſorder; but recovering themſelves, they made conſiderable havock among the enemy, whom they at length repulſed.

Not long after this, his royal highneſs paſſed the Weſer, and encamped in a very advantageous ſituation, having that river in front, and his right and left covered with eminences and marſhes. On the eleventh of July the French paſſed the ſame river, and having laid part of the electorate under contribution, encamped on the heights oppoſite the duke of Cumberland's poſt. His royal highneſs ſuſpecting by the enemy's motion, their intent to attack him, reſolved to change his ſituation, and draw up his army on an eminence between the Weſer and the woods, having the river Hamelen on his right, the village of Haſtenbech in his front and the wood on his left, where he erected a battery of twelve pounders, and haubitzers. Major general Schulenberg, was poſted in the corner of the wood upon the left ſide of the battery, with the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers.

The French army advanced in columns, on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and began a very ſevere cannonade, which continued the whole day. The army was ordered to lay all night upon their arms, and his royal highneſs cauſed the battery at the end of the wood to be repaired and reinforced by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major general Hardenberg. A battery was alſo erected behind the village of Haſtenbech, and every precaution taken to give the enemy a warm reception.

A briſk cannonading began, about five in the morning, againſt the battery behind the village, which was defended by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry with ſurpriſing ſteadineſs and reſolution. Between ſeven and eight the firing of the ſmall arms began on the left of the allies, and the French ſeemed to gain ground, upon which his royal highneſs detached the colonels Darenhauſen, and Bradenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons round the wood; who in the evening drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them an opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by the enemy, thought it adviſeable to retire near the left of the army, which gave the French an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of that battery without oppoſition. But the hereditary prince of Brunſwick putting himſelf at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards, repulſed a ſuperior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. By this time, the French were in poſſeſſion of an eminence, which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry, and the battery of the allies; at the ſame time their troops were more than double the number of thoſe under the duke of Cumberland. His royal highneſs, therefore, thought proper to retreat to Hamelen, and afterwards encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to procure a communication with Stade, whither the archieves and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. The loſs of the allies were three hundred and twenty-ſeven men killed, nine hundred and ſeven wounded, and two hundred and twenty miſſing or taken priſoners; while that of the French amounted to fifteen hundred, according to their own account.

The electorate of Hanover, and territories of Heſſe Caſſel, were now taken poſſeſſion of by the French. On the firſt of September his royal highneſs retired under the cannon of Stade, where it was imagined his army would have been able to have maintained their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till

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the ſeverity of the ſeaſon would have put an end to the campaign; but the French having made themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, whereby they could have cut off his communication with the Elbe: his royal highneſs ſigned the convention of Cloſter ſeven, by which thirty eight thouſand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment.

The courts both of London and Verſailles diſapproved of this convention. The former ſaw the electorate of Hanover left at the mercy of the enemy who had taken poſſeſſion of the whole country, ſeized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the form of government. The latter was aſſured that their general had granted too favourable terms to the Hanoverian forces, and accordingly refuſed to acknowledge the validity of the convention, except thoſe troops would formally engage that, during the preſent war, they would not ſerve againſt France.

Upon this violation of the article of convention, the king of England, in quality of elector of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, publiſhed a declaration; in which he explained the motives which induced him again to have recourſe to arms, in order to prevent the French from ruining at once his army and dominions. Purſuant to this reſolution, he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who had already ſignalized his military talents in the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia. The French court would now gladly have conformed to the original articles of the convention, but it was too late; the army was ſoon formed at Stade, under the direction of prince Ferdinand, who reſolved to drive the French out of the electorate of Hanover. About the latter end of November, the army began their march, and overtaking a body of two thouſand men, which formed the enemy's rear, they attacked and totally routed them. Another action alſo happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages put the allies in poſſeſſion of Lunenburg, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon, but not before they had committed the moſt terrible outrages; burning and deſtroying all the villages and farm houſes that fell in their way. They reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, and cruelly ſet fire to the orphan-houſe, in which a great number of children were burnt to death.

The great ſeverity of the ſeaſon having prevented prince Ferdinand from following his advantages, he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburg, where his army was put into winter quarters.

The Engliſh cruizers acquitted themſelves with great conduct and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ſhip of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June; and about the ſame time, the Aquilon, of nearly the ſame force, was driven aſhore and deſtroyed near Breſt. The Emerand, a French frigate of twenty-ſix guns, was taken by captain Gilchriſt; and a noble emulation to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country, appeared among the ſea officers in general.

Very conſiderable ſucceſs alſo attended their operations in the Weſt Indies. Captain Forreſt in the Auguſta, ſailed from Port Royal in the month of October, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape François, and performed his orders in the face of a French ſquadron, lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. The commander, piqued at being thus braved by an inferior armament, reſolved to come out of the harbour, and give them battle, or at leaſt expel them from thoſe ſeas, that the merchant ſhips, then laying at the Cape, might have a free paſſage to Europe. Accordingly, having reinforced his ſquadron with ſeveral ſtore ſhips, armed for the occaſion, he ſailed out of the harbour, and at ſeven in the morning the Dreadnought made a ſignal for ſeeing the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of ſeven large ſhips, a ſchooner, and a pilot boat. Captain Forreſt then hove out the ſignal for a line of battle

battle a-head, and ſhortened ſail to let the enemy come up. At noon he perceived that the French fleet conſiſted of four large ſhips and three large frigates, on which he made a ſignal for the captains of the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, who readily agreed, to engage the enemy. Accordingly, they bore down upon the French; the action began with great fury, and continued for two hours and a half, when the French commodore made a ſignal for one of the frigates to tow him out of the line, and his example was ſpeedily followed by the reſt of his ſhips.

The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue the enemy, having ſuffered very conſiderably in their maſts, ſails and rigging. The French loſt above five hundred men in the action; while that of the Engliſh were only twenty-three killed, and eighty-nine wounded. Soon after, captain Forreſt, by a well conducted ſcheme, took a fleet of merchantmen conſiſting of nine ſail, and carried them to Jamaica, where they were ſold for the benefit of the captors.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening of the parliament, ſaid, that it would have afforded him the higheſt ſatisfaction, to inform them at the beginning of the ſeſſion, that his ſucceſs in the proſecution, had been equal to the juſtice of his cauſe in the undertaking of the war. He expreſſed the moſt confident reliance on the ſpirit and bravery of the nation, which, by the bleſſing of God, he hoped, would fruſtrate the attempts of his enemies, and aſſert the rights of his crown. He aſſured them of his determined reſolution, to exert his utmoſt efforts for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and for the recovery and protection of his juſt poſſeſſions in America, and elſewhere. He ſignified his ſincere concern for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Europe; and his reſolution, on that account, to encourage and adhere to his allies. He obſerved, that the late ſucceſs in Germany, had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was their duty to improve; and reminded them, that at ſuch a critical juncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He ardently recommended to them ſuch ſupport for his good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, as his valour, as well as zeal for the common cauſe would be found to merit.

*A. D.* 1758. The moſt glowing fervour and eminent ſpirit of emulation to excel in feats of arms, remarkably diſtinguiſh the beginning of this year. A ſpirit of enterprize prevailed throughout our army and navy; the Britiſh lion ſeemed to be rouzed, and the remarkable exertion of perſons in every rank, portended ſuch atchievements as would not fail to obliterate the odious remembrance of paſt diſgrace. This bright ſcene, however, was clouded by a general concern for the death of his majeſty's third daughter, the princeſs Caroline, a lady whoſe eminent mental accompliſhments rendered her univerſally regretted.

Admiral Boſcawen ſailed, in the month of February, from St. Helen's with a fleet deſtined for making vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North America; and ſoon after Sir Edward Hawke ſteered into the bay of Biſcay, with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France, deſigned for Cape Breton, or Canada.

Commodore Holmes, about this time, made himſelf maſter of the town of Embden, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the laſt campaign.

Admiral Oſborne, who was cruizing off Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain; about the latter end of March, fell in with a French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orpheé of ſixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade, a frigate of twenty-four, on their paſſage from Toulon, to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne, in the bay of Carthagena. The enemy, immediately on deſcrying the Engliſh ſquadron, diſperſed, and ſteered different courſes; upon which, the admiral detached ſeveral ſhips in purſuit of each, while he himſelf, with the principal part of his fleet, ſtood into the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the enemy in that port. Captain

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Engraved for Clarendon's History of England.

*The Foudroyant a French Man of War of 84 Guns of 24 & 42 Pounders taken by the Monmouth of 64 Guns of 12 & 24 Pounders where-in the French had 200 Men killed & 250 wounded and the English 30 Men including the Captain killed & 80 wounded Feb. 28. 1758.*

tain Storr, in the Revenge, came up with the Orpheé, about ſeven in the evening, and took her after a very ſmart engagement. The Foudroyant, one of the largeſt ſhips in the French navy, was engaged by the Monmouth of ſixty-four guns, commanded by the brave captain Gardiner, who loſt his life in the action; but the fight was continued by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, until the Foudroyant was obliged to ſtrike. The frigate made her eſcape, and the Oriflamme was driven on ſhore under the caſtle of Aiglais.

Sir Edward Hawke diſcovered a French fleet in the beginning of April, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and forty tranſports, having on board three thouſand troops, and a large quantity of ſtores and proviſions, for their ſettlements in North America, lying at anchor off the iſland of Aix. As ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh fleet ſtanding for them, they ſlipped cable, and fled with the utmoſt confuſion. Some of them eſcaped to ſea, but the greater number ran into ſhoal water, where they could not be followed, and by throwing over-board their guns, ſtores, and ballaſt, got into the river Charente, but their loading was loſt, and the deſign of their equipment wholly fruſtrated; while the conqueſts of the Engliſh in North America, were by this means greatly facilitated. But the general joy that aroſe from this event was damped, by the unfortunate loſs of the Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, which took fire at ſea, on the thirtieth of April, and was entirely conſumed. Above five hundred ſailors periſhed on this melancholy occaſion, but the admiral, captain, four lieutenants, purſer, chaplain, maſter, two lieutenants of marines, boatſwain, three paſſengers, fourteen petty officers, and about three hundred private men were ſaved.

Notwithſtanding the late failure in the attempt at Rochfort, two powerful ſquadrons were equipped this year; the one, conſiſting of eleven ſail of the line, commanded by lord Anſon, and Sir Edward Hawke, the other, compoſed of four ſail of the line, two fire ſhips, two bombs, twenty tenders, ten ſtore ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe. On board the latter was embarked a body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The troops, which had been for ſome time encamped in the Iſle of Wight, were embarked the latter end of May, and on the firſt of June ſailed from St. Helen's for the coaſt of Bretagne; the ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon, ſtanding to the weſtward, and the other ſteering right athwart the channel.

In a very ſhort time after they left the Engliſh coaſt, the weather became boiſterous; and a little before midnight, the commodore made a ſignal for the fleet to lie too, leſt they ſhould run too cloſe in with the French ſhore, before the break of day. It continued to blow a ſtiff gale all night, and one of the tranſports, with part of the train of artillery on board, had the misfortune to carry away her main, and mizen maſts, and was taken in tow by one of the frigates, and in this manner proceeded with the fleet. About ſix in the morning they made ſail, and at eight ſaw Cape la Hogue, a point of land, famous in the naval hiſtory of Great Britain. On diſcovering the Cape, they directed their courſe between the continent and the iſland of Alderney; but, being retarded by the ſtrong tide againſt them, did not reach the iſland till evening, when the whole fleet came to an anchor in the channel, between the iſland and the continent, called the Race, from the extreme rapidity of the current, which drove ſeveral of the ſhips from their anchors, ſo uncommonly ſtrong was it at this time.

The whole fleet got under ſail at day break, when, there being very little wind, they made no way, but by the currents. About noon, one of the tranſports, having part of the guards on board, ſtruck on the ſunken rocks, and the water ruſhed in with ſuch violence, that, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of all the boats in the fleet, they had but juſt time to take out the men, and the baggage, before the veſſel went to the bottom. This acci-

dent occaſioned the fleet to come to an anchor, but about eight o'clock in the evening they again got under ſail.

They now directed their courſe toward the bay of St. Malo, and on the fourth of June, being entirely becalmed, came to an anchor within a league of that place. They weighed next morning before day-break, and ſtood along the coaſt, till they opened the bay of Cancalle, ſo called from a village of the ſame name at the bottom of it, the place where they intended to diſembark their forces. About eight o'clock the commodore made a ſignal for the ſhips with the grenadiers on board to make ſail, and about four in the afternoon, the whole fleet came to an anchor, except three or four frigates which ſtood on towards a battery, that might impede their landing. The commodore had, on this occaſion, quitted the Eſſex, and hoiſted his pendant on board one of the frigates, as he was able by that means to lie much cloſer to the ſhore than he could in his own ſhip. Ten companies of grenadiers under the command of general Moſtyn were now in the flat bottomed boats, waiting for the ſignal to put off. The battery on ſhore fired at the frigates as they advanced, but was ſoon ſilenced; and the grenadiers landed juſt before ſun-ſet, without any other oppoſition, than a few ſhot fired from behind a windmill by ſome peaſants, who fled at the appearance of a ſerjeant and twelve men; as ſeven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons had done before on perceiving the Engliſh begin to advance towards the ſhore.

The grenadiers were no ſooner drawn up on the beach, than lord Downe, at the head of twenty men, marched through a very narrow paſs up to the village, where they were met by the marquis of Landal, intendant of the coaſt, and colonel of the militia, attended by one ſervant. Lord Downe told him, that if he would ſurrender, he had nothing to fear; but he fooliſhly refuſed quarter, and was ſhot dead on the ſpot, together with his ſervant and two horſes.

When they had taken poſſeſſion of the village of Cancalle, and ſecured ſuch peaſants as endeavoured to oppoſe their landing, they lay all night on their arms. Three regiments more were landed in the evening, but remained all night on the beach. The next day the diſembarkation was effected, and the whole encamped. The head quarters were at Cancalle, and the grenadiers and light horſe were advanced about a mile in the front line. The day following, as ſoon as it was light, the whole army, except the third brigade, ſtruck their tents, and began to march in two columns. The firſt conſiſting of the brigade of guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt brigade, commanded by lieutenant general lord George Sackville, marched from the left till they fell into the great road leading to St. Malo. The ſecond conſiſting of the ſecond and fourth brigades, commanded by the earl of Ancram, another lieutenant general, marched alſo from the left through a country wholly encloſed, and a road remarkably narrow; ſo that, notwithſtanding the labour of two hundred pioneers, who marched at the head of this column, the men were frequently obliged to march in ſingle files, and the fields on each ſide of the road, that they could ſeldom ſee above forty yards clear of their flanks. They found the villages through which they paſſed entirely deſerted by their inhabitants, and the houſes ſtripped of every thing they could poſſibly carry away. The third brigade continued encamped at Cancalle, with orders to throw up an intrenchment to ſecure a retreat, and if neceſſary, to eſcort the heavy artillery, which was not yet landed. The guards were ordered to file off, and pitch their tents about two miles to the left of the other encampment.

They continued to advance without beat of drum, in as good order, as the nature of the country would permit; but though the march was not above ſix miles, it was late in the evening before they reached their ground. The commanders in chief then reconnoitred the ſituation of St. Malo, and ordered the ground to be marked out at the diſtance of ſomething more than a mile from the town. In the front was a village called Parramle, where the head quarters were fixed, and on the right flank another village called St. Ser-

vant.

vant. The grenadiers were advanced above an hundred paces, the light horſe and artillery about the ſame diſtance in the rear, and the reſt of the troops extended in one direct line.

The light horſe, ſuſtained by the piquets, were ordered, while the main body were pitching their tents, to advance towards the walls of St. Malo, when they were immediately ſaluted by the enemy's cannon from the ramparts, but without any further loſs than a horſe or two. As the troops had advanced, the people in general left their habitations, and ran up into the country; upon which the duke of Marlborough ſent a troop of horſe to fetch them back, promiſing that they ſhould be ſafe both in their perſons and effects, and be punctually paid for whatever they ſhould furniſh our forces. In this march, the horſe perceived a large baſon behind the town, in which all the ſhipping belonging to the port, was collected, and hid from the ſight of our fleet by a prodigious large ſtore-houſe built in the form of a rotunda near the rope walk. Information of this diſcovery being given to the duke of Marlborough, he ſent all the horſemen with a foot ſoldier mounted behind each of them, with hand granades and matches, who, under cover of the night, marched under their cannon to the harbour, where they found a large fleet, conſiſting of men of war, privateers, and merchant-men, to which they applied their combuſtibles, and then proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which in the ſpace of a few hours, exhibited a ſhocking ſcene of conflagration. The ſhips were all aground, ſo that not one of them could be moved, by which means two men of war, one of fifty, the other of thirty guns; thirty-three privateers from thirty to eighteen guns each, and above ſeventy ſail of merchant-men, together with a prodigious quantity of naval ſtores, fell a ſacrifice to the devouring flames.

The general, in expectation of a ſally from the town, ordered the ſecond brigade to march in ſupport of the piquets, about eleven o'clock at night; but the whole deſign was accompliſhed without the leaſt attempt from the enemy, though it was known, that a conſiderable body of troops had that day thrown themſelves into the town from the other ſide of the river. The ſhipping continued to burn during the whole night, and as the army had landed with proviſions only for two days, foraging parties were ſent out the next morning.

During the encampment of the army near St. Malo, one of the battalions of guards marched under the command of colonel Cæſar, twelve miles up the country, to a town called Doll, where they were ſumptuouſly entertained by the magiſtrates; and as their deſign was only to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and then returned. Part of the light horſe advancing ſtill farther, fell in with the vedets of a French camp, two of whom they took, and brought priſoners to the Engliſh camp, after a long purſuit.

As the fortifications of St. Malo were too ſtrong to afford them any hopes of ſucceſs, all thoughts of inveſting it were laid aſide; and the general having received repeated advices that the enemy were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to oppoſe him, he returned to Cancalle, where commodore Howe made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the troops and tranſports, that they were re embarked with great eaſe and expedition. The forces, while they remained on ſhore, were reſtrained from all outrages by the moſt ſevere diſcipline, and they even left unpillaged, thoſe houſes which the French inhabitants had abandoned.

As ſoon as the troops were landed, the duke of Marlboroug h publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the people of Bretagne, importing, that his deſcent on their coaſt was not intended to make war on the inhabitants of the country, except ſuch as ſhould be found in arms, or ſhould otherwiſe oppoſe the operations of his Britannic majeſty's forces; that all who were deſirous of remaining in peaceful poſſeſſion of their habitations and effects, might continue unmoleſted in their reſpective dwellings,

dwellings, and follow their uſual occupations; that, excepting the cuſtoms, and taxes they paid to the French king, nothing would be required of them in money or goods, but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army, and that they ſhould be paid ready money for all the proviſions they brought into the camp; but if, notwithſtanding this declaration, the inhabitants of the towns and villages, ſhould carry off their effects and proviſions, and abandon their dwellings; he ſhould treat them as enemies, and lay waſte their country with fire and ſword. He alſo ſent a meſſage to the magiſtracy of St. Malo, ſignifying, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages, between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, as far as St. Malo, now in his poſſeſſion, had deſerted their habitations, probably to avoid the uſual contributions; and being informed, that the magiſtrates had compelled the people to retire into the town of St. Malo, he now gave them to underſtand, that unleſs they immediately returned to their houſes, and the magiſtrates themſelves repaired to his head quarters to ſettle the contributions, he ſhould ſet fire to them without delay. But theſe threats were not carried into execution, though the magiſtrates of St. Malo did not think proper to comply with the injunction. Some houſes indeed were pillaged, and ſome acts of barbarity committed, but the ſtroke of juſtice purſued the offenders.

As ſoon as the troops were embarked, the fleet ſailed from Cancalle-bay on the ſixteenth at ſix in the morning, and continued to beat to windward till evening, when they came to an anchor off St. Malo. The next morning, they were obliged by contrary winds to return to Cancalle-bay, where they again came to an anchor. The weather continued very foul till the twenty firſt, when they ſailed in the morning ſtanding to the Weſtward. The twenty-fifth they made the Iſle of Wight, and the wind coming to the northward on the the twenty-ſixth, they ſteered again for the French coaſt, and ran in near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat bottomed boats were hoiſted out, and every thing prepared for a ſecond deſcent, but nothing farther was attempted. They afterwards came to anchor near Cherburg, but the wind blowing ſtrongly off ſhore, prevented their landing; the fleet therefore ſtood out to ſea, and came to an anchor in the road of St. Helen's on the firſt day of July.

The enterprize was ſoon reſumed, though their deſigns on the coaſt of France were, for this time, prevented by tempeſtuous weather. The troops were, however, landed on the Iſle of Wight, and one brigade of them marched to the northward in order to join a body of troops deſigned for Germany. At the ſame time the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville were appointed to conduct the Britiſh troops; and his royal highneſs prince Edward entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, to initiate himſelf in the knowledge of naval affairs.

All proper preparations having been made, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt, and after a tedious paſſage anchored on the ſeventh before Cherburg. The French expecting the viſit, had thrown up an intrenchment from the fort de Ecoeurdeville, ſituated about two miles to the weſtward af Cherburg, along the coaſt for the ſpace of four miles, and fortified it with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this intrenchment a body of horſe and infantry appeared, in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the landing of the Britiſh troops was not attended with much danger. At firſt a bomb-ketch was ſent to anchor near the town, and throw a few ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place where they intended to land; the general having determined to diſembark to the weſtward of Querqueville, the weſtermoſt fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being poſted along ſhore, galled the intrenchments conſiderably, not only by their mortars with balls, which being thrown a great diſtance, and ſcattering as they fly, do great execution. While theſe ketches kept an inceſſant fire on the trenches, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly aſhore in flat bottomed boats and landed without

without oppoſition; when they immediately formed on a ſmall open portion on the beach, having a natural breaſt-work in the front, on the other ſide a hollow way, and a village riſing beyond it with a ſudden aſcent. On the left the ground was interſected with hedges, and laid out in orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The Britiſh troops, as ſoon as they perceived the enemy marching towards them, quitted the breaſt-work in order to meet them, and a random fire began; but the French edging to the left, took poſſeſſion of the hill, from whence they and the advanced poſts of the Engliſh exchanged a few ſtraggling ſhot with each other.

In the interim, the remainder of the infantry were diſembarked, and the enemy retired during the night. But as the light horſe were not yet landed, general Bligh, who commanded the marine expedition, encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; ſo that the tents were pitched in a cloſe and irregular manner. Next morning the general, having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were ſeen, either on the hill or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a diſpoſition for marching in two columns to Cherburg. An advanced party took poſſeſſion of fort Querqueville, and the enemy now alſo deſerted the lines and batteries along the ſhore.

The forces of Great-Britain now directed their march to Cherburg, which they found likewiſe abandoned by the enemy: and the gates being open, entered it without the leaſt oppoſition; while the inhabitants encouraged by a manifeſto, containing a promiſe of protection, chearfully entertained their new gueſts. This place was remarkable for a curious baſon built at an immenſe expence, which, if the whole plan had been compleated, would have formed one of the fineſt ports in the world. Such was the curioſity of this port, when the Engliſh became maſters of it; and which with conſiderable labour and difficulty was now totally deſtroyed.

During the time that the engineers employed themſelves in demoliſhing the works, the light horſe ſcoured the country, and detachments were every day ſent out towards Walloign, at the diſtance of four leagues from Cherburg, where the enemy was encamped, and every hour received reinforcement. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued between the advanced parties of each army, and in one of theſe captain Lindſay, a gallant young officer, who had been very aſſiduous in training the light horſe, was mortally wounded. The baſon, harbour, and ſluice of Cherburg, being deſtroyed, together with all the forts and their artillery in the neighbourhood, and twenty-one pieces of braſs cannon, and two large mortars of the ſame metal, ſecured on board the ſhips; a contribution, amounting to about three thouſand pounds ſterling, was exacted from the town, and the embarkation of the troops agreed upon; as it appeared from the reports of peaſants and deſerters, that the enemy was increaſed to a formidable number. A ſmall intrenchment was therefore thrown up ſufficient to defend the laſt regiment that ſhould be re-embarked; the ſtores and artillery were ſhipped, and the light horſe, by the help of platforms laid in the flat bottomed veſſels, were conveyed to their reſpective tranſports.

At three o'clock in the morning on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the forces marched from Cherburg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort-Galet, without the leaſt annoyance from the enemy.

On the ſeventeenth the fleet ſailed for the coaſt of England, coming to an anchor in Weymouth-road, under the high-land of Portland. In two days they again got under ſail, and ſtood to the ſouth; but contrary winds obliged them to return to the ſame ſtation. The ſecond effort was more effectual; they reached the French coaſt, and underſtanding, that in time of peace, there had often been at St Briac, a place within a mile of St. Lunaire, three hundred veſſels at a time, though of no great burden; they made for that place, but did not find above twenty veſſels, which, together with ſome batteries on the coaſt, were deſtroyed.

But St. Malo was the place againſt which they

they had the principal deſign. That town, ſituated on a bank of ſand, almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, has no water, but what is ſupplied by an aquaduct of pipes, and, though populous, is not above ſix hundred yards long, and four hundred broad. It was, therefore, imagined, if the place could be inveſted, that, by cutting the pipes, and bombarding the town, it would be obliged to ſurrender. Beſides, it was deemed practicable, in caſe of neceſſity, to open the wall, and take the place by ſtorm at low water. But the troops were too much diminiſhed ſince the late expedition, to inveſt it on both ſides the Rance. They, therefore, only inveſted it on the weſt ſide, by placing ſhips at St. Dinar. Thus the landing at St. Lunaire, to burn the ſhips at St. Briac, became alſo neceſſary on this occaſion.

On the day following, being the fifth of September, they reconnoitered the points of St. Dinar, and the weſtern coaſt of the Rance oppoſite St. Malo, and found it impracticable to place ſhips there, if the weather would not permit the fleet to remain on that coaſt; and that it was neceſſary to go to St. Cas bay, and for the troops to march cannon thither, where, if they found it expedient, he might, by remaining ſome time on ſhore at Martignon, about a league from St. Cas, create a diverſion, alarm the country, and thus contribute to the recall of the troops from Germany. Purſuant to this plan, he ordered colonel Clark, quarter-maſter general, with two hundred grenadiers, part of the next day's march. He alſo gave directions for landing a proper quantity of proviſions; which orders were not executed without conſiderable difficulty.

On the eighth of September, the army decamped, and on its march paſſed the river Dronette, which can only be done at low water.

Arriving at the river Equernon, they encamped on the eaſtern ſide, not being able to paſs it that night, on account of the tide; and it would have been dangerous to have done it next day in the morning tide, as the troops muſt have been in motion in the night, and begun the paſſage before day light. They, therefore, deferred paſſing the river till the afternoon tide, on the ninth of September. The peaſants fired from the houſes of St. Gildo, and wounded captain Johns in the foot, and ſeveral others. Some of the ſoldiers were with difficulty ſaved from drowning, and many of them loſt their firelocks in the water.

The enemy poſted ſome regular foot to guard the paſſage of the river, at the bridge of Plancourt, four miles above the fort, who moved off on ſeeing the army paſs it below.

The Britiſh troops marched to Martignon, on the morning of the tenth, when the quarter-maſter general, with three hundred dragoons, and ſome regular foot, was ordered to advance before the army. About two miles from the camp he met a party of French dragoons and ſome regular foot, who kept at the diſtance of about a hundred and fifty yards, moving off gradually as he advanced, without any firing on either ſide. They drew up in the incloſures round Martignon; but they retired on his forming the grenadiers, and ſending ſome parties on their flanks.

About one o'clock the army reached Martignon, without meeting any oppoſition, except from a few ſmall parties of French, who endeavoured to harraſs the flanks, one of which advancing too far, made a ſignal to ſurrender; but one of our flanking parties, not perceiving it, fired, and killed the officer with ſome of his men. They encamped to the left of the town, all the army having paſſed through it, except the companies of grenadiers, who remained and covered it on the other ſide. The general immediately ſent the ſecond regiment of guards to St. Cas, intending that proviſion, eſpecially bread, ſhould be bought up without loſs of time, if it ſhould be judged convenient to ſtay in that camp, or proper to advance up the country: he alſo ſent colonel Cunningham, chief engineer, to reconnoitre the beach, that they might be able to effect an expeditious retreat, if it ſhould be found neceſſary.

As they had learnt, that ſeveral regiments of the enemy had marched from Breſt, and

places

places adjacent, and pitched their camp two or three leagues diſtant from the Engliſh army; it was determined, in a council of war, to march to St. Cas the next morning, and embark as ſoon as the ſhips could be got ready; and, accordingly, an aid-de-camp was diſpatched to lord Howe, to inform him of this reſolution. Colonel Clark propoſed to diſembark the light horſe and field pieces, and advance to attack the enemy; but this was over ruled, becauſe the French had it in their power, either to retire or engage, at their own choice.

About two o'clock on the morning of the eleventh, the generale was beat, and the army began to march in one column, conſiſting of ſix thouſand, five hundred men, ſo diſpoſed, as to be capable of forming before any attack could be made. In the mean time, the Brilliant, Roſe, Active, Pallas, and Tartar frigates, ſtood into the bay of St. Cas, to cover the re-embarkation of the troops, who were drawn up near a windmill, on a hill about three quarters of a mile from the beach. At nine in the morning the army began to march down to the boats, which lay ready to receive them. By eleven, two thirds of the army, with the light horſe and artillery being on board, a body of the enemy's horſe appeared on the hill, and a little afterwards a much larger one of infantry, occupying the ground round the windmill. Upon a motion made by the French to deſcend, the bomb ketches began to play upon them with great ſucceſs. The firſt ſhell fell in the midſt of a body of horſe, which rendered them ſo ungovernable, that the men were obliged to diſmount. Several alſo fell among the enemy's infantry.

A battery of ſix pieces of cannon was opened by the French, at half an hour after eleven, near the windmill, from which they maintained a cloſe fire on the troops while embarking. At twelve the enemy opened a battery of cohorns, behind the hedge, on the right of the mill; but the ſhips and ketches kept ſo inceſſant a fire upon it, that they threw only two ſhells among the troops, which did ſome damage. They then filed off a ſecond time to the left, and got poſſeſſion of the village of St. Cas; upon which, the grenadiers of the whole army, amounting to eleven hundred men, with four companies of guards, under general Drury, drew up on the beach, to cover the battalions while embarking. In the mean time, the enemy, to avoid the fire of the ſhips, left the village, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of a hollow way, which entirely covered them. This they accompliſhed; but when they began to deſcend, the grenadiers formed in two diviſions, and marched to the attack. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment, which the enemy had thrown up to prevent or oppoſe the diſembarkation; and on the out-ſide of this work there was a range of ſand hills, extending along the ſhore, which would have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking; a propoſal was, therefore, made to the general, that the forces ſhould be taken on board from an open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this was rejected. The entrenchment would have been of great uſe to the grenadiers, had not general Drury, by ſome miſtake, inſtead of waiting behind the dyke for the enemy, marched the diviſion over it, and attacked the enemy, who were ready prepared on the other ſide. Indeed he twice repelled them; but the continual ſuccours pouring down from the hollow-way, brought them back to the charge; and then they repelled general Drury in his turn. He was now convinced of his error; for the ſecond diviſion could not get over the breaſt-work time enough to ſuccour the firſt, which was entirely broken, and with great difficulty got back. The enemy having now got poſſeſſion of the dyke, kept a continual fire upon the grenadiers, and the general ſeeing that a retreat was the only remedy, ordered the whole body immediately to wheel to the right, and make to the boats as faſt as poſſible. Some embarked, but a battery which the French had erected on the middle of the hill, played ſo furiouſly, that many of the boats were beat to pieces. The enemy ſeeing no retreat left to the grenadiers,

mounted

mounted the dyke, and by a great ſuperiority of numbers, drove thoſe that remained into the ſea, where the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, or drowned. During the laſt attack, the fire from the ſhips was rendered ineffectual, becauſe the Engliſh would have ſuffered equally with the French. General Drury was ſhot in the breaſt, but by the help of a grenadier, he ſtripped off his cloaths, and plunged into the water, where he periſhed, which was likewiſe the fate of a conſiderable number of officers as well as ſoldiers.

It is the duty of an hiſtorian to record in particular, any extraordinary inſtance of merit; and that duty now calls on us to do juſtice to the character of lord Howe; who perceiving a timidity to prevail among the people on board the ſhips, ariſing from the great havock that was made among the ſoldiers on the ſhore, not only encouraged them to put off to their relief, but ſtood upright in the boat, amidſt all the fire of the enemy. The whole fleet, inſpired by this inſtance of fortitude, were deſirous of imitating ſo noble an example; by which means many were preſerved that would otherwiſe have periſhed. About a thouſand men, including thoſe taken priſoners as well as thoſe that were ſlain, were loſt in the whole.

For a conſiderable time paſt, the miniſtry had reſolved to attack the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and the deſign was this year carried into execution. The plan was concerted by Mr. Cumming, a quaker, a man of acute penetration, and happy invention. This perſon, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to this part of the coaſt of Africa, obſerved the extenſive trade carried on by the French, and even contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the mooriſh king of Legibelli; in whoſe dominions the moſt important branches of trade are carried on. The French, beſides other articles of commerce, were in poſſeſſion of the whole trade of Gum-ſenega, a great quantity of which is uſed in the manufactures of Great-Britain, and which could only be procured at an exhorbitant price from the Dutch, who had taken care to purchaſe the whole from the French.

It was evident to Mr. Cumming, that though the gum trade was of the utmoſt importance, yet it was not the only article that could be purchaſed here to advantage, as the country abounded with gold duſt, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, oſtrich feathers, bees-wax, indigo, ambergreaſe, and civit. He farther obſerved, that Amir, the African prince, entertained a favourable opinion of the Engliſh, and a deſire of trading with them; and was alſo ſo exaſperated againſt the French, that he declared his moſt ardent deſire of their extermination from the river Senegal, adding, that he could wiſh the king of England would ſend an armament to reduce Fort Louis and the iſland of Goree, promiſing to join the Britiſh forces, and grant the Engliſh merchants an excluſive trade. Mr. Cumming, notwithſtanding the vaſt advantages that muſt accrue to England from the reduction of the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, found there were many difficulties to be ſurmounted, before his plan could be adopted and carried into execution; but it required all his patriotic zeal and perſeverance to ſurmount a variety of obſtacles before the miniſtry adopted it; and even then it was not carried into execution in its full extent.

For this expedition a ſmall ſquadron was equipped, under the command of captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Maſon, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer, and Mr. Cumming, as chief director and promoter of the expedition was alſo concerned.

About the beginning of March, they ſailed from St. Helen's, and in their paſſage touched at the iſland of Teneriff, and while the ſhips were taking in their wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, charged with a letter of credence to the king of that country, who had in his laſt viſit favoured him with an excluſive trade on that coaſt, by a formal charter written in the Arabic

Arabic language. But on his arrival, he unfortunately found the prince had engaged in a new war with a neighbouring nation, and that he was heading his army at a very conſiderable diſtance from his capital. The queen dowager, however, told Mr. Cumming, that ſhe could not then ſpare any troops to aſſiſt the Engliſh in their expedition againſt Senegal; but aſſured him, that if the French were driven from thence, ſhe and her ſubjects would ſettle there. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called prince Amir, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and deſign; declaring that he would uſe the utmoſt expedition in aſſembling three hundred warriours to join the Engliſh troops, adding, that he was perſuaded the king would reinforce them by a detachment from his army.

The expedition was not delayed on account of the auxiliaries promiſed by the Indian chief, for as ſoon as captain Marſh, with the reſt of the armament arrived at Portenderrick, they proceeded to the mouth of the Senegal, tho' the Indian forces were not ready to join them.

He weighed anchor on the twenty-ſecond day of April, and the next day at four in the afternoon ſaw the French flag flying on Fort Louis, ſtanding in the middle of a pretty large town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The armament came to anchor in Senegal road, after taking a large Dutch ſhip, loaded with gum, and ſoon perceived that the French had placed ſeveral armed ſloops at the mouth of the river to diſpute the paſſage of the bar, which is very dangerous.

The Engliſh, however, without looſing any time, prepared for landing, and employed all the boats in the fleet to carry the ſtores on board the ſmall craft; though the enemy's armed veſſels kept firing on them, over a narrow tract of land. The neceſſary preparations being made, the veſſels weighed anchor in order to paſs the bar; and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar in the London buſs, ſeized the opportunity and paſſed the bar, dropping his anchor on the inſide, where he lay all night expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other veſſels, when a regular engagement enſued, which was warmly maintained on both ſides, till the buſſes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. This misfortune obliged the troops to take to their boats; and notwithſtanding the difficulties that ſurrounded them, they reached the ſhore, where they were formed in a body and ſoon after joined by their companions in the other veſſels; the whole amounting to three hundred and ninety marines, beſides the detachment of artillery. As they expected to be attacked by the natives, who lined the ſhore at ſome diſtance, they threw up an intrenchment, and as great part of their ſtores lay under water, they began to diſembark them immediately.

They had made but little progreſs in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with propoſals for a capitulation from the governor of the fort, and after a ſmall time ſpent in deliberations, it was agreed, that all the white people belonging to the French company of Senegal ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, without being deprived of their private effects; that all the merchandize and uncoined treaſure ſhould be delivered up to the victors; that all the forts, ſtore-houſes, veſſels, arms, proviſions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, ſhould be put into the hands of the Engliſh immediately after the capitulation ſhould be be ſigned; that the free natives living at Fort Louis ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of their effects, and in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all negroes, mullatoes, and others, who could prove themſelves free, ſhould be at their option, either to retire to any diſtant part of the country, or to remain in the place.

Theſe terms being acceded to, the captains Campbell and Walker, were immediately ſent up the river with a flag of truce, to ſee the articles ſigned and executed; but they were ſo retarded by the rapidity of the ſtream, that they did not come near the fort, till three in the morning; and as ſoon as day broke, they hoiſted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery, on a point of the iſland,

where they lay upon their oars near an hour, beating the chamade; but not the leaſt notice was taken of their approach.

This behaviour of the enemy appearing to be myſterious, they determined to return to their intrenchment, where they were informed, that the negroes on the iſland were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity, unleſs they were included in the capitulation. This intelligence was alſo communicated to the governor, who at the ſame time informed the Engliſh commander, that unleſs the French director-general ſhould be permitted to remain with the natives, as a ſecurity for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned; rather than they would ſubmit, they would ſuffer themſelves to be cut in pieces.

This requeſt was chearfully granted by the Engliſh, who directly began their march for Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. As ſoon as the French ſaw them advancing, they ſtruck their flag, and Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety two pieces of cannon, with much treaſure and merchandize. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal readily ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to his Britannic-majeſty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, viſited the commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh, and the king of Legibelli ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to major Maſon, with aſſurances of his friendſhip, compliments of congratulation, and preſents.

About three thouſand free negroes and mullatoes, were ſettled at Senegal, many of whom enjoyed poſſeſſions of their own. Thus without looſing a ſingle man, Great-Britain obtained a conqueſt, from which, with proper management, ſhe might derive conſiderable wealth.

Fort Louis being taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh, they ſecured the priſoners, and placed a number of armed boats to ſecure the paſſage of the bar; the large ſhips proceeded to make an attempt upon the iſland of Goree, thirty leagues diſtant from Senegal; where the French company had conſiderable magazines; and lodged the negroe ſlaves until they could be ſhipped for the Weſt-Indies.

This expedition, however, for want of a ſufficient force, miſcarried; but was attended with little or no damage to the Engliſh. Though they failed in the attempt, yet they were not intimidated thereby; perſuaded, that the conqueſt of Senegal was by no means ſecured, while the French kept poſſeſſion of Goree.

Wherefore a ſquadron was ſoon after fitted out in England, and the command given to commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albermarle. This ſquadron, which conſiſted of the Torbay, Fougueux, Naſſau, Prince Edward, and Dunkirk, ſeveral Frigates, two bomb-ketches, and ſome tranſports, having ſeven hundred regular troops on board, ſailed from Cork, on the eleventh of November. After a very tempeſtuous paſſage, they arrived at Goree, on the twenty-eighth of December, in the evening, and the Saltaſh frigate was ordered to bear down into the bay between Point Goree, and Point Barnabas, that when orders ſhould be given for that purpoſe, the troops might be landed with the greater expedition.

By four the next morning, all the flat bottomed boats were ſent on board the tranſports, for diſembarking the land troops; accordingly all of them, to the number of ſix hundred men, were in their reſpective boats before nine in the morning; and the ſhips of war finiſhed all their preparations in the mean time.

As it was thought unadviſeable to attack the iſland on the weſt-ſide, orders were given that one of the bombs ſhould go down firſt, and the Prince Edward to cover her from the fire of the enemy and anchor a-breaſt of a ſmall battery, a little below the citadel, on the north. Captain Sayer in the Naſſau, was ordered to lead the line of battle on the right, anchoring a-breſt of St. Peter's battery, of five guns. The Dunkirk followed in

in the order, and was to bring up a-breaſt of a battery, a little to the north of the former, which battery was as yet unfiniſhed, and an embrazure at that time opened. The commodore followed in the Torbay, taking for his part the weſt point battery of five guns, with the weſtern corner of St. Francis's fort, of four guns of a ſmaller ſize. Captain Knight, in the Fougueux, having the ſecond ſtation on the left, bringing up the rear, with directions at the ſame time to cover the other bomb, on his ſtarboard quarter, had allotted to his ſhare, the mortar battery of eight guns, ſo called from two large mortars, which are covered by the battery.

As ſoon as the fire ſhip had dropped her anchor from her ſtern, ſhe was to hoiſt a pendant at her mizen-peek, to acquaint the next ſhip that ſhe had brought up; thus the ſecond was to acquaint the third; and ſo on to the reſt. Particular orders were likewiſe given not to fire a gun, until each had his ſhip a breaſt of his ſtation, and moored both head and ſtern. On the captains departure, the commodore's laſt orders were, to get on board their ſhips, and lead on as faſt as they poſſibly could.

The Prince Edward, with the Fire Drake bomb, bore down towards the iſland about nine o'clock, and in ten minutes after, the action began, by throwing a ſhell from the bomb. In a moment the enemy returned the fire from both forts and batteries; and with their ſecond ſhot, carried away the Prince Edward's enſign ſtaff, and ſet fire to an arms-cheſt, which blowing up, killed one of the marines. They afterwards pointed ſome of their pieces ſo well, that captain Forteſcue, Mr. Elliot, of the marines, the maſter, with two midſhipmen, had well nigh ſuffered with one ſhot, which went through the midſt of them, as they ſtood together, impatiently loooking out for their ſecond.

The gallant and intrepid behaviour of the Prince Edward was witneſſed by the whole ſquadron, who ſent up the moſt fervent wiſhes on the occaſion. The commodore ſaw, with concern, the Naſſau, tedious in getting under ſail; but as there could be no reaſon to ſuſpect an officer of captain Sayer's approved valour, imagining that a foul cable might occaſion the delay, he turned his thoughts to other matters, which might poſſibly be of ſervice. Obſerving that the Fire Drake overcharged her mortars, all her ſhells falling far beyond the iſland, to the ſouth, he ſent his boat on board the Furnace bomb, with this meſſage. "That, as they ſaw the error of "the other, in over-charging the mortars, "they would avoid that extreme: and that, "as the enemy ſeemed bent upon ſinking "the Prince Edward, and the Fire Drake, "he deſired they would, at the diſtance they "then were, begin the fire; and endeavour, "as much as poſſible, to draw part of the "enemy's attention from their ſuffering "friends." The orders were immediately obeyed, ſhe bore down cloſe under the Fougueux's ſtern, and getting upon the larboard quarter, began her fire.

The commodore, in the interim, beheld, with great concern, that the Naſſau did not, or could not bear away to the relief of the Prince Edward, and ſent his boat to know the reaſon, why ſhe was prevented from bearing down into her ſtation. Captain Sayer, on the approach of the boat, hailed the officer, and aſked him, if his orders were he ſhould bear away? The meſſenger replied, the commodore wondered he did not; on which it is ſaid, that captain Sayer anſwered, he had expected a ſignal, as further orders to that purpoſe. But he was ſtill more unfortunate, for after his anchor was up, his ſhip was ſo long in wearing, that betwixt the enemy's firſt fire, and the Naſſau ſupporting the Prince Edward, was a ſpace little ſhort of thirty minutes; though then ſhe made ample ſatisfaction, and abundant compenſation for the firſt loſs of time.

As the wind began to fall, both the Torbay and Fougueux were greatly hindered in bearing down; another misfortune alſo attended the commander of the Furnace bomb; for, endeavouring to come under the Torbay's ſtern, he ran athwart the Fougueux's lee bow, which cauſed a ſecond delay; but her aſſiſtance was not indiſpenſably requiſite, as the fire of the Torbay alone was ſufficient to have

have razed the very foundation of the iſland itſelf.

The commodore had brought up with ſo much alacrity and judgment, that when he was moored, the enemy could not bring a gun from St. Francis's fort to bear upon him. The fire from the Torbay was indeed ſo terrible, that ſhe appeared in one continual blaze of fire, and that part of the iſland upon which ſhe lay, was darkened by a cloud of earth, ſand, and ſmoke in conjunction.

The oppoſite ſhore was lined by many hundreds of negroes, who came down to view the engagement. They were aſtoniſhed to ſee ſhips bearing down with the utmoſt intrepidity againſt ſtone walls, and receiving the fire from the batteries with undaunted reſolution, and that brave contempt by which the Britiſh ſailors are ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed.

At length the governor thought proper to ſtrike his flag; but the commodore, in the midſt of fire and ſmoke, did not very early perceive the ſilence of the enemy, and at laſt only ſuſpected they had ſtruck, from the ſilence of the reſt of the ſquadron; for, by the time he had ſlackened his fire, ſo as to look around him, not a Frenchman was to be ſeen, but thoſe who were running to the cover of the caſtle on the hill.

Hereupon he diſpatched a lieutenant, attended by his ſecretary, to wait upon the governor on the iſland: but before they were got from the boat, they were met by M. St. Jean on the beach, who aſked them, "On "what terms the honourable Mr. Keppel "propoſed he ſhould ſurrender?" Surprized at the queſtion, they aſked him again, "If "his flag was not already ſtruck?" He anſwered in the negative, and that he meant it only as a ſignal for a parley. But being told, that the commodore would hear of no terms but his own, he replied, "If that was "the caſe, he was ſufficiently prepared, and "knew how to defend himſelf." To which the others anſwered, "That the commodore had "brought up in a ſituation, that no gun could "hurt him, and minded little if they ſtood "out for a month;" and putting off the boat, left him this ſignal. "That, the moment the commodore ſhould fire one gun "over the iſland, they might begin again, "when they pleaſed."

As the commodore had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch a procedure, he had made a ſignal for all lieutenants; but, on being informed of the governor's anſwer, ſent them off to their reſpective ſhips; and agreeable to the ſignal left with the enemy, fired one gun over the iſland; and immediately after gave them a whole broad-ſide; the other ſhips firing, more or leſs, according as they were in readineſs; for before the reſt of the ſquadron could get their guns reprimed, M. St. Jean, not being able to keep his men to their quarters, was obliged to drop the regimental colours over the wall, as a ſignal for ſurrendering. About noon the commodore ſent a party of his marines on ſhore, who took poſſeſſion of the iſland; the governor ſurrendering himſelf and the garriſon priſoners at diſcetion; and marching up to the fort of St. Michael, they hoiſted the Britiſh colours; when three cheers from the battlements of the citadel put an end to the ceremony.

In the mean time, North America exhibited ſcenes of much greater importance; where about fifty thouſand men, including twenty-two thouſand regular forces, were aſſembled, excluſive of the fleet and marines. Major general Abercrombie was now commander in chief; but the troops being divided into three bodies, in order to act in different parts, were headed by three diſtinct leaders. Twelve thouſand deſtined for an attemp on Cape Breton, under the command of major general Amherſt: ſixteen thouſand were reſerved under the direction of the general himſelf, for the reduction of Crown Point; and eight thouſand were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne, under the command of brigadier general Forbes.

General Amherſt, on the twenty-eighth day of May, embarked his troops at Halliſax, in Nova Scotia, and ſailed for Louiſbourgh with the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by admiral Boſcawen; the whole fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail. On the ſecond of June, they anchored in Gabarus-bay,

bay, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, under the command of the chevalier Drucour; and ſoon after the landing of the Britiſh troops, the French were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including ſixty Indians. The mouth of the harbour was guarded by ſix ſhips of the line, and five frigates, three of which were ſunk in the haven's mouth, in order to render the paſſage impaſſable to the Engliſh fleet. The governor had taken every precaution in his power to prevent the Britiſh forces from landing on the iſland; and in order to this, had erected a chain of forts, extending two leagues and a half along the moſt acceſſable parts of the beach. Batteries were alſo erected, and entrenchments thrown up; but ſome ſpots ſtill remained unfortified, and on one of thoſe the Britiſh forces were diſembarked.

On the firſt appearance of the Engliſh fleet, Drucour ſent out ſeveral detachments to obſerve their motions; but Amherſt, by ſending a number of ſloops under a ſtrong convoy towards Lorembec, beyond the mouth of the harbour, drew the enemy's attention to that part of the iſland; while a landing was actually effected on the other ſide of the town, on the eighth of June, under the command of the gallant brigadier general Wolfe; ſeveral ſloops and frigates having previouſly ſcoured the beach with their ſhot. The diſembarkation was attended with many difficulties from a large ſurf, which rolled impetuouſly on the beach, and a ſmart fire from the batteries of the enemy. The valiant Wolfe, however, purſued his point with great ſpirit and deliberation; and the ſoldiers, when the the boats approached the ſhore, leaped into the water with great alacrity, and in a few minutes drove the French from their works and artillery. But the difficulty of landing artillery and ſtores in tempeſtous weather; added to the nature of the ground, which was ſoft and marſhy, retarded the operations of the ſiege, which, however, general Amherſt carried on with the utmoſt circumſpection,

Orders were now given by Drucour for the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, to be demoliſhed; he alſo recalled all his out-poſts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He maintained a very ſevere fire againſt the works of the beſiegers, from the town, the iſland battery, and the ſhips in the harbour; and divers ſallies were made, but with very little effect. In the mean time, general Wolfe marched round the north-eaſt part of the harbour, and took poſſeſſion of the light-houſe point, where he erected ſeveral batteries againſt the ſhips, and the fortifications of the iſland, the latter of which was effectually ſilenced in a little time.

The Echo frigate, which had made its eſcape out of the harbour, was taken on the nineteenth day of June, by the Engliſh cruizers, and from the officers of this ſhip, the admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, accompanied by the Cornete, had ſailed from Louiſbourg, the very day the troops were landed. On the twentieth of July, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, all ſhips of the line were ſet on fire by the ſhells, and burned to aſhes; ſo that the Prudent, and Bienfaiſant, only remained in the harbour; and theſe the admiral undertook to deſtroy. Accordingly, in the night, by the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth of the ſame month, the boats of the ſquadron, divided into two detachments, were ſent into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Lafore, and Belfour. They executed their orders through a terrible diſcharge of cannon, and muſquetry, and boarded the enemy ſword in hand. The Prudent, being a ground, was ſet on fire and deſtroyed; and the ſailors towed the Beinfaiſant out of the harbour in triumph.

The moſt chearful diligence was now evident in the carrying on the ſiege; and the French governor, finding it impoſſible to ſtand the aſſault, thought proper to capitulate; by which he and his garriſon became priſoners of war. In conſequence of this capitulation,

pitulation, major Farquhar took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate, and brigadier Whitmore was detached to diſarm the garriſon, and poſt the neceſſary guards at the entrances of the magazines and on the ramparts.

Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, together, with a very large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were ſent to France in Engliſh ſhips; but the garriſon, ſea officers, marines, and ſeamen, were tranſported to England.

As ſoon as Cape Breton was reduced, ſeveral ſhips were detached, with a body of forces commanded by lieutenant colonel lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, a ſmall but fertile place in the gulph of St. Laurence. The inhabitants made no oppoſition, but readily brought in their arms, and ſurrendered. At the governor's quarters, lord Rollo found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had butchered, at the inſtigation of their patron the biſhop. This iſland abounded in grain, was well ſtocked with cattle, and contained about four thouſand inhabitants.

The whole kingdom was filled with exultation, on the valuable conqueſt of the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; and eleven pair of colours taken at Louiſbourg, were by his majeſty's order, carried in a pompous parade, eſcorted by a party of horſe, and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from Kenſington palace to the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were depoſited as trophies, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other expreſſions of triumph, and exultation.

In the Weſt-Indies, nothing very material happened, other than the protection of our commerce, and two gallant actions performed by captain Tyrrel, who in the Buckingham aſſiſted by the Cambridge, demoliſhed a ſmall fort in Grand Ana bay in the iſland of Martinico, and toook four privateers, one of which he converted into a tender, and deſtroyed the other three.

But we muſt not omit to record an inſtance of humanity, which extremely redounds to the honour of captain Tyrrell. When the fort was demoliſhed, the men fluſhed with victory warmly ſolicited leave to deſtroy a village ſituated near it, but their valiant commander replied, "Gentlemen, it is beneath "us to render a number of poor people mi- "ſerable, by deſtroying their habitations; "brave Engliſhmen ſcorn to diſtreſs even "their enemies, when not in arms againſt them." This ſpeech had the deſired effect on the brave tars, in conſequence of which the dwellings of the poor inoffenſive villagers were ſaved from deſtruction.

Some months after this, captain Tyrrel, being detached in the Buckingham on a cruize, fell in with the Weazel ſloop, commanded by lieutenant Bowles, between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadaloupe; and ſoon after diſcovered a fleet of nineteen ſail under the convoy of a French man of war called the Floriſſant, and two frigates. The brave Tyrrel, undiſmayed by their ſtrength and number, immediately gave chace with all the ſail he could carry. The enemy were prepared to receive him; but after a ſhort engagement became intimidated by his briſk fire, with which he ſoon diſabled the two frigates, and preſſed hard on the Floriſſant, which now made ſail in order to eſcape; but Tyrrel prevented her deſign by getting within piſtol ſhot, and pouring into her a whole broadſide, which did great execution.

The ſalutation was returned with equal courage, and a moſt furious engagement enſued: captain Tyrrel received a wound in his face and loſt three fingers of his right hand, which obliged him to leave the command of his ſhip to Mr. Marſhal his firſt lieutenant, who continued the action with great bravery until he loſt his life: the charge then deſcended to the ſecond lieutenant, who behaved with equal intrepidity, and maintained a moſt deſperate engagement.

engagement. At length, the fire of the Floriſſant ceaſed, and confuſion, terror, and uproar prevailed among her officers and men, till ſhe ſtruck her colours. At this time, the ſea ran ſo high, and the Buckingham was in ſo ſhattered a condition, that they could not immediately board the enemy; which being perceived by the commander, he ſpread all the ſail he could, and made his eſcape. But though the gallant Tyrrel was diſappointed of his prize, the action will always be remembered with honour. The Buckingham had twenty men killed and wounded; but the Floriſſant had above one hundred and eighty killed, and three hundred wounded; ſhe was alſo ſo greatly diſabled in her hull, that they could not keep her above water, till their arrival at Martinico, without the utmoſt difficulty.

The war in the Eaſt-Indies was, in the interim, carried on with vigour, though not always with ſucceſs. Vice admiral Pocock, being joined by commodore Stephens in Madraſs road with the reinforcements from England, ſailed on the twenty-ſeventh of March with the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger, Weymouth, Cumberland, Newcaſtle, Saliſbury, Queenborough, and Protector ſtoreſhip, in order to get to windward of St. David's, to intercept the French ſquadron, which he had reaſon to expect.

He diſcovered ſeven ſhips, on the twenty-ninth in the morning, in St. David's road, getting under ſail, and two cruizing in the offing, and immediately gave chace. The ſeven ſhips ſtood off under their topſails, and being joined by the two ſhips in the offing, formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral judged it neceſſary to form his line of battle alſo; but as ſoon as his ſhips had got into their ſtation, being nearly within a random ſhot of the enemy, bore down upon the Zodiaque, on board which ſhip, M. d'Aché wore a cornette; but he was obliged to make the ſignals for the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, obſerving that they did not bear away at the ſame time.

Although the enemy fired upon the Engliſh while they were going down, the admiral did not make the ſignal to engage, till he was within half muſquet ſhot of the Zodiaque, which was about three o'clock. A few minutes after, perceiving his ſhips were not cloſe enough to the enemy, he made the ſignal for a cloſer engagement, which was immediately complied with by the ſhips in the van. At half an hour paſt four, obſerving the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty cloſe to the Zodiaque, the admiral made the Cumberland, Newcaſtle and Weymouth ſignals to make up and engage cloſe. Soon after, M. d'Aché broke the line and put before the wind; his ſecond a-ſtern, which kept on the Yarmouth's quarter moſt part of the action, then came up a long ſide, gave his fire, and bore away. The other two ſhips in the rear came up in like manner, and then bore away; and a few minutes after, obſerving the enemy's van to bear away alſo, the admiral hauled down the ſignal for the line, and made the ſignal for a general chace. At ſix, obſerving the enemy join two ſhips, about four miles to leeward, and at the ſame time hauling their wind to the weſtward, and ſeeming to form the line a-head, and the Yarmouth's maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, as well as the Elizabeth's, Tyger's, and Saliſbury's, being ſo much damaged as to prevent their keeping up with the ſhips that were in the rear during the engagement, which had received but little damage; and night approaching, the admiral followed the enemy as well as he could, ſtanding to the S. W. in order, if poſſible, to keep to windward of them, in hopes of being able to engage them next morning; but as they ſhewed no lights, nor made any night ſignals that could be obſerved, he did not ſee them in the night nor next morning; and therefore concluding they had weathered him in the night, by being able to carry more ſail, he continued his endeavours to work up after them until ſix in the morning of the firſt of May, when, finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he came to an anchor about three leagues northward of Madraſs, and ſent an officer to the chief of that ſettlement for intelligence, who informed him that the Bien-Aimè of ſeventy four guns had received ſo much damage in the action, that they were obliged to run her on ſhore a little to the ſouthward of Alemparve,

parve, where the French ſquadron was at anchor.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the day before the admiral fell in with them, the French had arrived in St. David's road; and had not landed any troops when they engaged. M. Lally on their arrival went to Pondicherry on board the Comte de Provence, accompanied by the Diligent frigate, which were the two ſhips that joined the French ſquadron after they bore away. The Bridgwater and Triton being at anchor in St. David's road when they arrived, were ſo ſurrounded, that their captains found there was no poſſibility of eſcaping, and therefore ran their ſhips on ſhore, burned them, and retired to the fort with all their men.

No certain accounts of the enemy's loſs was obtained by the admiral; but according to the reports of the Dutch, and ſeveral French officers, they had ſix hundred men killed in the action, and many more wounded. The loſs on our part was only twenty-nine killed, and eighty-nine wounded. The action was about ſeven leagues W. by N. of Alemparve.

The admiral highly applauds the conduct of commodore Stephens, the captains Latham and Somerſet who were in the van, and alſo captain Kempenfelt, the commodore's captain, who, he ſays, behaved as became gallant officers: and that captain Harriſon's behaviour, as well as that of all the officers and men belonging to the Yarmouth, gave him ſenſible ſatisfaction: and that had the captains in the rear done their duty as well, he ſhould have commanded them with great pleaſure: but their manner of acting in the engagement appeared ſo faulty, that on his return to Madraſs, he ordered a court-martial to aſſemble, and enquire into their conduct. In conſequence of this, captain Nicholas Vincent was ſentenced to be diſmiſſed from the command of the Weymouth: captain George Legge of the Newcaſtle, to be caſhiered from his majeſty's ſervice, and captain William Brereton of the Cumberland, to loſe one year's rank as a poſt captain.

Having repaired the moſt material damages of his ſhips, admiral Pocock put to ſea the tenth of May, with an intent to get up to fort St. David; but was not able to effect it. He got ſight of Pondicherry on the thirtieth, and the next morning the French ſquadron, which had been there ever ſince the fifth, ſtood out of the road, and got away, notwithſtanding the admiral's utmoſt endeavours to come up with them. On the ſixth of June, upon receiving an account that fort St. David's had ſurrendered to the French, he judged it prudent to return immediately to Madraſs, in order to take in proper refreſhments.

On the twenty-fifth day of July the admiral again ſailed in queſt of the enemy and on the twenty-ſeventh in the evening, got within three leagues of Pondicherry road, where he perceived their ſquadron at anchor, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, and a frigate. They got under ſail the next morning and ſtood to the ſouthward. The admiral made the ſignal to chace, and endeavoured to weather them, as the moſt probable means of bringing them to action, which, however, he was not able to accompliſh till the third of Auguſt, when taking the advantage of the ſea breeze, he got the weather gage, and brought on the engagement about one o'clock. M. d'Aché ſet his foreſail, and bore away in about ten minutes, his ſquadron following his example, and continuing a running fight in a very irregular manner till three o'clock. The admiral then made the ſignal for a general chace; upon which the French cut away their boats, and made all the ſail they could; he purſued them till it was dark, when they eſcaped by out-ſailing him, and got into Pondicherry road. The admiral anchored with his ſquadron off a French ſettlement called Carrical, on the ſame evening.

In this action, the loſs of men on the part of the Engliſh, was only thirty one killed, and one hundred and ſixteen wounded; among the latter were commodore Stephens, and captain Martin. On this occaſion the admiral expreſſed the greateſt approbation of the behaviour of the officers and men in general.

The French ſquadron continued in Pondicherry road till the third of September, when they ſailed for the iſlands to clean and refit;

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two of their ſhips being in a very bad condition, and the others conſiderably damaged. Their loſs in this laſt action, amounted to five hundred and forty killed and wounded, according to the moſt authentic accounts.

The company's ſhip the Pitt, arrived at Madraſs on the fourteenth of September, with colonel Draper on board, and a detachment of his regiment.

The French army made a motion, on the twelfth of December, towards Choultry plain, and were cannonaded by the Engliſh, who killed about forty of them, without ſuſtaining any loſs on their ſide. They marched in three diviſions, one directly towards the Engliſh, one towards Egmore, and the other down St. Thome road. The colonels Lawrence and Draper, fearing this laſt might get poſſeſſion of the iſland bridge, retired to the iſland: and the ſame morning part came into the garriſon, and part took poſſeſſion of the poſts in the Black Town. The ſame morning, the French hoiſted their flag at Egmore and St. Thome. The thirteenth every thing was quiet, not a gun firing on either ſide. The fourteenth in the morning, the enemy marched their whole force to attack the Black Town. Our ſmall parties retreated into the garriſon, and about an hour after, a grand ſally was made, commanded by colonel Draper. The regiment of Lorrain was ſurprized, and a very hot action enſued. Colonel Draper acquitted himſelf with amazing valour, and, if he had been vigorouſly ſuſtained, would have foiled the enemy conſiderably. Another attempt was afterwards made upon the town, but the enemy was obliged to retire, and even abandon the undertaking.

The moſt important affairs of this year, both of a naval and military nature, in the Eaſt Indies, having been now recorded in as conſpicuous a manner as is conſiſtent with a proper regard to brevity, we now paſs on to exhibit a ſummary view of the operations performed by the allied army, during this campaign, on the continent of Europe, where the utmoſt diligence was uſed in the proſecution of the war.

About the cloſe of the laſt year, a farmer of the revenue had arrived at Hanover from Paris, in order to receive the revenues of that electorate, together with thoſe of all other countries which ſhould be reduced by the armies of the moſt Chriſtian king. At the ſame time, a decree was publiſhed at Paris, by which it appeared, that the court of Verſailles had determined the government and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered. The French, therefore, who had ſet the example, could have no kind of right to complain of the breach of articles.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, alarmed at theſe proceedings, ſollicited a treaty with the French king, whereby the former was injoined not to act directly or indirectly againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and, in conſequence of this treaty, the latter was to afford him the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſupport, if his eſtates ſhould be attacked.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, however, was not the only prince alarmed by the progreſs of the French arms. The duke of Brunſwick, though now nearly connected with his Britannic majeſty, in order to detach himſelf from the deſperate fortune of Hanover, concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, ten days after the former convention was ſigned.

The news of this treaty greatly alarmed prince Ferdinand, who was now commander in chief of the Hanoverian army, and he determined to fruſtrate the expectations of the French king. He had received orders to reſume the operations of the war againſt the enemy, and thought proper to detain the troops of Brunſwick, and alſo his nephew, the hereditary prince, notwithſtanding the treaty ſigned by his brother, who wrote an expoſtulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, complaining of his having ſeduced his troops, decoyed his ſon, and diſgraced his family. He peremptorily demanded the return of his troops, and threatened, in caſe of refuſal, to apply more effectual methods. But prince Ferdinand adhered to his purpoſe: he detained both the troops and hereditary prince, who, being fond of the ſervice, ſoon ſignalized himſelf by many valiant feats, and was

juſtly conſidered as one of the greateſt heroes in the military way, which the preſent age has produced.

A virulent memorial was now publiſhed by the court of Verſailles againſt his Britannic majeſty, on the violation of the treaty ſigned at Cloſter-Seven; but an anſwer ſoon appeared, which refuted every article of the charge, and fully juſtified the conduct of the king of England.

Prince Ferdinand, about the middle of of February, being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe, under the command of the prince of Holſtein-Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen. The enemy were ſoon diſlodged from Rottenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden, they alſo abandoned the city of Bremen, on the approach of the Hanoverian army, who took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition.

The duke de Richlieu had, in the interim, been recalled, and the count de Clermont now commanded the French forces. The appointment of this general was at once agreeable to the army, and the ſubjects of Hanover; Richlieu having treated them with great inhumanity. The count, perceiving that it would be impoſſible for him, with the wretched remnant of the French army, to oppoſe prince Ferdinand in the field, with ſucceſs, or even maintain the footing his predeceſſor had gained, retreated as the allies advanced, with ſuch precipitation, as frequently to leave the greater part of his artillery and baggage behind him, and ſometimes even his ſick men.

As the people of Hanover now ſaw that the French were not able to face the allies, they were convinced they muſt ſoon abandon their city, and dreaded the abuſes and cruelties they had reaſon to fear would be practiſed on that occaſion. But they were happily diſappointed, by the ingenuous behaviour of their governor, the duke of Randan, who, not only kept the ſoldiers within the bounds of the moſt rigid diſcipline, but even ordered the large magazine of proviſions to be ſold at a low rate, after diſtributing a conſiderable quantity to the poor. An inſtance of humanity, more to the credit of that nobleman, than titles of honour, or triumphs of conqueſt.

The majority of the French forces now retired to Hamelen, leaving a conſiderable detachment under count Chabot, at Hoya, a ſtrong fort upon the Weſer, and a place of ſo much importance, that prince Ferdinand determined to drive the enemy from it. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick was appointed for this ſervice, with four battalions of foot, and a detachment of light horſe. The prince, pleaſed with an opportunity of diſplaying his military talents, undertook the expedition with great alacrity. He had a broad and deep river to paſs, and no means of tranſporting his men but a ſingle float, and even this was ſoon rendered uſeleſs by a ſtrong wind, which aroſe about the time that one half of his troops had paſſed over, By this accident, all communication was cut off between the prince and a large part off his detachment; while the party he was going to diſlodge, was ſuperior to his whole force. Thus embarraſſed, the prince formed and executed a plan, worthy the moſt renowned of warriors: he determined not to ſpend any time in bringing over the reſt of his troops, but to puſh on with ſuch reſolution, as could not fail of intimidating the enemy, and giving him an opportunity of attacking them with ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſmall number of his forces. Accordingly, the detachment was in motion before five in the morning, and marched with the utmoſt expedition directly to Hoya. When they were only a mile and a half diſtant from the place, another accident had nearly defeated the ſucceſs of the enterprize, The detachment fired, by miſtake, upon four of the enemy's dragoons, who were patroling in the neighbourhood of the place. The fire was caught from man to man, till at length it became general; and could not fail of alarming the enemy. An intrepid reſolution was now the only reſource, and was accordingly aſſumed. They marched with the utmoſt expedition to the town, and attacked the enemy at the bridge; a fierce

a fierce fire enſued, without any apparent advantage reſulting to either party, and the ground was ſo uneven, that the prince could not bring up his whole detachment. Senſible of this difficulty, he formed the deſign of attacking the enemy in the rear; but to carry this ſcheme into execution, it was neceſſary to make a circuit about the town. Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh: the attack was made with fixed bayonets, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. The French abandoned the bridge, and fled in confuſion; and the prince, having diſlodged the enemy, rejoined the other part of his detachment. The count de Chabot, threw himſelf, with two battalions, into the caſtle and determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity, but ſoon after capitulated, by which his garriſon marched out with all the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores, and ammunition, were ſurrendered to the victor. The prince had about an hundred men killed and wounded, but took ſix hundred and ſeventeen priſoners. By this action a place of the utmoſt importance, and which opened a paſſage over the Weſer, was ſecured to the Hanoverian army. This was the firſt exploit of the hereditary prince, whoſe future conduct by no means fell ſhort of this glorious beginning.

On his return from Hoya, his ſerene highneſs inveſted Minden, which was defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, who in nine days ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. About the ſame time ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties of the Hanoverian and French armies, but always to the advantage of the former; the latter, ſurrounded with difficulties and diſtreſs, marched in three columns towards the Rhine.

Prince Ferdinand finding it impoſſible to prevent the French from paſſing the Rhine, cantoned the allied army in the biſhopric of Munſter, but did not remain long inactive. About the latter end of May, he ordered a detachment to paſs the Rhine at Duyſburgh, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his orders without loſs of time, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon.

The whole army paſſed the Rhine on the ſeventh of June, on a bridge conſtructed for that purpoſe, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained ſeveral other advantages over the enemy.

If the annals of France can boaſt a monarch of the laſt age, who paſſed the Rhine unoppoſed, at the head of a powerful army; it may be recorded to the honour of the enemies of France, that they paſſed the river, in preſence of an army of that nation, compoſed of fifty thouſand men; and we appeal to the impartial world for a deciſion of ſuperiority. The French army retired as the prince advanced, till the count de Clermont, in order to ſtop, if poſſible, the progreſs of the allies, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous camp, near Rhinefeldt, which he fortified with a ſtrong entrenchment, and determined to wait for reinforcements at that place.

As prince Ferdinand found an attack upon the French camp in that ſituation to be impracticable, he found means to turn their left flank towards the conqueſt of Campe, which obliged the enemy to quit a very advantageous poſt, and retire to Nys, a little higher up the river, whence the count de Clermont detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Crevelt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. Prince Ferdinand, having made a diſpoſition for attacking the enemy, and carefully reconnoitered the ſituation of their camp, aſſigned the command of his whole left wing, conſiſting of eighteen battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons, to lieutenant general Sporcken; the conduct of the right wing, compoſed of ſixteen battalions, and fourteen ſquadrons, was conferred on the hereditary prince, and major general Wagenheim; the ſquadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Pruſſian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holſtein; while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, conſiſting of five ſquadrons of Heſſians, were divided between the prince of Holſtein and general Sporcken. Major Luckner's ſquadron, together with Scheither's

corps,

corps, were ordered to obſerve the flank of the enemy's right, and were accordingly poſted in the village of Pandendeike; and a battalion of the troops of Woolfenbuttle was left in the town of Hulſte, to cover the rear of the army. The intention of prince Ferdinand was to attack the left flank of the enemy, but, he ſaw that the execution of it would be rendered extremely difficult, by the ditches and woods that interſected this part of the country.

His highneſs having taken a view of the poſition of the enemy from the ſteeple of St. Anthony, procured guides for the different bodies, and putting himſelf at the head of the grenadiers, proceeded to the right, in order to attack the enemy's left flank, by the villages of Worth and Anrath, but, in order to keep them in ſuſpence with regard to his main deſign, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance againſt them, by the way of Crevelt, and St Anthony, and to be careful in the diſpoſal of their artillery; that as the chief attack was intended to be on the left wing, the enemy might be prevented from ſending any reinforcements to that quarter.

Prince Ferdinand, having taken theſe precautions, continued his march, at the head of the grenadiers, to the valley of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, who, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry, retired to the camp, and gave the alarm. About one in the afternoon, the action began with a ſevere cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well ſupported, did not drive the French from their cover; he therefore determined to diſlodge them, by a cloſe attack of the infantry. The hereditary prince accordingly advanced with the whole front, and an obſtinate action enſued. In the mean time, the cavalry on the right attempted in vain to penetrate through the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſuſtained by forty ſquadrons of horſe.

The action was continued in this manner, till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the grenadiers collecting all their ſtrength, forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined with the French infantry. Theſe giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, and the vigorous attacks of the Hanoverian horſe, who had by this time found means to regain the plain. The ſucceſs of the day was in a great meaſure owing to the artillery on the left and in the center, which did great execution, while prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attack on the other quarter.

Seven thouſand of the French troops were killed, wounded, or taken priſoners in this engagement; and ſeveral ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies, who loſt about fifteen hundred men.

Though this victory was neither entire nor deciſive, yet it redounds not a little to the honour of prince Ferdinand and his troops. At the ſame time, impartiality muſt acknowledge, that the enemy exhibited ſignal marks of military ſkill, and heroic valour.

The count de Clermont reſigning his command not long after this battle, was ſucceeded by Monſieur de Contades, and the army was conſiderably reinforced. This general threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made ſome motions in conſequence of that reſolution; but was prevented in his purſuit by the little river Erff, behind which the prince reſolved to continue quiet, till he ſhould be joined by the body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough; the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden. He was perſuaded that the prince of Yſenburgh, who commanded the Heſſian troops, would be able for ſome time to find ſufficient employ to occupy Soubiſe, who lately marched from Hanau, with a deſign to penetrate into the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; but his van-guard had been ſurprized and cut to pieces by the militia of the country. This circumſtance induced prince Ferdinand to hope that the operations of the

enemy

enemy would be retarded, until himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh troops, ſhould be in a condition of paſſing the Maiſe, and transferring the ſeat of war into the enemy's country.

But when he had marched as far as Ruremond upon the Maeſe, in proſecution of this deſign, an account arrived which diſconcerted all his meaſures. The duke de Broglio, at the head of a very powerful corps, detached from the prince of Soubiſe's army, defeated the prince of Yſenburgh, at Sangerhauſen, on the twenty-third day of July; and the enemy, in conſequence of this advantage, became maſters of the Weſer, by which a free paſſage into Weſtphalia was opened to them.

The plan of prince Ferdinand was altogether fruſtrated by this unfortunate check, and he was induced to repaſs the Rhine, after having offered the enemy battle, which they thought proper to decline, though the river was ſo ſwelled with the heavy rains, that the bridge at the Rhees had been rendered uſeleſs for ſome time paſt.

In conſequence of the misfortunes which, attended the allied army, Monſieur de Chevert, one of the moſt able commanders in the French army, formed a plan, which, if it had ſucceeded, muſt have greatly embarraſſed the ſituation of prince Ferdinand. Chevert had projected a ſcheme for diſlodging baron Imhoff, who was poſted on the right of the Rhine; burning the bridge at Rhees, making himſelf maſter of the magazine, and preventing the junction of the Britiſh and Hanoverian forces. To execute this plan, he united ſeveral detachments from the garriſon of Weſel, to a conſiderable corps, originally intended for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. The troops under Imhoff did not exceed three thouſand men, while Chevert's forces amounted to at leaſt twelve thouſand.

The Hanoverian general was no ſooner acquainted with M. Chevert's intention, than he did every thing in his power to defeat it. Perſuaded that the ſwell of the river had rendered it impoſſible for him to receive any aſſiſtance from prince Ferdinand, and that he had nothing to rely on but his own genius, and the valour of his troops, he reſolved to quit his poſt, and meet the enemy. Obſerving that the French were paſſing through very difficult ground, he did not loſe a moment in beginning the action. He ordered a ſmall party, poſted in a little coppice, to fall upon the enemy's left, which he perceived to be uncovered; and appointed the fire of this party, as a ſignal for the reſt to advance, and begin the attack with fixed bayonets. The French being attacked in ſo vigorous and unexpected a manner, fell into confuſion, and in leſs than half an hour fled from the field of battle, leaving eleven pieces of cannon, and all their baggage, to the Hanoverians, who took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, and drove them under the cannon of Weſel. This ſignal advantage over ſo great a ſuperiority, was not more bravely obtained than wiſely improved. Imhoff, having taken proper meaſures for ſecuring his magazine, quitted his poſt at Meer; and being reinforced by ſeveral parties, who had paſſed the river in boats, he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards the rout of the Engliſh forces, and happily effected a junction, a circumſtance, which hitherto ſo many difficulties had prevented from taking place.

Prince Ferdinand was determined to force the town of Wachtendonock, which, though unfortified, is a poſt of great importance. being ſituated on an iſland ſurrounded by the river Niers, and therefore extremely difficult of acceſs. The hereditary prince, always firſt in every active ſervice, was appointed to the execution of this deſign. The enemy, on his approach, drew up the bridge; and the prince perceiving, that if he attempted to drive them from that ſtation, they would have time to recollect themſelves from their ſurprize; he therefore threw himſelf into the river, and his grenadiers, animated by ſo gallant an example, plunged in after him, and attacking the enemy furiouſly with their bayonets, drove them in a few minutes from their poſt. The French, intimidated by the uncommon reſolution which appeared in theſe late actions, thought proper to avoid an engagement, as very fatal conſequences might

attend any failure therein on their part.

Prince Ferdinand made an attempt to paſs the Rhine at Rhineberg, ſoon after this action; but the river had overflowed its banks to ſuch a degree, that here, as well as at the Rhees, the ſhore was inacceſſible. He, therefore, found it neceſſary to march further down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had prepared four veſſels for the demolition of this bridge, but before they could carry their deſigns into execution, they were all taken.

The junction of the Britiſh forces was compleated ſoon afterwards; but the armies on the Rhine were ſo nearly matched, that, during the remainder of the campaign, no very extraordinary action was atchieved by either party.

Prince Ferdinand now retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head quarters at Munſter; while Contades encamped near Ham, upon the Lippe, and extended his troops in ſuch a manner, as to command the whole courſe of the Rhine on both ſides. The campaign was ſo far advanced before the Britiſh troops joined the army, that they had no opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field. The effects of a long and tedious march, however, were ſeverely felt by them in general, and proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died at Munſter of a dyſentry, univerſally regretted.

The French miniſtry, in the interim, had recourſe to various arts, to elude the circumſpection of the Engliſh cruizers, in order to tranſport to their colony of Canada, a ſupply of troops, artillery, ammunition, and other military ſtores. While the convoys were getting ready for ſailing in one port, they aſſembled tranſports in another, to divert the attention of the Engliſh from the real object of theſe preparations. They ventured out in boiſterous weather, when the Britiſh cruizers could not block up their harbours, and choſe to ſail for the relief of their American ſettlements, in ſtorms and tempeſts.

They had alſo recourſe to various ſchemes, in order to elude the Britiſh ſquadrons ſtationed at Hallifax, or cruizing on the banks of Newfoundland, or in the gulph of St. Lawrence. They ſometimes ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, and while the Engliſh ſquadron continued in the harbours of Nova Scotia; ſometimes they waited on the coaſt of Newfoundland for ſuch thick fogs, as might conceal them from the Britiſh cruizers, and ſometimes penetrated through a dangerous paſſage, called the ſtreights of Belleiſle.

The invaſion of Great Britain, which had ſo long engaged the thoughts of the French, began now to appear impracticable even in their own opinions. They, therefore, laid up their large ſhips of war, which, in this reduced ſtate of their navy, could not but be uſeleſs, and encouraged the fitting out of ſtout privateers, which greatly annoyed the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruizing in the ſeas of Europe and America. Some of them lay cloſe in the harbours of the channel facing the coaſt of England, and darted out occaſionally on the trading ſhips of that nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpoſe. Some took up their ſtation in the north ſea, where a great number of captures were made on the coaſt of Scotland, and others cruized in the chops of the channel, and to the weſtward of Ireland. But the greater number infeſted the ſeas, in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, where they made a prodigious number of captures, and conveyed them to their own ſettlements in that part of the world.

A conſiderable number of captures were made, during the courſe of this year, of ſhips belonging to the Dutch, who had for ſome time carried on a very conſiderable trade, not only by taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but alſo in ſupplying the French with naval ſtores, and tranſporting the produce of their ſugar colonies, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The Engliſh government, juſtly incenſed at this unfair commerce, iſſued orders for their cruizers to ſtop all neutral ſhips that ſhould have French property on board, and theſe orders were punctually executed. A great number of Dutch ſhips were taken and condemned as legal prizes, both in

England

England and Jamaica. Theſe proceedings irritated the Dutch merchants to ſuch a degree, that they preſented a memorial to the ſtates, expreſſing their deſign of reſenting this proceeding, and offering to join, at their own expence, in order to protect their trade: but the princeſs of Orange, prevented matters from coming to a dangerous extremity, by the exertion of all her power and influence with the ſtates-general.

On the twenty-third day of November, the time for which the parliament had been prorogued being expired, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion; his majeſty being indiſpoſed; when the lord keeper told them, that his majeſty had directed the lords of the commiſſion to aſſure his parliament, of his having always received the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to lay before them any events, that tended to promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdom; that in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by their aſſiſtance, his majeſty had exerted his endeavours to proſecute the war with vigour, in order to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace; that the conqueſts of the ſtrong fort of Louiſbourgh, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, the demolition of Fort Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail of bringing great diſtreſs on the French commerce and colonies, and that Great-Britain muſt, in proportion thereto, reap conſiderable advantages.

He obſerved that France had been convinced, that while her forces were ſent out to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts are not inacceſſible to his majeſty fleets and armies: a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of Cherburg. He told them, that in Germany his majeſty's good brother the king of Pruſſia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, had wholly engaged the attention of the armies of France and her confederates; that their ſucceſſes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops, and thoſe of the allies, had been as glorious as they were ſignal.

His lordſhip farther ſaid that he had it in command from his majeſty, to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency was ſtill making glorious efforts, againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs; that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches had, by the care and vigilance of the officers of his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be equalled at ſuch a time. In this ſtate of things the king thought it unneceſſary, to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to defend his majeſty, and vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia and the reſt of the allies, in order to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the houſe of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, had unavoidably incurred uncommon expences, and that his majeſty ſincerely lamented the burden of his people; that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them, and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies, as were requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage, and adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place he aſſured them, that the king took ſo much ſatisfaction in that harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that is was more proper for him to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it; that this union was more eſpecially neceſſary in the preſent critical juncture, and his majeſty doubted not, but the good effects the nation had found from it, would effectually induce them to purſue it.

Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to his majeſty, filled with expreſſions of their ſteady zeal and unſhaken loyalty to his majeſty's perſon. They congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and promiſed to ſupport the meaſures of him and his allies with the utmoſt alacrity, fidelity and zeal.

*A D.* 1759. It would be no eaſy matter to decide whether meaſures were now concerted with more political ſagacity, or executed with more patriotic fidelity. The navy was augmented and repaired, a proclamation was iſſued, offering a conſiderable bounty to all ſeamen, and able landmen, who ſhould, before a certain day, enter into his majeſty's ſervice. Many cities, towns, corporations, and even individuals joined the government in

offering

offering bounties; ſo general was the approbation of the miniſtry, and deſire of humbling the inſolent foe. Such was the ſtate of commerce in this metropolis, even in theſe expenſive times, that the citizens of London found leiſure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament and conveniencies of that meridian of trade and opulence. They obtained an act of parliament empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black friars to the oppoſite ſhore, about midway between thoſe of London and Weſtminſter.

Not only the French navy was, by this time, conſiderably reduced, but the Engliſh had made themſelves maſters of the greater part of the numerous privateers which they had fitted out, on laying up their large ſhips of war. Many Engliſh ſhips of the line as well as frigates were ordered to cruize in different latitudes of Europe and America; and were, in general, remarkably ſucceſsful; by which means the ſubjects of France were greatly impoveriſhed by the interruption of its trade.

A continued ſeries of loſſes had by this time ſo affected the French, that they ſeemed now to act like perſons of deſperate fortune, and venture all upon one ſingle ſtake. With this view all their ports were filled with preparations for an invaſion of Great-Britain; nay to ſuch a degree of military phrenzy were they wrought, that they talked of triple embarkation. M. Thurot was to command a ſmall ſquadron, and ſeveral tranſports from Dunkirk, which it was imagined, were intended for Scotland. This perſon had from maſter of a merchantman, become captain of a privateer, in which capacity he greatly annoyed the trade of England, and acquired renown for courage and conduct; by which he at length obtained a command in the ſervice of his ſovereign.

Flat-bottomed boats were to have conveyed, from Havre de Grace and other ports of Normandy, the troops deſigned to invade England. The third embarkation, which was ſuppoſed againſt Ireland, was to be made from Vienne, in Lower Brittany, where a large body was aſſembled, under the command of the duke d'Aquilon, governor of that province. This embarkation was to be covered by a fleet under M. de Conflans, then fitting out with the utmoſt expedition at Breſt. But ſuch meaſures were taken to fruſtrate their deſigns, that there was little probability of their being executed with ſucceſs. Commodore Boys, with his ſquadron, was ſtationed before Dunkirk; and admiral Hawke, with a ſtrong ſquadron, blocked up the French fleet in Breſt; while a ſmaller ſquadron under the command of captain Duff, kept a watch on the port of Vannes.

To render uſeleſs the preparations at Havre, admiral Rodney was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs, not only to prevent the French flat bottomed boats from ſailing, but to defeat the project, by bombarding the place. He arrived before Havre on the ſecond of July, and anchored the next day in the great road, where, after making the proper diſpoſitions, the bombs proceeded to place themſelves in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur. About ſeven in the evening, two of the bombs were ſtationed, as well as the reſt early next morning, and continued the bombardment for fifty two hours, without the leaſt intermiſſion, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town was ſeveral times in flames, and their magazine of ſtores collected for the uſe of the flat bottomed boats, burnt with fury for ſix hours, notwithſtanding the continual efforts of ſeveral hundred men to extinguiſh it. Many of the flat bottomed boats were overturned and deſtroyed by the exploſion of the ſhells. During this attack, the enemy's troops, which appeared very numerous, were continually erecting new batteries, and throwing up intrenchments; and the conſternation of the inhabitants was ſo great, that they forſook the place, which was ſet on fire in ſeveral parts, and burnt with great fury. Thus a ſmall ſquadron, was ſufficient to terrify a whole town, defended by a large body of forces, as well as to convince the enemy of the abſurdity of their attempt, at a time, when their naval force was in the moſt reduced and ruinous condition.

While

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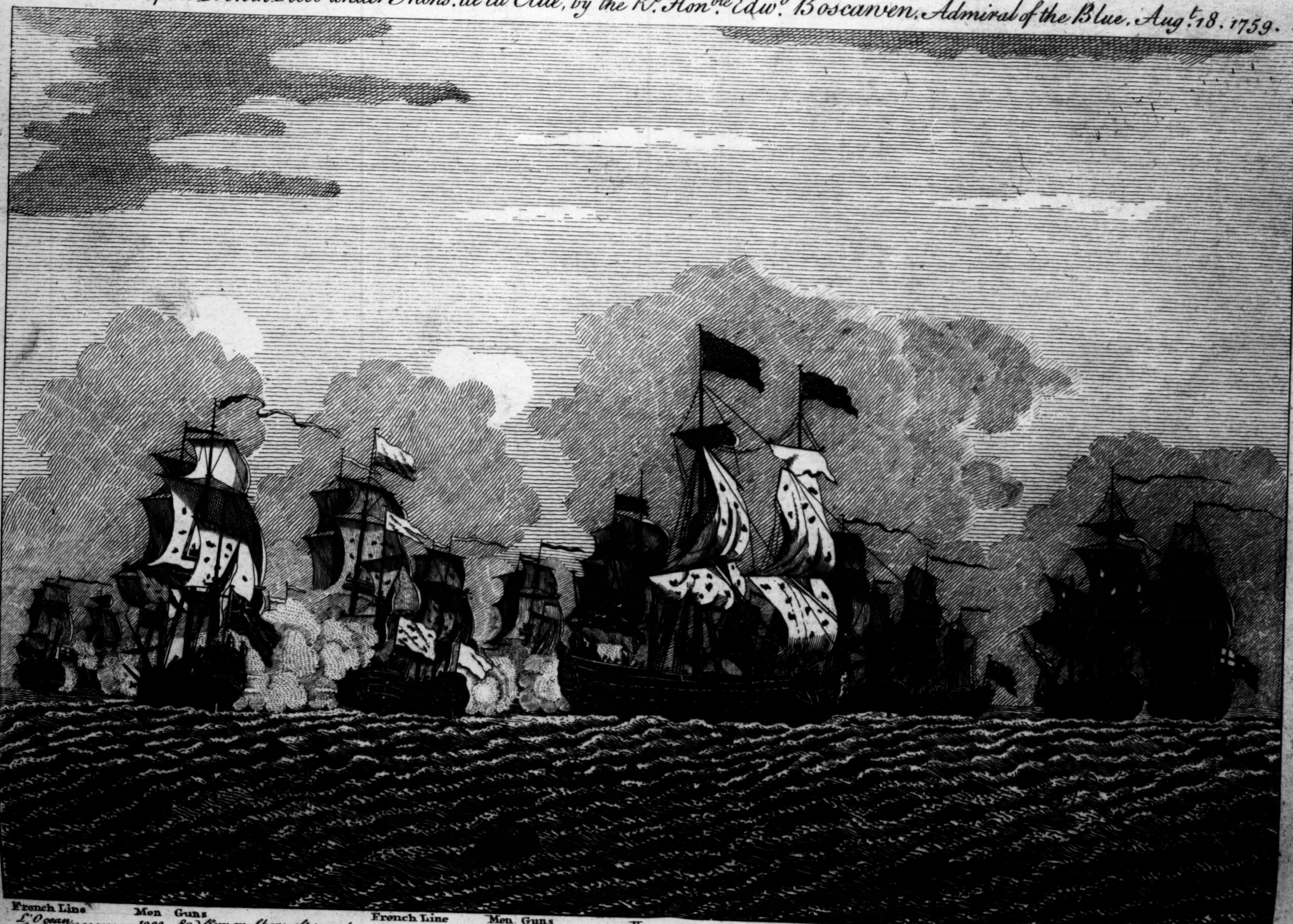
Engrav'd for Clarendons History of England.

# DEFEAT of the French Fleet under Mons.r de la Clue, by the Rt. Hon.ble Edw.d Boscawen, Admiral of the Blue. Aug.t 18. 1759.



| French Line | Men | Guns | |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Ocean | 1000 | 80 | Run on Shore afterwards Burnt by the English. |
| Le Redoubtable | 815 | 74 | Taken |
| Le Centaur | 815 | 74 | |
| Le Temeraire | 815 | 74 | |
| Le Modest | 750 | 64 | |

| French Line | | Men | Guns | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Ships Each | 815 | 74 | Escaped in the Night & went to Cadiz |
| 3 | | 750 | 64 | |
| 2 | | 500 | 32 | |
| 3 | Frigates | 3073 | Tons | Total |

| English Line | Men | Guns |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Ships Each | 775 | 90 |
| 1 | 870 | 80 |
| 2 | | |
| 2 | | |

| English Line | Men | Guns |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | | |
| 2 | 480 | 64 |
| 1 | 400 | 60 |
| 2 | | |

While the fleet under the command of M. Conflans, was blocked up by Sir Edward Hawke in Breſt, the gallant admiral Boſcawen was watching another fleet fitting out at Toulon, under the command of M. de la Clue. He often diſplayed the Engliſh flag in ſight of this fleet, by way of defiance, in order to induce M. de la Clue to quit his aſylum, and hazard an engagement in the open ſea; but being diſappointed in his hope, he ordered three ſhips of the line commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Baker, to advance and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour.

This order they obeyed with the utmoſt alacrity, and met with a very warm reception, from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. They attempted to deſtroy the ſmall forts, but being over-matched, and a calm coming on, they ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and were towed off with difficulty in a very ſhattered condition. The admiral, therefore, returned to Gibraltar to refit; M. de la Clue ſeized the opportunity of ſailing, in hopes of paſſing the ſtreight's mouth unobſerved, though his fleet conſiſted of twelve large ſhips and three frigates.

While the admiral remained in this harbour, he detached the Gibraltar, to hover between Eſlapona, and Ceuta point, on the Barbary coaſt, to keep a good look out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould think proper to make the attempt.

About eight o'clock in the morning on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the Gibraltar made a ſignal, that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary coaſt, to the eaſtward of Ceuta; upon which admiral Boſcawen got under ſail with the greateſt expedition, and the next morning at day break, he ſaw ſeven large ſhips lying to; but finding the Engliſh did not anſwer their ſignals, they made off with all the ſail they could ſet. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line and two fire ſhips, ſtood after them, and it blowing freſh, came up with them about noon, but the wind dying away, the engagement did not begin till paſt two; nor could admiral Boſcawen get up with the Ocean, M. de la Clue's ſhip, till about four, when the action began with great fury. In about half an hour the mizen-maſt, and both top-ſail-yards of the Namur were ſhot away, which obliged the admiral to hoiſt his flag on board the Newark, and the Ocean ſtood away, with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. Soon after, the Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, ſtruck, and the Engliſh purſued the flying enemy all night, but in the morning four ſail ſtanding in for the land were all that could be diſcovered.

The Engliſh were now at a greater diſtance than three miles from them, and not more than five leagues from the ſhore. About noon the Ocean ran among the breakers, and the Redoubtable followed her example, and both endeavoured to land their men; but this, from the roughneſs of the ſea, proved a difficult and tedious taſk. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte anchored as near as poſſible to the ſhore.

Admiral Boſcawen ſtood in very near the land himſelf, and ſent the Intrepid and America to deſtroy the Ocean; the former, by coming to an anchor could not get in; but the latter ſoon performed the ſervice; for, on firing a broadſide, the Ocean ſtruck, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of her. M. de la Clue, who had one leg broke, and the other wounded, had been landed about half an hour, but her captain, M. le compte de Came, and ſeveral officers and men were on board.

The Ocean was now ſet on fire, as it was found impoſſible to get her off. Captain Bently, of the Warſpight, was ordered againſt the Temeraire, of ſeventy-four guns, and brought her off with very little damage. At the ſame time, vice-admiral Broderick, with his diviſion, burnt the Redoubtable, which was bulged, and abandoned by the people; and brought off the Modeſte, of ſixty-four guns, which had received very little damage.

The Engliſh fleet obtained this victory at the expence of fifty-ſix men killed, and one hundred and ninety-ſix wounded; but the carnage on board the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambaſſador at Liſbon acknowledged, that on board the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the ſpot, and

ſeventy dangerouſly wounded. But what added to the concern of the enemy, was the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought to England in triumph, to increaſe the naval force of Great-Britain.

The news of the admiral's ſucceſs over the French Fleet being brought to England by captain Bentley, he was favoured with a very gracious reception from his majeſty, who was pleaſed to knight him for his bravery.

Though the intended invaſion of Great-Britain was retarded by the defeat of Monſieur de la Clue, yet the preparations for it were ſtill carried on. With this view, Thurot received orders to ſail the firſt opportunity from Dunkirk, round the northern coaſt of Scotland, in order to alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part, where Conflans intended to diſembark his forces. The tranſports and ſhips of war were aſſembled at Breſt and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, and accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including the Iriſh brigade, were kept in readineſs to embark, and the young pretender, having agreed to the terms propoſed in France, remained, with a view to give countenance to a revolt in Great-Britain, *incognito*, in the neighbourhood of Vannes.

This project was, however, totally defeated, by Sir Edward Hawke's blocking up the harbour of Breſt, with a fleet of twenty-three capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmall ſhips commanded by captain Duff, continued cruizing along the French coaſt, from Port l'Orient in Bretagne, to the point of St. Giles in Poictou.

But in the month of November the Britiſh fleet, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and commodore Young, was driven from the coaſt of France, by ſtreſs of weather, and on the ninth day anchored at Torbay. The French admiral no ſooner received intelligence that the Engliſh were driven from their ſtation, than he ſailed from Breſt with twenty-one ſail of the line, in order to deſtroy the ſquadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger could return from the coaſt of England.

The departure of the French fleet being known to Sir Edward Hawke, he immediately put to ſea, in order to deſtroy them; and in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were expoſed to a deſcent; and all the ſhips of war that were in a condition of going to ſea, were ordered to ſail immediately. The land forces quartered a long the ſhores of Kent and Eſſex, were put in motion; and every meaſure that true patriotiſm could inſpire, or ſound policy dictate, was taken by the miniſtry to defeat the deſigns of the enemy.

Sir Edward Hawke, during theſe tranſactions, directed his courſe for Quiberon bay, where he had reaſon to think the French fleet would rendezvous; but a hard gale fruſtrated his attempt, and drove him to the weſtward, where he was joined by the Maidſtone, and Coventry, two of his majeſty's frigates. Theſe ſhips he ordered to keep a head of the ſquadron, one on the ſtarboard, and the other on the larboard bow. On the morning of the twentieth of November, the Maidſtone made a ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, upon which the admiral hove out a ſignal for forming the line a-breaſt, in order to draw all his ſquadron together; and about ten o'clock they were diſcovered to be the enemy's ſquadron. They were then in chace of captain Duff's ſquadron; but, on diſcovering the Engliſh fleet, they made off with all the ſail they could carry, and captain Duff, with ſome difficulty, joined Sir Edward; who, perceiving the French, were endeavouring to eſcape, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy, to chace, and endeavour to detain them, till they could be ſuſtained by the reſt of the ſquadron, which in order to ſave as much time as poſſible, were ordered for the line a-head immediately.

When it is conſidered that the coaſt, which here abounds with ſhoals and rocks, was wholly unknown to the Engliſh, and very familiar to the French; that the day was ſhort, and a lee-ſhore at hand; we cannot but revere the memory of the gallant Hawke, who, prompted by his own integrity, fired with the love of his country, and incenſed at the daring attempt of an ambitious foe, nobly

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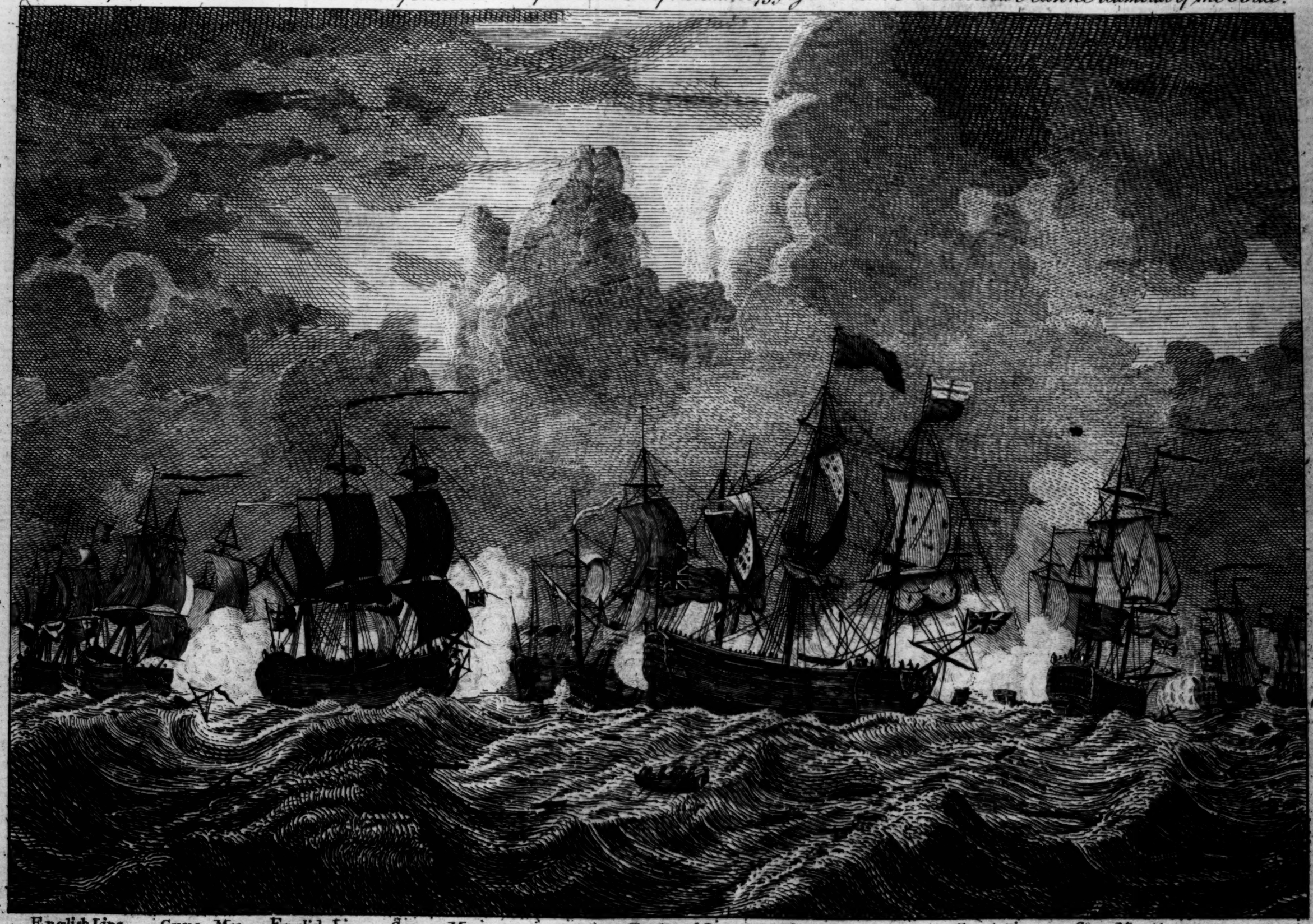
DEFEAT of the French Fleet Commanded by Marshal Conflans the 20th of November 1759 by the Hon.ble Sir Edward Hawke Admiral of the Blue.



| English Line. | | Guns | Men |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ship of | 100 | 880 |
| 3 | Ships each | 90 | 770 |
| 7 | Ships each | 74 | 600 |
| 5 | Ships each | 70 | 520 |
| 2 | Ships each | 64 | 480 |

| English Line | | Guns | Men |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | | 60 | 420 |
| 10 | Frigates Total | 1666 | 13050 |

NB. The Resolution of 74 and Essex 64 Run on Shore in Persuit & after saving many Stores their Remains were Burnt

| French Line | Guns | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Soliel Royal | 80 | 1200 | Run on Shore & Burnt. |
| L'Heros | 74 | 815 | |
| Le Formidable | 80 | 1000 | Taken. |
| Le Thesée | 74 | 815 | Sunk in Action. |
| Le Superbe | 70 | 800 | |

| French Line | | Guns | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Ships each | 80 | 1000 | 7 or 8 of these Ships & 2 Frigates got into the R. Villaine the rest Escaped by putting to Sea in the Night. |
| 4 | Ships each | 74 | 815 | |
| 2 | Ships each | 70 | 800 | |
| 8 | Ships each | 64 | 750 | |
| 3 | Frigates Total | 1486 | 17490 | |

5 JY 59

bly baniſhed every fear, and ſurmounted every danger, that could impede the proſecution of his country's intereſt, and demolition of the towering hopes of haughty France. It is neceſſary, at the ſame time, to obſerve, that he had only one ſhip of the line more than the enemy; and, with regard to men and metal, the French admiral was ſuperior; but ſucceſs was the reward of this extraordinary inſtance of the Britiſh valour.

The Engliſh van began the engagement with the rear of the French about half an hour after two o'clock in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. They did not, however, ſtop the purſuit, but, having poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, continued their courſe towards the van, leaving the rear to the ſhips that followed.

Admiral Hawke, in the Royal George of one hundred and ten guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear, and ordered his maſter to put him along-ſide the French admiral, who commanded in perſon, on board the Soliel Royal, carrying eighty guns, and twelve hundred men. The pilot remonſtrating, that he could not obey his commands, without the moſt imminent danger of running upon a ſhoal, the undaunted hero replied, "You have done "your duty in pointing out the danger, now "you are to comply with my order, and lay "me along-ſide of the Soliel Royal." The maſter readily obeyed, and the gallant veteran ſoon ſaw the Royal George range up with the French admiral.

In the mean time another large ſhip of the enemy, called the Theſee, obſerving the danger of Conflans, ran in between the two commanders, and received the fire that had been reſerved for the Soliel Royal. It proved, however, fatal to her commander, who endeavouring to return the ſalute, the ſea ruſhed in at the lower deck ports, and the ſhip ſoon went to the bottom. Though the weather was boiſterous, many of the ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury, and for ſome time with doubtful ſucceſs, but victory at laſt declared for the Engliſh.

The Formidable ſtruck her colours about four in the afternoon; and the Superb ſhared the unhappy fate of the Theſee. The Heros hauled down her colours, in token of ſubmiſſion, and came to an anchor; but the wind was ſo ſtrong, and the ſea ſo violently agitated, that no boats could go on board her. Soon after, the retreat of the French, now covered by the obſcurity of the evening, put an end to the engagement; an unfortunate circumſtance for the Engliſh, as one hour more of day-light would, in all probability, have been ſufficient to have deſtroyed the enemy, and compleated the conqueſt.

As the darkneſs came on a pace, and the ſtorm continued to increaſe, the admiral, in order to prevent his ſhips from running on the unknown ſhoals and iſlands, made the ſignal for coming to an anchor, on the weſt ſide of the ſmall iſland Dumet, where the fleet continued the whole night, in a very dangerous road, alarmed by the fury of the ſtorm, and the continual firing of guns of diſtreſs, uncertain whether they were fired by their enemies or their friends.

Under ſhelter of the darkneſs of the night the Soleil royal had come to an anchor in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but as ſoon as dawn appeared, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the weſtward of Croize, which, when perceived by the Engliſh admiral, he made a ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip her cable, and purſue the flying enemy. The ſignal was immediately obeyed, but the Eſſex unfortunately ran on a ſand bank, called Leſour, where the Reſolution another Engliſh ſhip, was already a-ground; and where they were both irrecoverably loſt, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be given them. The greateſt part of their ſtores, together with all their men, were ſaved, and to prevent the wrecks from falling into the hands of the enemy they were ſet on fire.

The Soleil royal, in the interim, lay beating on the ſhore; and the French, obſerving the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, approaching to deſtroy her, ſet her on fire. The Engliſh, therefore, returned and deſtroyed the Heros, which was likewiſe a-ground, and the Juſté, another of their

their large ſhips periſhed in the river Loire.

The admiral, diſcovering ſeven of the line riding at anchor between Point Penva and the river Vilaine, on the morning of the twenty-third, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and ſtrike topgallant maſts. In the mean time, the French ſhips threw overboard their guns and ſtores, and the weather being more moderate under the land, took the advantage of the flood to paſs the bar, at the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they came to an anchor, within a mile of the entrance, and were protected by ſeveral occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore.

Only thirty-nine men and one lieutenant were killed, and about two hundred ſailors wounded, in this extraordinary engagement. This defeat fruſtrated the projected invaſion, that had long alarmed the people of Great Britain, as well as reduced the naval power of France to the loweſt ebb; Sir Edward Hawke was, therefore, emboldened, by conſcious integrity, to make the following declaration in his letter to the ſecretary of the admiralty; "When I conſider the ſeaſon of the "year, the hard gales on the day of action, "a flying enemy, the ſhortneſs of the day, "and the coaſt we are on, I can boldly af-"firm, that all that could poſſibly be done, "has been done. As to the loſſes we have "ſuſtained, let it be placed to the account "of the neceſſity I was under of running all "riſks to break this ſtrong force of the ene-"my: had we had but two hours more day-"light, the whole had been totally deſtroyed "or taken, for we were almoſt up with their "van when night overtook us".

For a conſiderable time after the defeat of of M. Conflans fleet, Sir Edward Hawke continued cruizing along the coaſt of Bretagne, and took particular care to block up the mouth of the Vilaine, that the ſeven ſhips might not eſcape, and join the ſhattered remains of their ſquadron, which had found means to reach Rochfort. At length, the admiral was recalled, and preſented to his ſovereign, who received him very graciouſly, and conferred on him a conſiderable penſion, as a reward for the courage and conduct he had ſo eminently diſplayed.

While theſe great affairs were carried on in the European ſeas, the Engliſh made an attempt upon Martinique, and reduced the iſland of Guadaloupe, while another diviſion of the Britiſh forces ſailed up the river St. Lawrence, and reduced the country of Canada. The Britiſh miniſters, perſuaded, from a memorial preſented by the inhabitiants of the iſland of Martinique, ſetting forth their weak and defenceleſs ſituation, and praying ſuccours from their ſovereign; of the practicability of its ſpeedy reduction, equipped an armament, and deſtined it for that ſervice.

The fleet appointed to attempt this conqueſt, ſailed, on the twelfth day of November, from St. Helen's, under the command of captain Hughes, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides eight hundred marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war. The whole force was under the command of major general Hopſon, an experienced officer, aſſiſted by major general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, the lieutenant colonels Trapand and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers.

The fleet reached the iſland of Barbadoes, after a paſſage of ſeven weeks, and were there joined by commodore Moore, who aſſumed the command of the united ſquadrons, amounting to ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb ketches. Having ſupplied the fleet with wood and water, and taken on board a number of negroes to aſſiſt in drawing the artillery, they ſailed from Carliſle bay on the thirteenth of January; but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced, by fevers, fluxes, and the ſcurvy. Next morning the ſquadron came in ſight of the iſland of Martinique, the place of their deſtination.

The iſland of Martinique is about ſeven leagues

leagues broad, and thirteen in length, well watered with ſtreams and rivulets, and very fertile in its ſoil, which produces ſugar, cotton, ginger, and indigo. The moſt conſiderable bay is that called Port Royal, the capital of the iſland. This bay is ſeven miles deep, and in ſome places five miles over. Martinique is ſtill more conſiderable, by its central ſituation among the Caribbees, by its natural ſtrength, the number of its inhabitants, and from its being the ſtaple of trade, whence all the ſugars of Guadaloupe and the other French iſlands are exported to the markets of Europe. The chief fortification on the iſland of Martinique, was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garriſoned by four companies, which did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, thirty-ſix bombadiers, eight Swiſs, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef conſtituted the whole ſtore of proviſions, and they were deſtitute of all other neceſſaries. They were almoſt wholly unprovided with water in the ciſterns, with ſpare carriages for their cannon, matches, wadding, and langrage; they had but a ſmall ſtock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the Engliſh, were ſome paultry intrenchments thrown up at Pierre, and a place called Caſenavire, where they thought the forces would attempt to make their deſcent.

At four in the afternoon, the ſquadron having entered the great bay of Port Royal, the battery at iſle de Ranieres, or Pidgeon-iſland, fired two ſhot at the Rippon, being the ſecond ſhip.

On the ſixteenth of January in the morning, the firſt attack on the iſland was made, at Fort Negro, a ſtrong battery of ſeven embrazures, and within three miles of the citadel. The Briſtol, Rippon, and Lyon were ordered over-night for this ſervice; but the Lyon afterwards driving out to ſea, the Briſtol and Rippon ſtood in for the fort, and the Briſtol, having anchored cloſe in with it, began to engage. Soon after, the Rippon anchored a-ſtern of her, when the battery being ſilenced, the marines from both ſhips landed in the flat bottomed boats, and climbing up the rock, entered at the embrazures with bayonets fixed, but found it entirely abandoned by the enemy, and ſeemingly with precipitation, ſeveral hats and ſwords being picked up by the men in different parts of it. A lieutenant from each ſhip with a party of ſeamen, who rowed the boats, entered with the marines; and the Engliſh colours were hoiſted, and marine centinels poſted upon the parapet by about half an hour after two o'clock.

As ſoon as this ſervice was performed, the Wincheſter, Woolwich, and Roebuck, were ſent to attack a fort in the bay of Cas-des-Navires, a ſmall bay about two miles to the northward of Fort Negro, where it was propoſed to land the troops. Having ſilenced this battery, and blown up the magazine, the three ſhips lay by to cover the flat bottomed boats upon landing, and kept a conſtant fire upon the ſhore, in conjunction with the Briſtol and Rippon.

At this time the troops detached from the citadel to oppoſe the landing of the Engliſh forces, which they expected would be attempted in this bay, deceived by the appearance of the marine centinels upon the parapet at Fort Negro, whom they took for part of the army already diſembarked; and fearing they ſhould be put between two fires, retired immediately back to Port Royal, leaving the beach without defence, and by theſe means affording an opportunity for the different brigades to land without oppoſition.

The troops were diſcovered about noon the next day; advancing up the hill, which overlooked the town and citadel, when, to obſervers in the ſquadron, all appearances ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, and flattered them with a ſpeedy conqueſt of the metropolis of the iſland. But at two, general Hopſon, ſent on board the Cambridge to acquaint the commodore, that he found it impoſſible to maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron could give him aſſiſtance, by landing ſome heavy cannon at the Savanna, near the town of Port Royal, or that the commodore would attack the citadel on the bay, at the ſame

time he did it on the ſhore. This being found impracticable, it was propoſed to land the cannon at Fort Negro, which the ſeamen were to draw to any place the general ſhould judge moſt convenient; and the ſquadron came to an anchor accordingly.

General Hopſon retiring with the troops about four o'clock, orders were given to have the boats ready to aſſiſt in bringing them off. Accordingly they were re-embarked at Fort Negro, after ſetting fire in their march to all the canes and country round about them; but they gave the enemy little or no moleſtation.

Though the opinion of the majority of the Britiſh officers at the council of war, had been given againſt attacking the citadel of Port Royal, yet they thought it might prove advantageous to his majeſty's ſervice to make an attempt on St. Pierre: the fleet, therefore, proceeded to that part of the iſland, and entered the bay on the nineteenth of January. The commodore declared he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre, but the ſhips might be diſabled in the attack, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; and as the taking the iſland of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies, he propoſed that the armament ſhould proceed to that iſland, and the general agreed to the propoſal. Accordingly, they left the iſland of Martinique, and ſteered for Guadaloupe, which lies diſtant from it about thirty leagues to the weſtward.

The iſland of Guadaloupe is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth, divided into two ports by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or rather a narrow paſs, through which no ſhip can venture; the inhabitants paſs it in a ferry boat. The country on the weſt ſide is called Baſſe-terre, and here the metropolis ſtands, defended by the citadel, and other fortifications. The eaſtern part called Grand-terre, is deſtitute of freſh water, which abounds in the other diviſion, and is defended by fort Louis, with a redoubt which commands the road, in the diſtrict of Goſier. This iſland is incumbered with many high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants uſed to convey their moſt valuable effects in times of danger; but here are alſo very beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the ſoil, and enable it to produce a great quantity of ſugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and caſſia, beſides plenty of rice, potatoes, and all kind of pulſe and fruit peculiar to the climate. The country is populous, and flouriſhing; and the government comprehends two ſmall diſtricts on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland from the coaſt.

As ſoon as the Britiſh ſquadron arrived at Baſſe-terre, a council of war was held on board the commodore, where it was reſolved to make a general attack by ſea upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries, by which it is defended, and a proper diſpoſition for this purpoſe was immediately made.

Colonel Cunningham, on reconnoitering the citadel, was induced from its height to think it impregnable to the ſquadron, and out of the power of the lower deck guns to batter it; but in this he was deceived, many of the ſhot from the St. George and Panther flying over it.

The Lyon began to engage the firſt battery of nine guns, on the twenty third about nine o'clock in the morning, when ſhe was raked by a ſmall one of two guns a ſtern of her to the ſouthward, and by the citadel with what guns they could bring to bear. The reſt of the ſhips continuing to move on in order of battle to the reſpective batteries, they were ordered to engage, the citadel playing upon them as they advanced. At half paſt nine, the Cambridge, Norfolk, and St. George, began to engage the citadel, and after an almoſt inceſſant fire, ſilenced it about five in the afternoon. Near ten, captain Shuldham, in the Panther began to engage the twelve gun battery, and continued it warmly for many hours, doing great execution, and beating down moſt of the buildings near it, when, having ſilenced all the guns, he lay by till called off by the commodore. The Burford, which was to have ſupported the Panther in this attack, and the Berwick, which was to have engaged the ſeven gun battery, drove off to ſea, by which means the Rippon, which

followed

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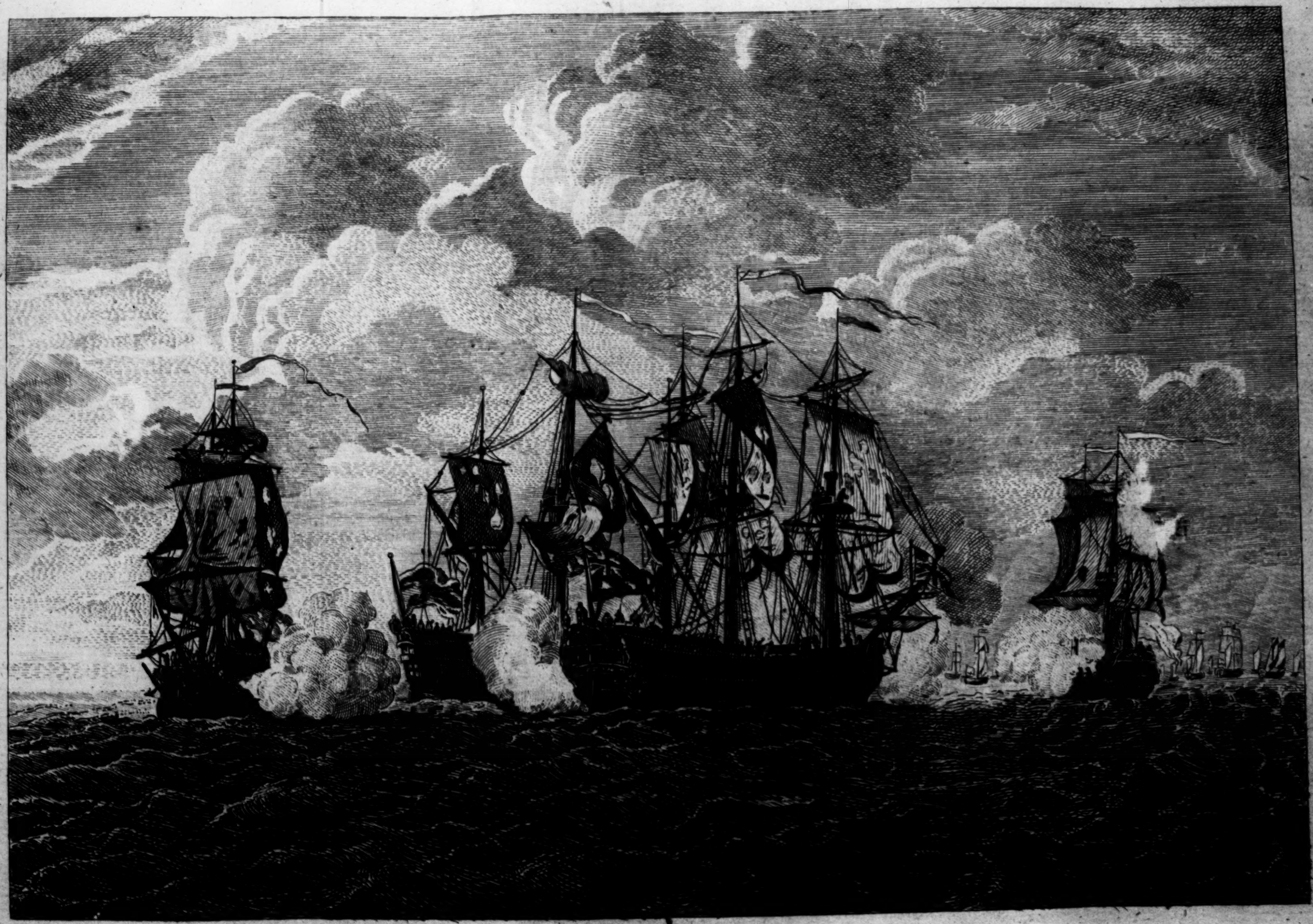

The Buckingham Capt. Tyrrill of 66 Guns & 472 Men defeating Three French Men of War
Containing 140 Guns & 1300 Men on the 3.d of Novr. 1758.

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followed, became expoſed to the fire of three other batteries, and received great damage in her hull and rigging. At ten the Rippon began to engage the Morne Rouge, but having run in too cloſe, on letting go her anchor, ſhe bailed the ſhore and ſtuck faſt. At eleven they cut the cable, and hawſer, and kept engaging; the ſeven gun battery taking her on the lar-board bow. At twelve, all the line of battle ſhips, the Burford and Berwick excepted, were warmly engaged, and all the forts in and about the town briſkly cannonaded. The St. George and Cambridge were concealed in clouds of ſmoke; the Lyon's cable was ſhot through, on which ſhe let go another anchor and kept engaging.

The garriſon in Port Royal was ſeverely galled by the ſhot of the Panther, which while engaging with the twelve gun battery, played all the cannon that could be brought to bear upon the walls and works of the citadel; till after an obſtinate defence for ſome time, the enemy were entirely driven from all the batteries to the ſouth of the town, and quitted their guns. On the north ſide remained unſilenced the ſeven gun battery, and the fort at the Morne Rouge, where the Rippon lay aground engaging them both; and at two in the afternoon had actually ſilenced the guns at the Morne; but the enemy obſerving the ſhip to be aſhore, aſſembled in great numbers on the brow of the hill, and lined the trenches, from which they kept a briſk fire of ſmall arms, and killed and wounded numbers of her men, by raking her fore and aft.

The militia brought an eighteen pounder, at three in the afternoon, which they played in the way of battery *en barbe* for two hours; and being mounted ſo high above the ſhip, it was not ſilenced but with difficulty. They likewiſe planted their colours upon the parapet of the trenches, which were ſoon after ſhot down, and never appeared any more. Lieutenant Chaundy, of the marines, after behaving with great ſpirit, received a violent contuſion in his left leg, which was cut off immediately; and Mr. Grey, a midſhipman, died of a wound in the thigh, which he received from a muſket ball.

Eight men were either killed or wounded out of twenty-three which were quartered in the poop, and ten out of thoſe remaining were obliged to be ſent forwards, to aſſiſt the men in returning the fire on the forecaſtle: the reſt of the marines were employed at the great guns, there being upwards of ninety men ſick in the hold. A large box of cartridges blew up on the poop, and ſet fire to the ſhip.

All the grape ſhot and wadding on board were now expended, the marines and ſeamen making wadding of their jackets and ſhirts, and firing them away at the trenches, when they threw out a ſignal of diſtreſs to the ſquadron, and ſoon after extinguiſhed the fire on the poop.

The ſituation of the Rippon being at this time obſerved by captain Leſlie of the Briſtol, he came from ſea, and ran between the ſhip and the ſeven gun battery, which had played upon her from the beginning of the engagement, pouring in a whole broadſide upon the enemy; the marines in the Briſtol at the ſame time flanked the militia in the lines, ſo that the fire upon the Rippon ſlacked. At five the commodore made the ſignal to prepare to land the troops, which was afterwards countermanded; it being too late, and growing dark, by which means many of the flat bottomed boats, in returning back to the rendezvous of their brigade, were in danger of being run down by the men of war, now coming from the batteries; a danger which was very narrowly eſcaped by ſeveral of them.

The commodore ſent a lieutenant on board the Rippon, at half an hour after five o'clock, with orders for her to tow off; and being acquainted at his return, that the ſhip was aground, he ſent a pilot to her aſſiſtance. At ſeven the flat bottomed boats diſperſed, and the troops returned to their reſpective tranſports; all the line of battle ſhips, except the Rippon, having now rejoined the fleet, and all the batteries of the enemy being ſilenced, the four bombs ſtood in for the ſhore, and threw ſhells and carcaſes into the town. The

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houſes and churches were every where ſoon in flames, the magazines of powder were blown about the enemy's ears, and the whole place exhibited a ſcene of general conflagration by five o'clock.

After great pains and labour to lighten her forwards, and the other neceſſary methods had been uſed, about midnight the Rippon gave a ſudden ſtart, and was got off, to the great joy of the officers and men, and in a ſhort time ſhe came to an anchor in thirteen fathom water. According to the gunner's report, this ſhip had fired one thouſand three hundred great ſhot and upwards, and the marines two thouſand cartridges. The rigging was greatly damaged, the foremaſt ſhot thro', and the mizen yard almoſt cut away.

In this engagement, which continued without ceaſing from nine in the morning till night, the ſquadron ſuſtained but little loſs of men; inſomuch, that M. d'Etriel, the French governor, would not afterwards believe that only ſix men were killed, and twenty wounded, on board the St. George, which for ſo many hours had engaged the citadel.

At two o'clock in the afternoon on the twenty-fourth of January, the commodore, who was turning in all the morning, came to an anchor with the ſquadron in the road of Baſſe-terre, the town continuing to burn all this day. At three, the commodore made the ſignal to prepare to land; at five, the firſt brigade landed, and the ſecond and third immediately after, to the northward of the town.

They found, on their landing, that the town and citadel was abandoned by the enemy, who never fired a ſhot the whole day; two companies of Elliot's took poſſeſſion of the citadel, on which, about noon, they hoiſted the Engliſh colours.

Part of the troops laid upon their arms all night, upon the riſing ground that overlooked the town; part of them, the Old Buffs, occupied an advantageous poſt upon the hill, about a mile to the weſtward, and part entered the town, and lined the ſtreets, which ſtill remained on fire, and continued burning all night.

At the break of day on the twenty-fifth of January, the enemy, who had retired with the armed negroes to the hills, appeared, to the number of two thouſand, throwing up intrenchments near a houſe where the governor had fixed his head quarters, at the diſtance of about four miles from the town, to the ſouth-eaſt, and which he threatened to defend to the laſt extremity; ſaying, "The Engliſh "had taken away every thing but their lives, "and they would ſell them dearly."

The tents and field equipage were ſet on ſhore, at three o'clock in the afternoon, together with three days proviſions for the men; when Durour's, Barrington's, and Armigen's, regiments, with the artillery, and the Highlander's, encamped at the back of the town; Watſon's covered the citadel, and encamped near it. Elliot's were ſent into the garriſon in the citadel, and the Old Buffs encamped at their out-poſts on the hill. General Hopſon fixed his head quarters at Baſſe-terre, at the governor's houſe, where ſeveral deſerters were this day brought in.

The troops continued in the ſituation already deſcribed, during the morning of the twenty-ſixth, and a flag of truce was ſent to the enemy with an offer of terms; which produced an anſwer from the governor, wherein he magnified what he intended; though he, ſkulked away from danger, inſtead of remaining at the head of his men, to ſupport and encourage them.

Though the governor appears to have been deficient in point of courage, yet the inhabitants behaved with ſpirit and activity in defence of their country. They conſtantly harraſſed the ſcouring detatchments of the enemy, by firing upon them from woods and ſugar plantations, which induced the Engliſh to burn the latter.

This kind of buſh-fighting was of the more ſervice, as their armed negroes were very expert in it.

Conſiderable parties of the natives alſo made their appearance, and even encountered detachments of the Britiſh army. A lady of Amazonian valour, named Ducharney, having armed her ſlaves, headed them in perſon, made

made ſeveral bold attempts upon an advanced poſt, occupied by major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill oppoſite to the ſtation of that officer, who had from the beginning diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his integrity, vigilance, and conduct. At length, the works of this heroine were ſtemmed by a regular detachment, which, after an obſtinate and dangerous conflict, entered the entrenchments ſword in hand, and burned the houſes and plantations; but the lady, with ſome difficulty, made her eſcape, having commanded in perſon during the whole action.

A large detachment advanced towards the citadel, on the morning of the ſixth of February, and fell in with the Engliſh party, whom they engaged with great ſpirit, but were, at length, obliged to retire with loſs. This method of making war was beſt adapted to the exigencies of the inhabitants of Guadaloupe. They could have no proſpect of ſucceſs from hazarding a general engagement with regular troops, and, therefore, determined to weary them out, if poſſible, by maintaining a kind of petty war in ſeparate parties, to alarm and harraſs the Engliſh, in a ſultry climate, where they were but indifferently ſupplied with proviſions and refreſhments.

The impracticability of reducing the iſland by this method of proceeding, was ſoon evident to the Engliſh, who thereupon determined to transfer the ſeat of war to the eaſtern and more fertile part, called Grand-terre.

This determination being made, all the great ſhips were ſent to that part, to make the attempt; which was accordingly done on the thirteenth of February, when, after a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, the marines and Highlanders were landed, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments, with bayonets fixed, hoiſted the Engliſh colours at the fort, and kept poſſeſſion of it, doing duty on ſhore till a detachment arrived from the camp, ſome time afterwards, under the command of major Ball, of Barrington's regiment, where they remained a few weeks, and then were re-embarked on board the ſquadron.

By this time the exceſſive heat of the ſun, to which the troops were daily expoſed, had ſuch an effect, that they began to yield to the diſorders of the climate, and the hoſpitals were crouded with ſick and wounded. It was, therefore, propoſed, to ſend part of them to Antigua; and accordingly, the Rippon and Spy were ordered for that ſervice, and ſailed on the fourteenth, with eight tranſports, for the town of St. John in that iſland, having about five hundred men, from the regimental hoſpitals, on board, the greateſt part of which number died after their arrival, and many on their paſſage. The ſurgeons were ſent on ſhore, as uſual, to purchaſe water, and make proper preparations for the reception of the ſick.

General Hopſon departed this life on the twenty-ſeventh, at the head quarters of Baſſeterre, and the command of the forces devolved on major general Barrington, who determined to proſecute the reduction of the iſland with the utmoſt vigour. With this view, the commodore ordered the Briſtol to ſail to Euſtatia, and cruize off that port; in order to prevent the Dutch from ſupplying the enemy with proviſions, which they had conſtantly done, from the time that the Engliſh had driven them up the mountains.

General Barrington, on the next morning, ordered the troops to ſtrike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to continue in this quarter; but a few days after, the detachments at the out-poſts were all drawn in; the batteries in and about the town of Baſſa-terre were blown up and deſtroyed, the whole army brought off, and re-embarked on board the tranſports by break of day, except colonel Deſbriſay, who was left in the citadel with Watſon's regiment, and a detachment from the artillery; and the commodore with the fleet ſailed for Grand-terre, leaving the St. George, and Buckingham behind, which, in caſe of an attack from the enemy, were to cover the garriſon.

The ſquadron and tranſports were prevented from getting round to Grand-terre, by the trade-wind and leeward current, till the eleventh of March, when the fleet came to an

anchor off Fort Louis, of which the marines were ſtill in poſſeſſion; and the next day commodore Moore received undoubted intelligence of the arrival of M. du Bompart, lieutenant-general, and chief d'Eſcadre, with a ſquadron of men of war, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, and three frigates, from Old France, having a battalion of Swiſs, and other troops, on board, intended for the relief of Martinique, in caſe he found it inveſted by the Engliſh; and that he was lying at anchor between Pidgeon-iſland, and Fort Negro, in the great bay of Port Royal, ready to come out. As it was eaſy for M. Bompart to throw ſuccours into Grand-terre; and as commodore Moore was incapable of putting to ſea to oppoſe him, in the preſent condition of the Engliſh ſquadron; a reſolution was taken to call the cruizing ſhips, and to ſail immediately to prince Rupert's-bay, in Dominica, where he could be early acquainted with the motions of the enemy, and be ready to follow, if occaſion required, as he would then be only at the diſtance of about nine leagues from Guadaloupe, and alſo to the windward of it.

While the general was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for landing, at Grand-terre, the French at the redoubt, and Dos d'Ane, came down upon colonel Deſbriſay in the citadel, and having been ſupplied with a mortar of thirteen inches from Martinique, threw ſhells into it from the neighbouring hills, and erected a battery, from which they kept playing upon the new works thrown up by the governor, and ſometimes made a ſhew of an aſſault upon the body of the place, but were conſtantly repulſed by frequent ſallies which were made, and a fire from the garriſon.

When the Buckingham, and the St. George, were called in to join the ſquadron, upon the arrival of the French fleet at Martinique, the enemy was encouraged to approach nearer to the citadel, which occaſioned a more frequent diſcharge of artillery; and ſoon after a cannon being fired too near a powder magazine, placed at the flanked angle of the ſouth eaſt baſtion, the return of the wadding blew it up, and with it the governor, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and ſeveral men upon the plat-form. By this unhappy accident, the army was deprived of the ſervice of two gallant and experienced officers, and the citadel loſt a bold and active governor to defend it. The French availing themſelves of the diſorder reſulting from the exploſion, came down in great numbers from the hills, but the fire from the garriſon quickly repulſed them.

On the twenty-firſt, major Melville, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at his out-poſt, was appointed governor of the citadel, in the room of captain Deſbriſay, and ſucceeded him likewiſe as lieutenant colonel of Watſon's regiment.

Colonel Crump landed at Grand-terre on the fifth day of April, with a detachment of ſix hundred men, between the towns of St. Anne, and St. François, attacked them, and deſtroyed the batteries and cannon there.

St. Mary's was the only town that now remained, to prevent the irruption of the troops into the Capeſterre, and was the laſt reſource of the enemy. This poſt was ſtrongly fortified, but, like the reſt, badly ſupported. They were purſued as far as the heights of St. Mary, having retired with great precipitation; upon which the detachment took poſſeſſion of the town, and broke into the Capeſterre on the next morning.

As colonel Crump now preſſed cloſe on the French governor, he thought proper to ſend a flag of truce to colonel Barrington, to demand a ceſſation of arms, and to know what terms he would grant; and having conſulted the principal inhabitants, who were of opinion, that it was in vain to hold out any longer, the iſland of Guadaloupe was on the firſt day of May, ſurrendered to the Britiſh general by capitulation.

The commodore received intelligence, about the ſame time, that M. du Bompart had ſailed ſome days from Martinique, and was ſeen with his ſquadron ſeven leagues to windward of Marigalante, as if he deſigned to land ſome forces at Grand-terre; which he accordingly effected, and diſembarked the Swiſs battalion, conſiſting of about five hundred men. Upon landing they found the iſland ſurrendered; and not having advanced

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far into the country, retreated before the Engliſh could have notice of them. On being purſued, the majority of them got off in boats, but about thirty of the Swiſs deſerted.

General Barrington ſummoned Marigalante, the Santos, and Deſeadá, to ſurrender, on the ninth day of May; the latter ſubmitted upon the ſame terms as had been given to Guadaloupe, but Marigalante held out. The general, therefore, began to make the neceſſary preparations for attacking that place, and a body of troops were accordingly embarked. On the fourteenth, the Berwick, Briſtol, Ludlow-caſtle, and two bombs ſailed from Rupert's-bay, to favour a deſcent upon the iſland, and to deſtroy the forts; and having joined the tranſports from Grand-terre, ſtood over to Marigalante; but the enemy, at length ſubmitted, on the ſame terms as Guadaloupe had done, on the appearance of the Britiſh troops.

The end propoſed by this expedition being thus fully accompliſhed, general Barrington acquainted the commodore, that he propoſed to ſend back part of the troops, with the tranſports to England, the latter end of June.

In conſequence, therefore, of Mr. Barrington's reſolution, the commodore made the ſignal to weigh, and the ſquadron ſailed in two diviſions from Rupert's bay for Guadaloupe; where he was the next day joined by two ſhips of the line from England, which rendered him ſuperior in force to the French ſquadron, which he was informed was retired to the iſland of Granada. But before he could get under ſail, a frigate arrived with intelligence, that Bompart had quitted Granada, and was ſuppoſed to have directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola; upon which the commodore diſpatched information to Admiral Cotes, who commanded the ſquadron at Jamaica.

General Barrington having ſuperintended the repairs of the fortification at Guadaloupe, ſettled the affairs of the inhabitants and left a proper garriſon in the place, under the command of colonel Crump, embarked on board the Roebuck, the latter end of June, and, with the tranſports under convoy of captain Hughes, ſailed for England; while commodore Moore, ſteered towards Antigua with his large fleet.

While the tranſactions above recited were going forwards in the Weſt Indies, North America groaned under the ravages and devaſtations of war. The French, by inſidious meaſures, had effected the revolt of moſt of the Indian nations, and inſtigated the ſavages to the perpetration of moſt horrid cruelties on the ſubjects of Great Britain. The Miniſtry, therefore, actuated by ſympathy, as well as patriotiſm, found means to ſet on foot a treaty at Eaſton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, where a peace between Great Britain and fifteen Indian nations was fully concluded on.

On this junction of the Indians with their old friends the Engliſh, every method was taken for reducing the French ſettlements in Canada, and terminating the war in that part of the world, where the innocent had been expoſed to the moſt excruciating tortures of brutal ferocity. To accompliſh this glorious deſign, it was reſolved to divide the forces in North America, and attack the different parts at the ſame time; that all Canada might be reduced in the ſpace of one campaign, by thus employing the enemy in different quarters.

Three different expeditions were, therefore, planned in ſuch a manner as to aſſiſt each other; purſuant to which, general Amherſt, whoſe ſeparate army was firſt in motion, paſſed Lake George without any oppoſition from the enemy; though the progreſs of his operations had been ſo ſhamefully retarded, by certain individuals of great influence, that the winter was far advanced before he croſſed that collection of water. When the governor arrived in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to defend, he took the neceſſary precautions for beſieging that important fortreſs; but the French perceiving that the Engliſh general was both prudent and reſolute, retreated from place to place, towards the center of all the military operations, before Quebec. In

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the courſe of their retreat they abandoned the ſtrong fort of Ticonderoga, after having in ſome meaſure diſmantled the fortifications. General Amherſt having taken poſſeſſion of this important fort, allotted a ſtrong garriſon for its defence, and gave orders for the works to be repaired.

One of the ſcouting parties brought intelligence, on the firſt day of Auguſt, that the French had abandoned the fort of Crown-point; in conſequence of which he diſpatched a body of rangers before him to take poſſeſſion of the place, while he himſelf embarked with the reſt of the army, and on the fourth landed at the fort, where the rangers where already encamped. Being thus in poſſeſſion of the moſt important poſt in this part of the country, he determined immediately to erect a new fort, in order to ſecure the Britiſh dominions on that ſide, and prevent the incurſions of ſcalping parties, whoſe barbarities in the Britiſh plantations had been horrid and inhuman beyond all deſcription.

Not long after this, intelligence having been brought to general Amherſt, of the ſtrength of the enemy, who had retired to an iſland ſituated near the north extremity of Lake Champlain, he ordered captain Loring to build, with the utmoſt expedition, a ſloop of ſixteen guns, and a redeau of eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying ſix pieces of large cannon, being reſolved to have the ſuperiority on the lake. Theſe veſſels being built and manned, the general embarked, and made ſeveral attempts to attack the enemy, but the winter coming on, and the weather being generally boiſterous, he ſaw the impoſſibility of accompliſhing his deſign, and therefore returned to the ſame bay, where he had taken ſhelter, landed his troops, and began his march for Crown-point, which he reached on the twenty-firſt of October. His attention was now wholly employed in erecting the new fortreſs at Crown point, in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and in making the diſpoſitions for the winter quarters of his troops, ſo as to prevent the enemy from making inroads on the back colonies.

A large body of Indians, commanded by Sir William Johnſon, having reinforced the army under the command of general Prideaux, he advanced to the camp of Niagara, without any obſtruction. Towards the middle of July the general inveſted the French fortreſs, and carried on his approaches with great vigour, till the twentieth of the ſame month, when, viſiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the burſting of a cohorn. As ſoon as Mr. Amherſt was informed of this diſaſter, he ſent brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga to aſſume the command of that army. In the mean time it devolved on Sir William Johnſon, who, in a very ſucceſsful manner, carried on the plan of his predeceſſor.

The apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſo much importance, alarming the French, they loſt no time in aſſembling a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, and theſe, reinforced by a large body of Indians, were ſent under the command of M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the garriſon of Niagara.

As ſoon as their deſign was known to Sir William Johnſon, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for intercepting them in their march. In the mean time the French continued their march, and about eight in the morning diſcovered the Engliſh army, drawn up in order of battle. The Indians, on ſeeing the enemy, advanced to ſpeak with their countrymen, who ſerved under d'Aubry, but the conference was declined by the latter, who immediately uttered a horrible ſcream called the war-whoop, and began the action with great fury. But this noiſe had now loſt its effect on the Britiſh forces, who gave the French a very warm reception, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, and galled them in ſuch a manner, that in about half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, and great numbers of the fugitives ſlain in their attempt to eſcape through the woods.

When the battle was ended, the Engliſh general ſent major Hervey to the commander of the fort, with a liſt of the ſeventeen officers taken in the late battle, and to exhort him to ſurrender, while he had it in his power to reſtrain

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*The Siege of Quebec.*

reſtrain the ferocity of the Indians; adding, that he was at liberty to ſend a truſty perſon in order to view the officers, and ſatisfy himſelf with regard to the fact. Accordingly, an officer was diſpatched from the fortreſs, and permitted to converſe with M. d'Aubry, and the other priſoners. On his return, the commander agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garriſon were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war, in order to embark in veſſels on the lake, and be conveyed to New York in the moſt expeditious manner. All the women were, at their own requeſt, ſent to Montreal, and great humanity was exerciſed towards the ſick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling.

Notwithſtanding the ſignal advantages that reſulted to the Engliſh colonies in America, from the reduction of Niagara and Crown Point, the conqueſt of Quebec was of much greater importance, and the attempt far more dangerous.

About the middle of February, the fleet which was deſtined for this expedition ſailed from England, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, officers of approved courage and conduct.

They came within ſight of Cape Breton on the twenty-firſt, but the harbour being frozen over, they were obliged to bear away for Hallifax in Nova Scotia. It was, however, thought proper to detach admiral Durell with a ſmall ſquadron to the river St. Lawrence, with orders to penetrate as far as the iſle de Coudres, in order to intercept any ſupplies that might be ſent from France to Quebec. Mean time admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourgh, and the troops being embarked on board the tranſports, proceeded with all expedition upon the river St. Lawrence. The land forces were commanded by major-general Wolfe, aſſiſted by the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray, all in the flower of their age, and alike inured to the martial life.

The forces were landed on the iſle of Orleans, which is ſituated a little below Quebec, about the latter end of June; and the general publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, that the king of Great Britain, his maſter, for equitable cauſes, had fitted out an armament, in order to reduce the moſt important French ſettlements in America; that he intended not the leaſt act of hoſtility to the induſtrious peaſants, their families, or the miniſters of their religion, and that he would maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the exerciſe of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and not intereſt themſelves in the diſpute between the kings of Great Britain and France.

Though there was no ſmall degree of generoſity in this declaration, yet it did not produce the deſired effect; nor could the Canadians rely on the faith of a nation, which their prieſts had repreſented not only as heretical, but implacably cruel.

In conſequence, therefore, of their prejudices and bigotry, they rejected the lenity of a brave general, and expoſed themſelves to inevitable ruin, by joining the ſcalping parties of Indians, falling on the Engliſh ſtraggling parties, and butchering them with inhuman barbarity. The generous Wolfe, ſhocked at theſe ſcenes of cruelty, ſent a letter to the French general, complaining of ſuch enormities as were repugnant to the rules of war obſerved by civilized people, diſhonourable to the French nation, and diſgraceful to human nature; and requeſting, that the Canadians and Indians might be reſtrained from the commiſſion of acts ſo horrid; otherwiſe he ſhould be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of retaliating ſuch cruelties as ſhould hereafter be perpetrated on the ſubjects of his maſter, on the perſons of ſuch priſoners as were in his poſſeſſion, or might fall into his hands hereafter.

No good effect, however, was produced by this letter; they perſiſted in their infernal practices; and general Wolfe was obliged to connive at ſome irregularities committed by his people, in order that what had been in vain attempted by gentle methods might be effected by intimidation.

M. de Montcalm, the French general, had taken the field with five regular battalions, and encamped in a very advantageous ſituation; the city of Quebec was ſtrongly fortified, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions,

proviſions, as well as defended by a very numerous garriſon.

General Wolfe ſaw the difficulties that muſt attend the ſiege of a place, almoſt inacceſſible by its ſituation, and defended by an army far ſuperior in number to his own, but conſoled himſelf with conſidering that he could always retreat, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river; nor was he without hopes of being joined by general Amherſt. Theſe conſiderations, added to the impulſe of a martial genius, determined him to undertake an enterprize which muſt neceſſarily be attended with uncommon danger and difficulty.

He received information about this time, that a detachment of the enemy, with a train of artillery, was poſted at Point Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, and determined to diſlodge them before they had intrenched themſelves. In conſequence of this intelligence he ſent Brigadier Monckton at the head of four battalions, who paſſed the river in the night, and next morning, after ſkirmiſhing with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that poſt, which the Engliſh troops immediately occupied.

By this time Monſieur de Montcalm was convinced of his error in not fortifying Point Levi, and foreſeeing the effect of the battery raiſed by the Engliſh, detached a body of ſixteen hundred men acroſs the river, to deſtroy the works before they ſhould be completed, but the attempt miſcarried. The detachment fell into diſorder on their landing, fired upon each other, and retired in confuſion, before the Engliſh could come up to ſhare in the action. The battery was ſoon after finiſhed, and played with ſuch ſucceſs, that the upper town was conſiderably damaged, and the lower reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, in a ſhort ſpace of time.

The fleet was expoſed to the greateſt danger, while theſe tranſactions were going forward on the ſhore. A few days after the troops landed on the iſle of Orleans, a furious ſtorm aroſe; many tranſports drove foul of each other, a number of boats and ſmall craft were foundered, and ſeveral ſhips loſt their anchors. Montcalm reſolved to avail himſelf of the confuſion, which he imagined inevitable from this diſaſter, ſent down ſeven fire ſhips at midnight from Quebec among the tranſports, which lay ſo thick as to cover the ſurface of the river. But this well concerted ſcheme failed of ſucceſs: the Britiſh admiral ſaw them approach, and ordered the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed, to prevent the deſtruction of the fleet; the tars obeyed with alacrity, and reſolutely boarded the fireſhips, towed them faſt aground, where, without doing any kind of damage to the Engliſh ſhips, they were burnt to the water's edge.

Not in the leaſt diſcouraged by this failure, Montcalm reſolved to make a ſecond attempt, and accordingly, on the very ſame day of the ſucceeding month, ſent down a raft of fire ſhips, which were alſo conſumed without producing any effect; he therefore now thought proper to lay aſide his deſign.

From a careful ſurvey of the ſituation of the enemy's camp, general Wolfe perceiving the difficulty that muſt attend his attacking them, deferred the attempt, till he had taken a view of the river St. Lawrence above Quebec, in hopes of finding a place more favourable for a deſcent. Having taken an exact ſurvey, he found that the attempt could not be made without imminent danger, as there was the higheſt reaſon to fear, that if a detachment ſhould be landed near the town and the river cape Rouge, they could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army. He therefore determined, in order to divide the force of the enemy, to draw their attention as high up the river as poſſible, and procure ſome intelligence, to ſend a detachment under colonel Charlton, with orders to land at the Point au Tremble, and attack whatever he might find there, bring off ſome priſoners, and all papers from which any information might be obtained.

Immediately on his landing, the colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians, who were, however, ſoon driven into the woods: he ſearched in vain for magazines, and returned with a very inconſiderable loſs,

loſs, bringing off ſeveral priſoners with him.

General Townſhend, had in the interim, by a ſuperior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river Montmorenci, from whence they intended to cannonade the Engliſh camp, which was pitched on the oppoſite ſide; the general therefore reſolved to attack the enemy, though poſted to great advantage, and prepared to give them a very warm reception.

As the water was ſo ſhallow that the men of war could not come near enough to annoy the enemy in their intrenchments, the admiral prepared two tranſports, which might on occaſion be run aground to favour a deſcent. With the aſſiſtance of theſe veſſels, the general propoſed to make himſelf maſter of a detached redoubt near the water's edge, and ſeemingly beyond muſquet ſhot of the enemy's intrenchments on the hill.

According to this plan, preparations for the engagement were made. On the thirty-firſt of July in the afternoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of brigadier Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi. The two brigades under the brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were ordered to be in readineſs to paſs the ford, when it ſhould be thought neceſſary. To facilitate the paſſage of this corps, the admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford; at the ſame time two tranſports were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the deſcent of the troops.

An evident confuſion among the French, being produced by theſe previous meaſures, the general came to the reſolution of ſtorming the intrenchments without delay. Orders were therefore ſent to the brigadiers to be ready with the corps under their command.

The ſignal was made at a convenient time of the tide, but many of the boats, in rowing towards the ſhore, grounded upon a ledge that runs off a conſiderable diſtance. This accident occaſioned ſome diſorder, by which ſo much time was loſt, that the general was obliged to ſend an officer to ſtop brigadier Townſhend's march, whom he then obſerved to be in motion. As ſoon as this diſorder was rectified, the general, aſſiſted by ſeveral ſea officers ſounded the ſhore, in order to find a better place to land; and at length, without any conſiderable loſs, the diſembarkation of the troops was effected.

The firſt forces that landed, were the thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the Royal American battalion. The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and were at hand to aſſiſt. But the grenadiers, inſtead of forming themſelves as they were directed, ran on impetuouſly towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmoſt confuſion, without waiting for the troops, that were to join them, and aſſiſt in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and brigadier Townſhend was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance, though upon his march to join the grenadiers in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's firſt fire, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the redoubt, which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this ſituation they continued for ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire; and having many brave officers wounded, who, careleſs of their perſons, had been ſolely intent on their duty. The general now ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of calling them off, that they might form themſelves behind brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. By this time it was near night, a ſudden ſtorm came on, and the tide began to make, ſo that the general thought it prudent to deſiſt from ſo difficult an attack, as the retreat of brigadier Townſhend's corps, would, in all probability be, rendered hazardous and uncertain, in caſe of a repulſe.

The troops being returned to their camp, on the other ſide of Montmorenci, the admiral ordered two veſſels, which were on ground to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

General

General Wolfe immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men and many brave officers were loſt, detached brigadier Murray with twelve hundred men in tranſports above the town, to aſſiſt rear-admiral Holmes, whom Mr. Saunders had ſent up the river, in order, if poſſible, to deſtroy the French ſhips. Purſuant to theſe directions, he made two unſucceſsful attempts to land on the northern ſhore; but the third proved more fortunate. He landed unexpected at Chambaud, and burned a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, proviſion, ammunition, and the baggage of the French army.

He underſtood from the priſoners, that Fort Niagara had ſurrendered, and diſcovered by intercepted letters, that the enemy, having abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point, were retired to the iſle Aux Noix; and that general Amherſt was making preparations to paſs lake Champlain, and fall upon M. Bourlemaqui's corps. The brigadier now returned to the camp at the point of Levi, as nothing elſe occurred which required his longer ſtay at this place.

General Wolfe had, for ſome time paſt, undergone ſuch a variety of bodily and mental fatigues, that he was attacked by a fever and dyſentry, which, for a conſiderable time, rendered him unable to perform his duty; and, during this interval of inaction, he made it his requeſt that the general officers would conſult together for the public welfare. Purſuant to his advice, they agreed in opinion, that as more ſhips and proviſions were now got above the town, they ſhould endeavour, by conveying four or five thouſand men up the river, to draw the enemy from their preſent ſituation, and bring on a general engagement. This meaſure, however, was not adopted till the general and admiral, aſſiſted by the chief engineer, had attentively reconnoitered the town of Quebec, in order to be ſatisfied whether a general aſſault could be given with any proſpect of ſucceſs. After a very careful ſurvey, it was unanimouſly agreed, that ſuch an attack would be impracticable, for though the ſhips of war might have ſilenced the batteries of the lower town, they could not affect the upper works, from which they muſt have received conſiderable damage.

But no kind or degree of danger could in the leaſt intimidate the intrepid Wolfe; he adopted the reſolution of the officers, and embarking the troops on board the tranſports, paſſed up the river, while admiral Holmes made a motion with his ſhips to amuſe the enemy, now poſted along the northern ſhore. As no probability appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, it was determined to make a total change in the operations. It was agreed to convey the troops farther down in boats, and land them during the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of aſcending the heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city where the fortifications were weaker than in any other part.

When all neceſſary preparations for this hazardous enterprize were made, admiral Holmes advanced with his ſquadron up the river above the intended landing place, in order to deceive M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motion of that ſquadron; but the Engliſh admiral was directed to fall down in the night, and protect the landing of the forces, which orders he punctually executed. The firſt embarkation was made in flat bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray, though general Wolfe accompanied them, and was one of the firſt that landed. The boats glided gently along without any diſorder; but by the rapidity of the tide and the darkneſs of the night, they paſſed the place originally intended, and landed the troops a little below it.

The firſt detachment was no ſooner on ſhore, than the boats were ſent back for a ſecond embarkation, which was under the direction of brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time, colonel Howe, with the light infantry and highlanders, diſlodged a captain's guard, which defended a paſſage, by which alone the reſt of the troops could reach the ſummit, on which the enemy were entrenched.

After

After this, the whole army mounted without moleſtation; and as faſt as the troops arrived, the general drew them up in order.

M. de Montcalm was no ſooner informed that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, than he determined to hazard a battle, and accordingly abandoned his entrenched camp, and having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport, advanced towards the Engliſh without delay.

General Wolfe, in the interim, perceiving that the French were croſſing the river St. Charles, formed his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſbourgh grenadiers: the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray.

M. de Montcalm advancing in ſuch a manner as ſhewed his intention was to flank the left of the Engliſh, brigadier Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed *en potence*, preſenting a double front to the enemy.

The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and ſavages; their center conſiſted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left were poſted one battalion, and the remainder of the colony troops: the buſhes and corn fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their beſt markſmen, who kept an irregular fire, which proved fatal to numbers of the Engliſh officers, who were marked out for deſtruction.

The enemy advanced to the charge, about nine o'clock in the morning, with great ſpirit as well as order, though their fire was both irregular and ineffectual. The brave general Wolfe was ſtationed in the warmeſt part of the attack, at the head of Bragg's regiment, and the Louiſbourgh grenadiers, and ſoon received a ſhot in his wriſt, which did not however oblige him to quit the field. Having a handkerchief about his hand, he continued to give his orders without the leaſt emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of this young hero, who fell an honour to his profeſſion, and his country, at the moment, and in the arms of victory.

While the right puſhed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray advanced briſkly with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the enemy's center; when the highlanders, ſupported by Anſtruther's regiment, drawing their broad ſwords, fell upon, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the town, and the works they had raiſed at the bridge over the river St. Charles. Colonel Howe, having taken poſt with two companies behind a ſmall coppice, frequently ſallied out on the flanks of the enemy, and drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townſhend advanced platoons againſt their front; ſo that the right wing of the French were prevented from carrying their firſt deſigns into execution.

General Wolfe being ſlain, and brigadier Monckton dangerouſly wounded, the command devolved on brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the center, and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with all poſſible expedition. He had harldly performed this neceſſary part of his duty, when M. de Bougainville appeared in the rear of the Engliſh, at the head of two thouſand freſh forces.

Orders were immediately given by brigadier Townſhend for two battalions, with two pieces of artillery to advance; but the French prevented an attack by retiring among the woods and ſwamps, whither the general very wiſely declined purſuing them. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was in poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſituation, which it would have been imprudent to hazard for the ſake of defeating Bougainville's ſquadron.

During the action, M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded, and conveyed into Quebec; but before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townſhend, recommending the priſoners to that generous humanity which is the characteriſtic of Engliſhmen. His ſecond in command, was left wounded on the field, and being conveyed on board an Engliſh ſhip, expired

expired the next day. About eight hundred of the enemy were ſlain on the field of battle; and not leſs than a thouſand, including a great number of officers, were made priſoners.

No more than fifty men were killed, in obtaining this important victory, and about five hundred wounded on the part of the Engliſh; but the loſs of the gallant Wolfe was univerſally lamented. He was not only regretted, as a ſoldier framed for the execution of the moſt dangerous and important of military enterprizes, but as a man poſſeſſed of a ſoul ſuſceptible of every generous and ſublime ſentiment, that can aggrandize human nature, or influence to actions worthy a rational and ſocial being. His dying breath witneſſed his ardent love of his country; for being rouzed from fainting in the laſt agonies by the ſound of *they run*, he eagerly aſked who run; and being told, the French, he ſaid, "Then, I thank God, I die contented:" and almoſt inſtantly expired.

A flag of truce was ſent from the town, on the ſeventeenth day of September, with propoſals for a capitulation, which being maturely conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted and ſigned at eight next morning. By theſe articles it was agreed, that the garriſon of the town ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and be embarked as ſoon as convenient, in order to be landed at the firſt port in France; that the inhabitants ſhould not be removed nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhould be ſettled by a definitive treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and Britannic majeſties; that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted, as well as of all epiſcopal and clerical functions, till the poſſeſſion of Canada ſhould be determined between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties; that the ſick, wounded, and all perſons employed in the hoſpitals ſhould be treated agreeable to the cartel ſettled between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties: that before delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the Engliſh forces, their general ſhould ſend ſome ſoldiers to be placed as ſafeguards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations; and that the commander of the city of Quebec ſhould be permitted to ſend advice to the marquis of Vandreuil, governor general, of the reduction of the town, and alſo be allowed to tranſmit accounts of the ſame nature to the court of Verſailles.

The capitulation was no ſooner ratified, than the Britiſh forces took poſſeſſion of Quebec on the land ſide, and guards were poſted in different parts of the town to preſerve order and diſcipline. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to take the oath of fidelity to the new government, and to deliver up their arms.

Brigadier Townſhend having provided every neceſſary for the defence of Quebec, and left a garriſon of five thouſand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray, embarked with admiral Saunders, and arrived in England about the beginning of the winter. Brigadier Monckton was carried to New York, where he happily recovered of his wounds.

It may not be improper to obſerve, before we put a period to the preſent part of our hiſtory, that general Wolfe had tranſmitted to England an account of the diſaſter at Montmorenci, to the unſpeakable chagrin of the people, who had flattered themſelves with the abſolute reduction of Canada, under their enterprizing officer; but the public anxiety was ſoon compenſated by an account of the victory on the heights of Abraham, and the ſurrender of Quebec, tranſmitted by colonel Hale, who arrived in the Alcide. A general joy now abounded, a day of thankſgiving was appointed by proclamation, and the principal cities and corporations preſented addreſſes to his majeſty. The parliament petitioned the king, that he would order a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter abbey to the memory of general Wolfe; and reſolved at the ſame time, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the generals and admirals ſo ſucceſsfully employed in this glorious expedition.

Equal ſucceſs alſo attended the arms of Great-Britain in the Eaſt-Indies, where colonel Ford, who commanded the troops in Bengal,

Bengal, obtained a compleat victory, over the French general Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Muſulipatam, which he entered in triumph. At the ſame time colonel Maitland was detached from Bombay with fifteen hundred ſeapoys, and nine hundred Europeans to inveſt the town and caſtle of Surat, which he attacked with ſuch fury, that both ſoon ſurrendered, on condition of being ſuffered to march out with their effects.

The ſuperiority at ſea, was in the mean time warmly diſputed by the Engliſh and French commanders.

Vice admiral Pocock diſcovered the French fleet on the ninth of September, and at ſix in the morning of the tenth, a warm engagement began, and was maintained with great fury till four, when the rear of the French began to give way, and the center ſoon followed their example. The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue them, many of their ſhips having ſuſtained much damage in their maſts, yards, and rigging. They loſt likewiſe above three hundred men, including captain Michie, who commanded the Newcaſtle, captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, maſter, gunner, and boatſwain; the captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men were wounded, and many of the ſhips conſiderably damaged. The French directed their courſe to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to refit, leaving the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; and this ſuperiority was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Corniſh with four ſhips of the line; who joined admiral Pocock at Madraſs, on the eighteenth of October, having left England in the beginning of the year.

Though the French were the only profeſſed enemies which the Engliſh had in the Eaſt-Indies; yet the Dutch, prompted by envy and avarice, and inſtigated by the concurrence of the governor of Batavia, ſeized on ſeveral ſmall veſſels on pretence of retaliating affronts received from the Engliſh. Soon after, the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon ſailing down the river, the Dutch commodore gave him to underſtand, that if he preſumed to paſs, he would ſink him without further ceremony. Captain Wilſon, being in no condition to diſpute with ſuperior force, returned to Calcutta, where two other Indiamen were lying at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who immediately ordered the three ſhips to prepare for giving battle to the Dutch commodore. The ſhips having made the neceſſary preparations, and taken on board each of them, two additional twelve-pounders, fell down the river, till they came near the Dutch ſhips, which drew up in line of battle to receive them. Three of the Dutch men mounted thirty-ſix guns, three twenty-nine, and one nineteen.

The duke of Dorſet being neareſt the enemy, captain Wilſon, who acted as commodore, fired a gun as a ſignal for her to begin the engagement, which ſhe immediately did, and came to an anchor cloſe to the enemy. A ſtart calm unluckily came on, ſo that this ſingle ſhip was for a conſiderable time expoſed to the whole fire of the Dutch; but a breeze ſpringing up, the Calcutta and Hardwick advanced to her aſſiſtance, and a ſmart fire was maintained for ſome time on both ſides; till two of the Dutch ſhips ſlipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven aſhore. Their commodore thus weakened, the other four ſhips immediately ſtruck their flags to captain Wilſon.

On the part of the Engliſh there was not a ſingle man loſt in obtaining this victory, a circumſtance the more remarkable, as the Dorſet was torn almoſt to pieces, having received about ninety ſhot in her hull. Captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, and ſent the priſoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta.

In the mean time the Engliſh arms were crowned with ſucceſs on the coaſt of Coromandel, under the conduct of colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England. This brave officer inveſted and reduced the fort of Wandewaſh, defeated the French army under general Lally, and ended a hot and laborious campaign, with equal advantage to his country and glory to himſelf.

But it is now time that we leave this quar-

ter

ter of the world, and trace the ſcene of war on the continent of Europe, the political ſyſtem of which was materially affected, by an apprehenſion of the ſpeedy death of the king of Spain. This monarch, by the force of conjugal affection, had ſince the death of his queen, given himſelf up to a melancholy, from which his death or deprivation of reaſon ſeemed inevitable. Don Carlos, king of Naples, was next in order of ſucceſſion, and it had been agreed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that the dutchies of Parma, Placentia and Guſtalla ſhould be reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria.

The affairs of France and England were partly connected with the general ſyſtem, and partly diſtinct and independent. France, perceiving from the growing power of the Engliſh in America, and the feeble ſtate of her navy, that any further attempts in that part of the world could not but fail, and that her efforts were therefore to be made in Europe, had two objects in view; the recovery of Hanover, and an invaſion of Great-Britain. By the firſt of thoſe, they could propoſe to themſelves no mighty advantage, even from an inſured ſucceſs; and with reſpect to the ſecond, the threats of a deſcent had increaſed the internal ſtrength of England, without raiſing the leaſt apprehenſion; and at the ſame time, the meaſures of the adminiſtration, and the conduct of the war was ſuch, as produced a perfect union among all ranks of people.

Freſh reinforcements from England, and recruits from different parts of Germany, had been ſent to ſtrengthen the forces of prince Ferdinand who ſtill commanded the allied army. He had already formed a ſcheme for the operations of the enſuing campaign, the main drift of which was the expulſion of the enemy from Frankfort, before they could received the expected reinforcements. This enprize being determined on, he aſſembled all his forces near Fulda, amounting to forty thouſand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth of April. On the thirteenth he came in ſight of the enemy whom he fround ſtrongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Frankfort, and Hanau. Their general, the duke of Broglio, conſidered as one of the beſt officers in France for conduct and intrepidity, having heard of the prince's deſign, took poſſeſſion of this poſt on the twelfth, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his center and flanks ſecured in ſuch a manner, that the allies could only attack him by the village. But notwithſtanding the advantages of their ſituation, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give them battle, and made his diſpoſitions accordingly. Being repulſed in three different attacks, he made a new diſpoſition, and brought up his artillery, by which he ſeverely cannonaded the village, and different parts of the French line.

However, the ſituation of the French was ſuch, that they could not ſuffer very conſiderably, but they were ſo effectually amuſed by the artful diſpoſition of prince Ferdinand, that inſtead of taking meaſures for harraſſing him in his retreat, they carefully maintained their ſituation, and employed their time in preparing to defend themſelves againſt another attack. But they had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the iſſue of the battle, without riſquing in any meaſure the advantage they had gained. It was their intereſt to continue quiet till their expected reinforcments ſhould arrive, which plan thay invariably determined to purſue.

The army now began to feel the conſequences of the miſcarriage at Bergen. While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhoods of Duſſledorp and Crevelt by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under a dearth of proviſions, becauſe the country they occupied was already exhauſted, and the ſupplies were brought from a great diſtance. The ſimple article of forage was attended with ſuch enormous expence as alarmed the miniſtry of Great Britain, inſomuch, that an inſpector was appointed, to prevent future frauds or extortions of any kind.

The French army being encamped at Stadſburg, the duke of Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Caſſel into the territories of Hanover, where he took poſſeſſion of Gottingen without oppoſition; while prince Ferdinand was obliged

ed to retire as they advanced, after leaving ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retherg and Minden.

The progreſs of the French was now ſo rapid, that nothing ſeemed able to oppoſe them; notwithſtanding which, prince Ferdinand kept himſelf unmoved, and attentive to his deſigns. The body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had poſted themſelves near that city, to which the right of their army extended; their left was protected by a very ſteep hill, in their front was a large moraſs, and a rivulet covered their rear. The allied army now began to advance, and fixed their camp at Peterſhagen, a place about three leagues from the enemy, in an advantageous manner.

A battle was now the only reſource to prevent the French from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover; and there was no attacking them with any hopes of ſucceſs in the camp they occupied. In this critical juncture, prince Ferdinand diſplayed ſuch penetration, intrepidity, and preſence of mind, as at once evinced his capacity for the moſt important of military enterprizes. We ſhall endeavour to repreſent the operations of this conſummate general, with all poſſible preciſion, and could wiſh that the accounts of ſo memorable an event had been more explicit, that the reader might have been fully enabled to cenſure or condemn, according to the ſtrength of the evidence laid before him.

Prince Ferdinand left his camp on the Weſer on the twenty ninth day of July, and marched towards Hillen, a village at a conſiderable diſtance on his right, with the greater part of his army. He had the day before detached the hereditary prince with ſix thouſand men, to make a compaſs towards the enemy's left flank, and to poſt himſelf in ſuch a manner as to cut off the communication of their convoys from Paderborn. He had alſo left on the banks of the Weſer a body of forces, under the command of general Wangenheim, which extended to the town of Thornhauſen, where they were entrenched, and ſupported by a conſiderable train of artillery.

Proper notice of theſe motions was taken by the French generals, who immediately held a council of war; and the reſult was their falling into the ſnare that was laid for them. They ſaw, as they imagined, the allied army divided and disjointed, and determined not to ſlip the fortunate moment of attacking general Wangenheim, who they knew had only a ſmall body of troops, and imagined was at ſuch diſtance from the main army as rendered it impoſſible for him to be relieved. The duke of Broglio was to lead the attack, by falling upon that body that lay near the river; he therefore marched on with great confidence; but as ſoon as he had gained an eminence, which lay along his front, he was ſtruck with the utmoſt ſurprize, when inſtead of a few poſts weakly guarded, he beheld the whole army of the allies, drawn up in excellent order, extending from the banks of the Weſer to the moraſs, in the front of the French camp. This diſcovery, for a time, put a ſtop to the motions of the French; they were hemmed in between the allies, the moraſs, and the river; and they found it impoſſible to recede from this diſagreeable ſituation.

As the motions of the French were ſlower than the allies expected, they began to advance, and threatened the enemy's center with an attack. This was almoſt wholly compoſed of horſe; but it was the flower of their cavalry, who anticipated the ſhock of the allies, by beginning the engagement. The weight of the battle was in a great meaſure ſuſtained by the Engliſh infantry, and ſome corps of Hanoverians, who ſtood the reiterated charges of ſo many bodies of horſe, with an intrepidity, which was never exceeded. They cut to pieces, or totally routed theſe bodies. Two brigades of foot attempted to ſupport them, but they ſoon vaniſhed before the Engliſh infantry. Waldegrave's, and Kingſley's regiments diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner, nor were their commanders leſs conſpicious. The enemy's horſe, which compoſed their center, being entirely defeated, and their right, which attacked Wangenheim, unable to make the leaſt way, they thought of nothing but a retreat.

Prince Ferdinand diſpatched orders at this critical moment to lord George Sackville, who commanded the whole Britiſh, and ſeveral brigades of German cavalry, to advance. But the critical minute paſſed away, through ſome delay in waiting for an explanation of the orders. The Britiſh cavalry loſt their ſhare in the glory of the action, and the French retreated in ſome order, favoured partly by the advantages which accrued from their being in poſſeſſion of Minden, and partly by the ſpirited efforts of the duke de Broglio.

Though the French loſt the honour of the day, and were diſappointed in their expectations, theſe loſſes and diſgraces were not irreparable, nor could the battle of Minden be deemed deciſive; neither would the good effects of it have appeared, had not prince Ferdinand detached the hereditary prince, in the manner already related.

This young hero had, at five o'clock in the morning of that memorable day, attacked a large body of the French, under the command of the duke de Briſac: this body he entirely defeated, and obliged them to take refuge in Minden. M. de Contades received the news of this blow, at the inſtant when the Engliſh infantry began to engage his center; and could not but admire the dexterity of the ſtroke, by which the prince could detach, with ſecurity, ſo large a body from his army, when he was about to attack a foe, already much ſuperior to him in numbers.

The affair was, in fact, determined by this fortunate ſtroke; all the paſſages through which the French could derive either ſuccours or proviſions, were ſeized. They were therefore under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing their ſtrong poſts. They fled through Minden, and paſſing the Weſer, advanced to the eaſtward of that river. Thus they retreated under various diſagreeable circumſtances, and by this means loſt every advantage they had gained during the whole campaign.

In this action the loſs of the French amounted to about ſeven thouſand men, killed, wounded, and priſoners, while that of the allies did not exceed two thouſand. The Engliſh, who gained the greateſt glory, ſuſtained the greateſt loſs, twelve hundred of the killed, and wounded, being of that nation.

The day ſucceeding that of the battle, prince Ferdinand paid the due honours to thoſe gallant corps, as well as to ſeveral of the Hanoverians, who had exhibited ſimilar tokens of valour; and upon the whole, gave the moſt undeniable proofs of his penetration to diſcern, as well as diſpoſition to reward true bravery, and untainted merit. Notwithſtanding theſe extraordinary marks of his approbation of the conduct of ſome, there were expreſſions in the orders for the rejoicing, that ſeemed to convey very ſevere reflections on the behaviour of others. The prince required, with particular ſtreſs, that his orders by his aids-de-camp ſhould for the future be more punctually obeyed; he alſo expreſſed his concern, that the marquis of Granby had not been inveſted with the command of the Britiſh cavalry; for his highneſs ſeemed to entertain no doubt but that the ſucceſs of the day would have been much more complete, if he had commanded.

The people of England were equally tranſported and incenſed at the news of a victory ſo glorious to the Britiſh forces, and a cenſure ſo diſgraceful to their commander, who a few days after the battle, reſigned his command, and returned to London, where he was deprived of all his military employments. The marquis of Granby, whom the opinion of prince Ferdinand, and the deſires of the whole army had pointed out, ſucceeded him in his command. An ardent courage, an affability of manners, a generous openneſs of ſoul, an extenſive benevolence, in ſhort, all qualities that compoſe the ſoldier or make the man, endeared him to the whole army, of which indeed he had long been the particular favourite.

No opportunity was now loſt by prince Ferdinand, of harraſſing the enemy, and driving them from place to place. Having defeated them in divers ſkirmiſhes, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of Marpurg, he proceeded with the army to Nerder-Weimar, and there encamped, while Contades

Contades remained at Gieſſen, on the ſouth ſide of the river Lahne.

The court of Verſailles was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity, by the event of the battle of Minden, and the ſubſequent failures of the French arms. The duke of Broglio, and M. de Contades, mutually accuſed each other with ill conduct on the important day. The public acquitted Broglio, but Belliſle the miniſter, and his general, loſt all their reputation.

As ſoon as the court of Verſailles had recovered from their confuſion and ſurprize, they determined to ſend reinforcements to their army in Germany, and inveſted M. d'Etrees with an authority which he accepted with regret. This old officer, when he arrived at the camp, told M. de Contades, that he was not come to take his command, but to ſerve under him; and would readily obey his orders, while he aſſiſted him with his advice.

By this time, the ſeverity of the ſeaſon was ſuch, that the allies could not avail themſelves of the advantages they had obtained over the enemy; at the ſame time, it diſabled the French from undertaking any thing conſiderable againſt them. The duke of Broglio was now at the head of the French troops. He had repaired to Verſailles, and after ruining the character of M. de Contades, eſtabliſhed his own. His rival was removed, and he, in ſpite of ſeniority, acquired the mareſchal's ſtaff, and the command of the army. He returned about the time the hereditary prince was detached into Saxony, and thought a favourable opportunity now offered for diſtinguiſhing the commencement of his command. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of December, he attempted to attack prince Ferdinand's army by ſurprize; but finding him perfectly prepared, and all his poſts well guarded, he was convinced that it would be more prudent to return to his former quarters, than to attack the camp of ſo provident and intrepid a general. This abortive attempt cloſed the operations of the campaign in Germany, from whence the French had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes; leaving prince Ferdinand the honour of ſecuring his own poſts againſt all their efforts, after he had detached twelve thouſand men three hundred miles from his camp, though his army was originally inferior to that of his enemy.

A comprehenſive view of the military and naval tranſactions having been thus briefly and faithfully given, we paſs on to relate the moſt important domeſtic occurrences that happened during the courſe of this year.

Mr. ſecretary Pitt preſented to the houſe of commons, on the nineteenth day of January, the copy of a convention between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, concluded and ſigned at London two days before; and alſo the copy of a convention between his majeſty and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, ſigned the ſame day. By the latter, nineteen thouſand of the troops of Heſſe Caſſel were taken into the pay of Great Britain, inſtead of twelve thouſand, the number then employed in the Engliſh ſervice; and the landgrave, in conſequence of the immenſe loſſes he had already ſuſtained in ſupport of the common cauſe, was to receive, beſides the ordinary pay of theſe troops, the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds; and by the former, five hundred and twenty thouſand pounds was to be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, on the thirtieth day of May, informing them, that he had received advice, that the French court was making preparations for an invaſion of this kingdom; and though he was perſuaded, that by the united zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt, under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who engaged in it; yet he apprehended, that he ſhould not act conſiſtently with that paternal care and concern, which he had always ſhewn for the preſervation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, that might be neceſſary for their defence. His majeſty had, therefore, thought proper to acquaint the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and imminent

minent danger of ſuch an invaſion being attempted; in order that his majeſty might, if he thought proper, cauſe the militia, or ſuch part of it as might be thought neceſſary, to be drawn up and embodied, and to march as occaſion might require. This meſſage was no ſooner read, than both houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would, with vigour and ſteadineſs, ſupport his majeſty in taking the moſt effectual meaſures to defeat the deſigns of his enemies; to preſerve and ſecure his ſacred perſon and government, the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal family, and the religion, laws, and liberties of theſe kingdoms. The ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which his majeſty not only thanked the commons, but applauded the firmneſs and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that notwithſtanding the preſent burthens, the making ample proviſion for carrying on the war was the moſt probable means of bringing it to an honourable and happy concluſion. He aſſured them that no attention ſhould be wanted on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed, that his majeſty had nothing further to deſire, but that they would carry down the ſame good diſpoſitions, and propagate them in their ſeveral counties, which they had ſhewn in their proceedings, during the ſeſſion. The parliament was prorogued as ſoon as this ſpeech had been delivered.

In the month of June, this year, the prince of Wales having compleated the one and twentieth year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings, and his majeſty received the compliments of congratulation on the occaſion from the nobility, gentry, city of London, and many other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment; nor was there the leaſt trace of diſaffection perceivable at this juncture, in any part of his majeſty's dominions,

About this period, the ſtates of Holland, who had often heard complaints that the merchant ſhips of the republic were taken by the Engliſh, ſent three miniſters extraordinary to London, to make repreſentations, and remove, if poſſible, the cauſes of miſunderſtanding that had ariſen between Great Britain and the United Provinces.

Hereupon, the credentials were delivered to his majeſty, by theſe miniſters, with a formal harangue, ſetting forth the ardent deſire of their high mightineſſes, to cultivate the friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations; as well as to obviate the cauſes of that prejudice, which, to their mutual diſadvantage, had, of late, too much prevailed.

His majeſty replied to this ſpeech, by aſſuring them, that he had ever eſteemed their high mightineſſes as his beſt friends, and deſired the miniſters to inform them, that he ſhould endeavour, on his part, to remove the obſtacles in queſtion; expreſſing, at the ſame time, his ſatisfaction, that the deputies were come over for that purpoſe.

But notwithſtanding theſe proceedings, the Dutch ſtill continued to murmur againſt the Engliſh, and ſeized every opportunity of ſhewing their partiality in favour of their enemies.

Major general Yorke, the miniſter from the court of Great Britain to the Hague, in conſequence of this inſincere behaviour, preſented a memorial to the ſtates general, remonſtrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by tranſporting warlike ſtores from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private perſons. He deſired that an immediate ſtop might be put to practices ſo repugnant to the treaty ſubſiſting between the two nations. He obſerved, that the care his majeſty had taken to reſtrain the exceſſes of privateers, demanded their regard to his remoſtrances; that their trading towns felt the effects of theſe reſtrictions, and that they muſt neceſſarily acquit his majeſty of any hoſtile intention, or wilful infringement of treaty, if they ſeriouſly deliberated on the affair.

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Some ſmall impreſſion was made on the ſtates-general, by this memorial, for they refuſed the neceſſary order for removing the artillery and ſtores belonging to the French king, from Amſterdam; but the count d'Affry, miniſter from France, no ſooner preſented a counter-memorial, in which he mixed ſome threats with his expoſtulations, than all their ſcruples vaniſhed, the neceſſary paſſports were granted, and the ſtores and artillery conveyed to the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the fourteenth day of November, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, and the lord keeper made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which they were given to underſtand, that his majeſty had deſired him to aſſure them, that he thought himſelf perfectly happy in being able to call them together, at a time when the ſituation of affairs was ſo glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdom. He told them, that he was commanded by his majeſty to acquaint them, that the happy progreſs of ſucceſs, from the taking of Goree on the coaſt of Africa, to the taking of many important places in America, with the defeat of the French army in Canada, and the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with ſo much honour to the adminiſtration, and his majeſty's officers; together with the important ſucceſs of his majeſty's fleet off Cape Lagos, and the effectually blocking up, for ſo many months, the principal part of the navy of France, in their own ports, were events that muſt have filled the hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, as well as his own, with the ſincereſt joy; and convinced his parliament, that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in the exertion of thoſe means which they had put into his hands. He added, that this general joy muſt be greatly heightened by the advantages obtained over the enemy in the Eaſt-Indies; the victory gained at Minden, and the great and able conduct of his majeſty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick. He told them, that his majeſty's good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, attacked and ſurrounded by ſo many conſiderable powers, had by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a ſurpriſing manner, to prevent the miſchiefs concerted with ſuch united force againſt him. He declared, by the command of his ſovereign, that as his majeſty entered not into this war from views of ambition, ſo he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment; that his majeſty ſincerely deſired to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of human blood; that whenever ſuch terms of peace could be eſtabliſhed, as ſhould be juſt and honourable for his majeſty and his allies; and by procuring ſuch advantages, as from the ſucceſſes of his majeſty's arms, might in reaſon and equity be expected, ſhould bring with them full ſecurity for the future; he ſhould rejoice to ſee the repoſe of Europe reſtored on ſuch ſolid foundations, and his faithful ſubjects happy in the bleſſings of peace: but in order to this great and deſirable end, he ſaid his majeſty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was neceſſary to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour. Finally, he repeated the aſſurances from the throne, of the high ſatisfaction his majeſty took in that union and good harmony, which was ſo conſpicuous in his loving ſubjects; and obſerved, that experience had ſhewn how much the nation owed to this union, by which alone the true happineſs of the people could be ſecured.

It may not be improper to obſerve, before we end our narrative of the tranſactions of this memorable year, that before the opening of the campaign, there prevailed in the court of London a general concern, occaſioned by the death of the princeſs dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the United Provinces, which happened on the eleventh of January, in the minority of her ſon, the preſent ſtadtholder. She was the eldeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, poſſeſſed of many perſonal accompliſhments, and exemplary virtues. She had exerciſed her authority with equal ſagacity and reſolution, and ſhe had engaged the eſteem even of thoſe who

were no friends to the houſe of Orange, by her candid and moderate behaviour.

Her highneſs, by her will, appointed the king her father, and princeſs dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors; and prince Louis of Brunſwick, acting tutor to her children. That prince was therefore invited to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as repreſenting the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the aſſembly the act, by which the princeſs had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the aſſembly of the ſtates general, who agreed to the reſolution of Holland, with reſpect to his guardianſhip; and in the morning the different colleges of the government ſent formal deputations to the young ſtadtholder, and the princeſs Caroline his ſiſter, in whoſe names and preſence they were received, and anſwered by their guardian and repreſentative. A formal intimation of the death of the princeſs was communicated to the king her father who condoled with the ſtates-general on the irreparable loſs which he, as well as they, had ſuſtained by this melancholy event; and they in their turn aſſured him, that they conſidered the young ſtadtholder, and the princeſs his ſiſter as the children of the republic, and would exert their utmoſt care and attention in ſecuring and defending their rights and promoting their intereſt.

This year the court of London were greatly afflicted by the death of the princeſs Elizabeth Caroline, ſecond daughter of his late royal highneſs Frederic, Prince of Wales, a lady of an amiable character, who died at Kew, in the month of September, before ſhe had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

Nor was this year leſs propitious to the friends of harmony, who ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of George Frederic Handel, the moſt conſummate muſician of his age. He was a native of Germany, but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he lived the darling of the ſons of Apollo, univerſally admired for his extraordinary genius for the ſublime in muſical compoſitions.

*A.D.* 1760. The famous French commander M. Thurot, was, in the beginning of this year, totally defeated, his whole ſquadron taken, and he himſelf killed in the action.

Thurot's ſquadron originally conſiſted of five ſail; the Belliſle of forty-eight guns, the Begon and Blond of thirty-ſix each, the Terpſichore and Amaranthe of twenty-four each; having on board ſeven hundred ſeamen, and twelve hundred and ſeventy land forces.

Commodore Boys had blocked up this ſquadron at Dunkirk for the ſpace of forty days, during which two hundred men were put on ſhore ſick; but the night of the fifteenth of October being hazy, Thurot took advantage of the weather to ſlip out, and got ſafe to Oſtend, where he anchored.

They ſailed from Oſtend to Gottenburgh, where they ſtayed about fifteen days, from whence they proceeded to Bergen in Norway, on the ſeventeenth of November 1756; but the weather being ſtormy, the Begon was ſeparated from the fleet in the paſſage, and received ſo much damage that ſhe was obliged to return to France; the other four ſhips remained at Bergen till the fifth of December, when proviſions beginning to grow ſhort, they put to ſea again, and ſoon arrived off the iſlands of the north of Scotland, where they had beat about ſix weeks, getting on board ſuch neceſſaries, as they could procure.

A briſk gale from the north, ſpringing up on the twenty-fourth day of January, they ſteered for Ireland, and in a few hours diſcovered the coaſt, upon which preparations were made to land the next day; but a violent ſtorm riſing in the night, M. Thurot found it expedient to make ſail for Derry, which he might have reached the next day; but being unwilling to land in the evening, he kept off, and prepared to land in the morning: in the night they continued to approach the ſhore, but as they were doubling the point of Derry, the wind ſhifted, and they were once more driven out to ſea. The ſtorm raged to ſuch a violent degree, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger; the Blond was obliged to throw four of her guns

guns overboard, and the Amaranthe being ſeparated from the ſquadron, the commodore ſaw her no more; but ſhe afterwards got into St. Malo's.

As the people had now been ſome time upon ſhort allowance, and the ſhips were conſiderably damaged by beating in tempeſtuous weather, the captains bore down on the commodore, and earneſtly requeſted him to return to France, which he refuſed; but at the ſame time, reſolved to go on ſhore at the iſland of Iſla, in order to refreſh his men.

The ſquadron was diſcovered on the ſixteenth of February, by the people on ſhore, who imagined them to be Engliſh veſſels, that wanted pilots, as the coaſt was foul and and dangerous. Two gentlemen, therefore, Meſſrs. M^c^Neal and M^c^Donald, went out in a ſmall boat, and were received on board the Belliſle before they diſcovered their miſtake. They were immediately conducted into the commodore's cabbin, whom they found to be a man of good appearance, not more than thirty years of age. When the gentlemen were introduced, he received them with great politeneſs, addreſſed them in Engliſh, and the firſt compliment being over, enquired for a ſafe harbour. After a ſhort converſation, Mr. M^c^Neal, was deſired to go on ſhore and tell the country people that they had nothing to fear, all he wanted being ſome freſh proviſions, for which he would pay ready money; while Mr. M^c^Donald was entertained with the greateſt civility on board.

The ſhips came to anchor in the bay of Claggen-carroch that night, where two of their long boats plundered two ſloops, one of them belonging to Mr. M^c^Donald, from which they took five tons of flour. This violence was committed without the knowledge of the commodore, who no ſooner heard of it, than he paid the owner more than the real value of the commodity, and afterwards ſeverely reprimanded the general of the land forces, who, having received from Mr. Campbell of Ardinore forty-eight ſteers, tendered him a bill upon the French reſident at the Hague for the money; the bill being invalid, M. Thurot obliged him to depoſit fifty guineas in part of payment, and draw a bill for the remainder on the French king's banker at Paris, which he aſſured Mr. Campbell was good: ready money was paid for every other commodity.

Having taken on board the proviſions, and made ſome neceſſary reparations, the ſquadron weighed anchor, and M. Thurot when he took leave of Mr. M^c^Donald, preſented him with a double barrelled fuzee as a token of reſpect.

The ſquadron ſailed from Iſla to Carrickfergus, where they anchored at twelve, and at three in the afternoon landed their forces, which were reduced by ſickneſs, and the loſs of the Begon and Amaranthe, to ſix hundred men.

The people on ſhore having diſcovered and ſuſpected them to be enemies, while they were bringing their fleet to an anchor. The troops were immediately aſſembled, orders were ſent to the caſtle to continue both guards under arms, double the centries over the French priſoners, and to be particularly watchful over them. Lieutenant Hall went off with a reconnoitring party, and took poſt on a riſing ground, where he could plainly perceive eight boats landing armed men; he therefore gave orders to his non-commiſſioned officers and men, to watch their approaches, and take particular care they did not get round them by going along the foot of the hill. He then went to the town himſelf, and acquainted lieutenant Jennings with what he had done; upon which the colonel, with the troops on the parade, ordered the gates and avenues of the town to be defended by detachments made from the main body.

Thurot's people were, by this time, in full march, and two or three ſtraggling huſſars, mounted on horſes they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates; they retired on the firſt fire, but were ſoon ſupported by parties of foot, who attacked both the North and Scotch gates, and the walls of lord Donnegall's garden, but theſe were alſo repulſed, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition. Before the gates of

the

the caſtle were ſhut, the enemy appeared in the market-place, and finding our fire now grow ſlack, they attacked the gates, and at length forced them and marched in. Lieutenant colonel Jennings, lord Wallingford, captain Bland, lieutenant Ellis, with ſome other gentlemenen and about fifty men, ſtill made a ſtand, and repulſed the enemy.

But all their ammunition being at length exhauſted, they agreed a parley ſhould be beat, and lieutenant Hall went out to know, on what terms they might ſurrender. He found the greateſt part of the enemy under ſhelter of the old walls, and houſes before the caſtle gate, and after the uſual ceremony, aſked the commandant, the general being wounded, what terms would be given, and at the ſame time, ſent the drum to call colonel Jennings out of the caſtle, to treat with the French commandant, on articles of capitulation, which were as follow, viz. That the troops ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and the officers be on their parole in Ireland; that an equal number of French priſoners ſhould be ſent to France, within one month, or as ſoon as ſhips could be got ready for that purpoſe, that the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor any of the ſtores deſtroyed or taken out of it, and that the town and country of Carrickfergus, ſhould not be plundered or burned, on condition, that the French troops were furniſhed with neceſſary proviſions by the mayor and corporation.

As the magiſtrates of the place were not punctual in the perfomance of their part of the laſt article, the enemy plundered the town, and threw the powder they found into the ſea.

Advice from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, having, in the interim, been tranſmitted to captain Elliot, commander of his majeſty's ſhip the Æolus, of thirty guns and two hundred and ten men, who was ſtationed at Kinſale, that three French ſhips had appeared off Carrickfergus; he ſailed with the Pallas, and Brilliant, two frigates of thirty ſix guns each in queſt of them. On the evening of the twenty-ſixth of February, he made the port of Carrickfergus; but the wind blowing contrary, he could not poſſibly get in. On the twenty-eighth he got ſight of the enemy, and about nine o'clock came along ſide of the commodore; in a few minutes the action became general, and having continued about an hour and a half, all the enemy's ſhips ſtruck their colours. The French loſt their gallant commander Thurot, and about three hundred men. The brave Thurot, whoſe humanity was equal to his valour, was unfortunately killed, after he had ordeed his colours to be ſtruck, and two men were killed at the ſtaff, while they were endeavouring to ſtrike them.

Only five men were killed, and thirty one wounded, in this engagement, on the part of the Engliſh; the enemy's ſhips were much damaged in their maſts and rigging, and were brought by captain Elliot into Ramſay bay, in the iſle of Man, to refit. The Belliſle was with the utmoſt difficulty prevented from ſinking, after having loſt her bowſprit, mizenmaſt and main yard.

The attention of the public which had been engroſed by this event, was ſoon afterwards wholly engaged by the trial of lord George Sackville, for diſobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand, at the battle of Minden. In order to invalidate the charge brought againſt him, he made a very elaborate defence. But from the depoſitions of colonel Sloper, colonel Ligonier, and captain Winſchingrode, it was deemed equivocal; thoſe gentlemen poſitively denying the facts upon which it was founded. The court martial having examined the evidence and heard the defence, gave judgment in theſe words: "The court, upon due conſideration 'of the whole matter before them, is of opi-'nion, that lord George Sackville is guilty 'of having diſobeyed the orders of prince 'Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was by 'his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to 'obey as commander in chief, according to 'the rules of war; and it is the farther opi-'nion of the court, that the ſaid lord George 'is, and he is hereby adjudged unfit to ſerve 'his majeſty, in any military capacity whatſoever."

"ſoever." His ſentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, ſignified his pleaſure, that it ſhould be given out in public orders, not only in Great Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe, where any Engliſh troops happened to be; that officers being convinced, that neither high birth, nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and, that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſure much worſe than death, to a man who is not loſt to all ſenſe of honour; they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders. To complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, his majeſty, in council, called for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy counſellors. But, all circumſtances conſidered, the candid part of the public are ſtill of opinion, that his lordſhip by no means deſerved the rigorous ſeverity with which he was treated.

This ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by the trial and execution of lord Ferrers, who had committed many outrages, and given manifeſt proofs of inſanity, and at length perpetrated a murder which ſubjected him to the cognizance of juſtice, and the penalty annexed by the laws of his country to a capital offence. It appeared from many circumſtances, that this frantic nobleman was actuated by a groundleſs jealouſy, and moſt fell reſentment; as from the open, unſuſpecting behaviour of Mr. Johnſon, the unhappy object of theſe paſſions, we have the higheſt reaſon to infer his fidelity as a ſervant; nor can any action more clearly evince conſcious integrity, than the unfortunate bailiffs, braving even death, rather than ſubſcribe himſelf a villain. By his behaviour after the commiſſion of the horrid crime, he ſeems to have been carried beyond the power of remorſe, by a deluſive hope, and ill grounded opinion of the rectitude of his conduct, declaring that his ſervant was a villain and deſerved to die.

His lordſhip's trial was continued for two days, during which the council for the crown learnedly diſcuſſed the affair; after which, the priſoner made an elaborate defence; but on the morning of the third day, the lord keeper Henley, who was appointed lord high ſteward on the occaſion, after having made a ſhort ſpeech touching the henious nature of the offence, pronounced the ſame ſentence of death upon the earl, which the loweſt claſs of malefactors undergo; that from the Tower he ſhould, on the Monday following, be carried to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards diſſected and anatomized; but the lords, his judges, by virtue of a power veſted in them, reſpited his ſentence for one month, that he might have time to ſettle his ſpiritual and temporal concerns.

The criminal was extremely ſhocked at the laſt part of the ſentence; he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in the utmoſt agitation: but he behaved with aſtoniſhing compoſure and unconcern during the remaining part of his life.

From the paſſing of the ſentence to the time of execution, he had recourſe to various methods, in order to ward off the fatal ſentence, but perſuaded, at length, of the inefficacy of all efforts to obtain ſo undeſerved a pardon, he ſent a letter to his majeſty, remonſtrating on the ignominy of the death to which he was aſſigned, and requeſting that he might be allowed to ſuffer in the Tower; but this indulgence was refuſed.

His body being demanded by the ſheriffs on the fifth day of May, at the Tower-gate, in conſequence of a writ under the great ſeal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, he was delivered up, and was then attended to the place of execution by one of the ſheriffs and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the ſheriffs, a mourning coach and ſix filled with his friends, and a hearſe for the conveyance of his body.

On his approaching the place of execution, he expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee and take leave of a certain perſon, who waited in a coach, for whom he entertained a ſincere regard; but the ſheriff prudently obſerving that ſuch an interview might ſhock him, at a time which required the exertion of all his fortitude, he declined it, and delivered to him

a pocket book, a ring, and a purſe, deſiring they might be given to that perſon, whom he now declined ſeeing.

He had been conveyed from the Tower in his landau, at his own requeſt; and when he came to Tyburn, he got out of it, and aſcended the ſcaffold with an undaunted countenance. He refuſed to join the chaplain in his devotion, but kneeling with him, he repeated the Lord's prayer, and added, with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my "errors, and pardon all my ſins." The ſtage was then removed from under his feet, and the fatal ſentence executed as adjudged, after which his body was conveyed to Surgeons Hall, where it remained for ſome days, and was then taken away and privately interred by the direction of his friends.

The only conſiderable damage ſuſtained by the navy of Great-Britain ſince the beginning of this year, was the loſs of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France, in order to watch the motions, and diſtreſs the commerce of the enemy.

The admiral was obliged, by ſtreſs of weather, to return to Plymouth in the beginning of February, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the Ramillies overſhot the entrance to the ſound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocks, after all her cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to ſeven hundred, periſhed on this occaſion, except one midſhipman, and twenty-five ſeamen, who ſaved their lives by leaping on the rocks, as the hull was thrown forwards, and raiſed up by the ſucceeding billows.

Several occurrences worthy of particular notice happened in America during the courſe of this year. The firſt that ſpread the alarm in this part of the world was, an attempt of the Indians upon the life of Mr. Atkins, his majeſty's agent and ſuperintendant of trade, to the ſouthern Indians, at a conference held with the Creek Indians in the month of September. About ſix in the morning of the day juſt mentioned, when that gentleman was in full conference with the Creek Indians, on the ſubject of trade, he was ſtruck on the head with a tomahawk, by an Indian called the tobacco-eater, who not having killed him by the firſt blow, as he intended, made a ſecond, which fell on his hand, and a third, which was received by his clerk, who providentially preſerved by this means, the life of his maſter.

The Engliſh of the ſouthern colonies had been greatly alarmed by the cruelties and miſchiefs daily perpetrated by the Cherokees; and application was made for aſſiſtance to general Amherſt, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in America. He forthwith detached twelve hundred choſen men to South Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglington, an officer of approved conduct and valour. Immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, he proceeded to the Twelve-mile river, which he paſſed without oppoſition in the beginning of the month of June.

From Twelve-mile river he proceeded by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation. Determined to ſurprize the enemy, he left his tents ſtanding, with a ſufficient guard for the camp and waggons, and marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Eſtatoe, and in this rout detached a body of light-horſe and infantry to deſtroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a ſmart fire, but they ruſhed in with their bayonets, and killed all their opponents.

In the mean time, the main body continued their rout towards Eſtatoe, which they reached in the morning, but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to eſcape, were ſlain; and the town, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, well ſtored with proviſion, ammunition, and all the neceſſaries of life, was deſtroyed, after having been plundered of every thing of value.

In order to intimidate theſe ſavages, it was thought

thought proper to make ſome examples of of ſeverity; and the ſoldiers became obdurate when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Engliſhman whom they had ſcalped that very morning.

Colonel Montgomery proſecuted his devaſtation with great rapidity; in the ſpace of a few hours, he deſtroyed Sugar town, and every village and houſe in the lower nation. All the men that were taken ſuffered immediate death, but the greateſt part of the nation had eſcaped with the utmoſt precipitation. In many houſes the beds were yet warm, and the tables ſpread with victuals; and while the houſes were burning, they heard the exploſion of many guns, which the inhabitants had left loaded.

Colonel Montgomery having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expence of five or ſix men killed and wounded, returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he had made priſoners. Two of their warriors were ſet at liberty, and deſired to inform the nation, that though they were yet in the power of the Engliſh, they might ſtill reap the advantages and bleſſings of peace if they would make proper ſubmiſſion.

As the chief, called Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, who had ſigned the laſt treaty, diſapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the Engliſh, ſince the renovation of the war, he was now given to underſtand that he might come down with ſome other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the negotiation muſt be begun in a few days, otherwiſe all the towns in the upper nation would be ravaged and burnt to the ground.

Very little effect having been produced by theſe intimations, colonel Montgomery reſolved to make a ſecond irruption into the middle ſettlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth of June. On the twenty-ſeventh captain Morriſon, of the advanced party, was killed by a ſhot from a thicket; and the firing became ſo troubleſome, that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry continued to advance, notwithſtanding the fire from the wood, until, from a riſing ground, they diſcovered a body of the enemy. Theſe they attacked, and obliged to retire to a ſwamp, which they were afterwards compelled to abandon, after a ſhort reſiſtance, on the coming up of the reſt of the troops.

At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forſaken, having taken every thing of value away with them.

For the ſpace of two days after this, the colonel purſued his rout without interruption; but afterwards ſuſtained ſome ſtraggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July, he arrived at Fort Prince George; having loſt about ſeventy men, killed and wounded, in this expedition.

The Cherokees, in order to revenge theſe calamities, aſſembled a conſiderable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudon, a ſmall fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconſiderable garriſon, and ill ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries. Having ſuſtained a long ſiege, and being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war, to deliberate on their preſent ſituation, when they were unanimouſly of opinion, that, as it was impoſſible to prolong their defence, they ſhould accept of an honourable capitulation; and captain Stuart ſhould be ſent to treat with the warriors, about the conditions of their ſurrender. This officer, being diſpatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garriſon was permitted to retire.

The garriſon evacuated the Fort in conſequence of this treaty, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were ſurprized by a large body of Indians, who maſſacred all the officers except captain Stuart, and ſlew five and twenty of his ſoldiers, the reſt were made priſoners, and diſtributed among the different towns and villages of the nation.

Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, generouſly

nerouſly interceded for the life of captain Stuart, and having ranſomed him at the price of all he could command, conducted him ſafe to Holſton river, where he found major Lewis advanced ſo far with a body of Virginians.

Encouraged by their ſucceſs at Fort Loudon, the ſavages now undertook the ſiege of Ninety-ſix, and the other ſmall fortifications, but retired on the approach of a body of provincials.

While the ſouthern colonies of America were agitated in the manner above deſcribed, the military tranſactions in the more northern parts were carried on with equal vigour.

The garriſon of Quebec, which, as we have already related, was left under the command of brigadier Murray, had ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetable and freſh proviſions, inſomuch, that before the end of April, near two thouſand ſoldiers were ſo ill of the ſcurvy as to be unfit for ſervice, and about one thouſand had died of that diſorder.

In this ſituation, Mr. Murray received intelligence, that the French commander, the chevalier de Levit, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; and that he determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Lawrence ſhould be clear of ice, and he could make proper uſe of his veſſels.

A proper plan of defence had been projected by the brigadier, but the earth was ſo hardened by the froſt, that it could not be carried into execution. Being informed on the night of the twenty-ſixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thouſand men, with five hundred ſavages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broken down, ſecured the landing places of Sylleri, and the Foulon, and marching the next day with a ſtrong detachment, and two field pieces, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſituation, and thus defeated the ſcheme which the French commander had projected, for cutting off the poſts which the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed. Theſe being all withdrawn, the brigadier marched back to Quebec, with little or no loſs, although his rear was much harraſſed by the enemy. There he formed a reſolution of hazarding an engagement, on failure in which, he determined to hold out the place to the laſt extremity, then to retreat to the iſle of Orleans, or Condres, and there wait for reinforcement with the remainder of the garriſon.

Having taken theſe reſolutions, he gave the neceſſary orders over-night, and on the twenty eighth of April, in the morning, marched out with his ſmall army of three thouſand men, which he formed on the heights, in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by colonel Burton, conſiſted of the regiments of Amherſt, Anſtruther, and Webb; and the ſecond battalion of Americans, conſtituted the corps de reſerve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was ſecured by captain Huzzen's company of Rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of captain Donald Macdonald; and two field pieces were alloted for the ſecurity of each battalion.

Brigadier Murray, having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived that their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds about three quarters of a mile from his front, but that the army was on their march in one column. Determined to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. After a warm conteſt, they were driven from the heights, and in the mean time their army advanced, and formed in columns. Their van conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred ſavages; their center, of eight battalions formed in four columns, with ſome bodies of Canadians; their rear of two battalions and ſome Canadians in the flanks; and two thouſand Canadians formed the reſerve. Their whole army conſiſted of twelve thouſand men. Major Dalling bravely diſpoſſeſſed their grenadiers of a houſe and a windmill, which they occupied in order to cover their left flank; and in this attack the major and ſome of his officers were wounded; nevertheleſs, the light infantry purſued the fugitives to a corps, which was formed

formed to ſuſtain them; then the purſuers halted, and diſperſed along the front of the right, a circumſtance which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the firſt impreſſion they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiouſly charged, and thrown into diſorder; then they retired to the rear in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was immediately ordered to advance from the body of reſerve, and ſuſtain the right wing, an attempt to penetrate which the enemy had twice made in vain.

The left brigade of the Britiſh forces were in the mean time, induſtriouſly employed; they had diſpoſſeſſed the French of two redoubts, and ſuſtained, with amazing intrepidity, the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until being overpowered by numbers, they were fairly fought down. The French now attacked with great impetuoſity, and at length, a freſh column of the regiment of Rouſillon penetrating the left wing of the Britiſh army, it gave way; the diſorder was ſoon communicated to the right, ſo that after a very obſtinate diſpute, which laſted an hour and a half, brigadier Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his artillery, and above a thouſand men killed and wounded.

Having retired within the walls of Quebec, he immediately made every neceſſary diſpoſition to defend the place to the laſt extremity: he raiſed two cavaliers, contrived ſome outworks, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither moſtly by the ſoldiery.

Though on the firſt day of the ſiege the enemy cannonaded the place with great ſpirit, yet their fire ſoon ſlackened, and their batteries were in a manner ſilenced by the ſuperior fire of the garriſon; yet Quebec would, in all human probability, have reverted to its former owners, had not an Engliſh ſquadron arrived in the river before a French fleet from Europe had made its appearance there.

Lord Colville had ſailed from Hallifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty ſecond of April, but was retarded in his paſſage, by great ſhoals of ice which floated down the river, thick fogs and contrary winds.

Commodore Swanton, who had ſailed from England with a ſmall reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May, at the iſle of Bee, in the river St. Laurence, where, with two ſhips, he propoſed to wait for the reſt of the ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in his paſſage: but one of theſe, the Loweſtoffe, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth of May, and informed the governor that the ſquadron was arrived in the river: a welcome piece of news in this critical juncture.

As ſoon as commodore Swanton was informed that Quebec was beſieged, he immediately ſailed up the river with the utmoſt expedition, and on the fifteenth in the evening landed at Point Levi. The brigadier expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that the French ſquadron above town might be removed; the commodore ordered captain Schomberg, of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a large number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion, than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt confuſion. One of the frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burned, at Point au Tremble, and all the other veſſels were either deſtroyed or taken.

The enemy, having received undoubted information that a ſtrong Engliſh fleet was already arrived in the river St. Laurence, and being much intimidated by the above diſaſter; on the following night they thought proper to raiſe the ſiege of Quebec, and retreat in the moſt precipitate manner, leaving their proviſions, implements, and artillery, to governor Murray, who no ſooner heard of the enemy's retreat, than he marched out of Quebec at the head of his forces, in hopes of overtaking and harraſſing their rear; but they had paſ-

ſed the river Caprouge before he could come up with their army; however, he took ſome priſoners, a great quantity of baggage, and all the implements with which they had carried on the ſiege.

The attempts of the French againſt Quebec being thus defeated, they began to take meaſures for the preſervation of Montreal, againſt which the force under general Amherſt was directed; but of ſo little effect were all their ſchemes, that on the ſeventh of September, general Amherſt took full poſſeſſion of it, and thus compleated the conqueſt of Canada; a conqueſt, the moſt important of any atchieved by the Britiſh arms; as by this means the ſafety of the Engliſh colonies in America was effected; the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, veſted in the hands of the Engliſh; the French intereſt among the ſavage Indians totally extinguiſhed; and their American poſſeſſions reduced to a ſmall tract on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, which on any future occaſion might be eaſily conquered.

Too much cannot be ſaid in the praiſe of general Amherſt, whoſe whole conduct during the courſe of theſe operations in America, exhibited uncommon proofs of great penetration, joined to a greater degree of valour, and ſtill more humanity, in that he compleated the conqueſt of a large country, with very little effuſion of human blood. Nor can juſtice permit us to paſs over in ſilence the laudable behaviour of the ſubordinate commanders, who correſponded with his maxims, and together with the whole body of the troops, exerted themſelves as one man in the common cauſe. Sir William Johnſon, by an authority and inſinuation peculiar to himſelf, not only allayed the ferocity of the moſt ſavage of the Indian tribes, but wrought on them ſo effectually, that during the courſe of this expedition, not a ſingle act of barbarity was committed.

The naval force of Great Britain atchieved no extraordinary action in the European ſeas during the courſe of this year; though it ſuſtained ſome damage from the weather. The Conqueror a new ſhip of the line was loſt in the channel, off the iſland of St. Nicholas, but the crew and guns were ſaved; and the Lime of twenty guns foundered in the Cate-gate, in Norway, where fifty of the ſailors were loſt.

The proteſtant cauſe in general, and the Britiſh dominions in particular, at this time, ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in the death of king George the ſecond; which happened at the palace at Kenſington, early in the morning on the twenty-fifth day of October, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty fourth of his reign.

His majeſty had riſen at his uſual hour, called his page, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, which it was imagined aroſe from his anxiety about the arrival of the foreign mails; he then opened a window of his apartment, and, obſerving that the weather was fine, ſaid he would walk in the garden. Soon after this, when he was alone in his chamber, he fell down on the floor: his attendants, hearing the noiſe, ran into the room, and having lifted him on the bed, he, in a faint voice, deſired them to call the princeſs Amelia, but he expired before ſhe could reach the apartment.

An attempt was made to bleed his majeſty, but in vain; and it was afterwards found, on opening of the body, that the right ventricle of the heart had burſt; and a great quantity of blood was diſcharged through the aperture into the ſurrounding pericardium; ſo that his death muſt have been occaſioned by the effuſion of blood, and conſequently have been almoſt inſtantaneous.

George the ſecond was, in his perſon, well ſhaped and upright, but rather lower than the middle ſtature; his complexion was fair, his noſe high, and his eyes remarkably prominent. His temper is ſaid to have been impetuous; but though this might influence his behaviour in private, it does not appear to have had any effect on his public conduct, or to have hurried him into any meaſures contrary to the intereſt of his ſubjects, which he ſincerely conſulted on all occaſions.

Upright and honeſt in his intentions, he was never known to practice deceit: above the

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the meanneſs of violating his promiſe, he was always true to his word: ſteady in the diſtribution of his favours, he ſeldom changed his ſervants, and never willingly; but moſt of them died in their places, or grew old with their maſter.

It is apparent from his conduct, that his judgment was ſolid and comprehenſive; but his parts were not of the lively, the brilliant caſt. He was well ſkilled in the intricacies of political knowledge, and had a clear idea of the intereſts of the ſeveral powers of Europe. He had the happineſs to live to ſee the ſpirit of party almoſt extinguiſhed in his dominions; but it was not till towards the cloſe of his reign, that his family might be conſidered as immoveably fixed on the throne.

His majeſty was bleſſed with a numerous iſſue, from whom he experienced little uneaſineſs, except what was the almoſt unavoidable conſequence of the great age to which he lived, for he ſurvived ſeveral of his children. Contrary to the fortune of moſt old kings, he experienced the love of his ſubjects in the higheſt degree at the lateſt period of his life; and he died at the inſtant when the terror of his arms was dreaded, and the wiſdom of his government admired through all Europe.

George the ſecond had iſſue by queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who arrived at years of maturity; Frederick, late prince of Wales, the father of his preſent majeſty; William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs royal, married to the late prince of Orange, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder; Mary, landgravine of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, late queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

In this reign, the arts and manufactures were encouraged more than they had been in any former period; and the ſubjects in general, frequently enjoyed the bleſſings of peace, at a time when moſt other kingdoms of Europe felt the dreadful calamities and inconveniences of war.

# BOOK XIV.

## From the Acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, to the End of the Year, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Sixty-Seven.

## GEORGE III.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of the late king, Mr. Pitt, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, repaired to Kew, to communicate the event to his new ſovereign, George III. who thus aſcended the throne, in the twenty-third year of his age. The lords of the privy council were immediately aſſembled, and next day his majeſty was proclaimed with the uſual ſolemnity. To the council aſſembled at Carleton-houſe, his majeſty addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech, implying his reſolution to proſecute the ſame meaſures which had been planned under the late king; which being made public, the apprehenſions of ſome perſons who feared an alteration entirely ſubſided.

His majeſty then took and ſigned the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, and ſubſcribed two inſtruments thereof; one of which was tranſmitted to the court of ſeſſion,

ſeſſion, to be recorded in the books of *Sederunt*, and afterwards lodged in the public regiſter of Scotland; the other remained among the records of the council. The two houſes of parliament being aſſembled, the members were ſworn in; the peers by the lord keeper, the commons before the duke of Rutland, lord ſteward; then both houſes were adjourned. The lord mayor and aldermen of London, attended the king with compliments of condolance and congratulation; and directions were given for the funeral of the late king.

A proclamation was now iſſued by his majeſty, requiring all perſons, who were in office of authority or government at the deceaſe of the late king, to proceed in the execution of their reſpective offices. Another proclamation was iſſued, for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the puniſhment of vice, profaneneſs and immorality. Such was the general affection towards this young monarch, that addreſſes, couched in the warmeſt profeſſions of love and attachment, flowed in from all parts of the kingdom.

On the evening of the tenth of November, the body of the late king was removed from Kenſington to the Prince's Chamber, where it lay in ſtate till next day, when it was interred with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Cumberland acting as chief mourner on the ſolemn occaſion.

The parliament being aſſembled on the the eighteenth, his majeſty addreſſed both houſes in a moſt elegant ſpeech from the throne, importing, the juſt concern he felt for the loſs of the late king; the critical time in which he was called to the government; his reliance on the bleſſing of heaven, and their united aſſiſtance; the peculiar glory of his having been born and educated in this country, and his title to the name of Briton; aſſurances of his inviolable attachment to the civil and religious liberties of his ſubjects, and fixed purpoſe, to encourage the practice of religion and virtue; his peculiar ſatisfactisfaction in the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms had been crowned in the different quarters of the globe; his reſolution to reward the valour of his officers by ſea and land; and deſired they would, in concurrence with the king of Pruſſia, proſecute the war with vigour. With this view, he requeſted of the houſe of commons the neceſſary ſupplies, and aſſured them of a faithful application, as well as regular œconomy on his part; and concluded with reminding them, that the eyes of Europe were upon them, and that the iſſue of a war of ſuch great importance to themſelves and their allies, muſt depend on the vigour, unanimity, and diſpatch of their proceedings.

As at the commencement of every reign, it is cuſtomary for the members of both houſes to repeat the oaths, that ceremony was performed with the uſual ſolemnity, as ſoon as the king retired; then each prepared an addreſs, replete with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of loyalty and affection.

In conſequence of a motion which was made for granting a ſupply to his majeſty; the commons granted for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the dignity of the crown, during his life, ſuch a revenue, as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any act of parliament made in the reign of the late king, of the hereditary civil liſt revenues, ſhould amount to the yearly ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to commence from the demiſe of his late majeſty; to be charged upon, and made payable out of the aggregate fund. At the ſame time they reſolved, that the ſeveral revenues payable to his late majeſty, during his life, which continued to the time of his demiſe, other than ſuch payments as were charged, and iſſuing out of the aggregate fund, ſhould be granted and continued from the time of the ſaid demiſe, to his preſent majeſty during his life; and the produce of the ſaid revenues, together with the produce of the ſaid hereditary revenues, which were appointed towards the ſupport of the late king's houſhold, ſhould be, during the ſaid term, added to and conſolidated with the aggregate fund.

*A. D.* 1761. Though the powers at war ſtill continued their former animoſity towards each other, yet their efforts had by this time conſiderably ſlackened, and their operations began

began to degenerate into ſkirmiſhes, and trivial engagements. Such was the languid ſtate of the war, when the cabinet was full of buſineſs, and negotiation engroſſed the attention of the miniſtry. Previous to our entrance on this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that our relations concerning it cannot be authenticated like thoſe of a military nature, which are derived from the officers who conducted them, and may, therefore, with confidence be laid before the public; while the motives either of peace or war, and the ſteps taken in a negotiation, are ſecrets of the cabinet, which, if they are ever perfectly developed, it muſt be owing to events which time only can diſcover.

The courts of Peterſburg, Vienna, France, Sweden and Poland, having made ſeveral declarations which were ſigned at Paris, and delivered at London the thirty firſt of March; the counter declaration of Great Britain and Pruſſia appeared on the third of April; and Augſburg was appointed for the place of congreſs, as being moſt conveniently ſituated for the ſeveral powers at war.

Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, ambaſſador in Poland, and general Yorke, ambaſſador in Holland, were nominated as plenipotentiaries for England; and the count de Choiſeul was appointed on the part of France. The public converſation was now diverted from ſcenes of horror, to the more agreeable contemplation of this public ſcene of magnificence, and the events, which, in all probability, would happen conſequent thereon.

It was unanimouſly agreed, with a view to render the negotiation as unembarraſſed as poſſible, to admit none but the principal parties, and their allies to this treaty. As the German war was referred to the treaty of Augſburg, the great and main object of the general war, the limits of America was ſeparately conſidered at London and Paris. For this purpoſe, miniſters were mutually ſent from thoſe courts; M. de Buſſy on the part of France, and Mr. Stanley on that of England.

An agreeable concluſion might reaſonably have been expected from this prudent method of conducting the negotiation; but unhappily, the plan of the treaty was more eaſily adjuſted than the ſubſtance. The proper quarrel of France was no ſooner ſeparated from the general cauſe, than ſhe had every diſadvantage in the negotiation; the reſource ſhe, therefore, ſought, was in Spain, which ſhe imagined could not be an idle ſpectator of the humiliation of the principal branch of the houſe of Bourbon. Thus, in effect, all the advances which France ſeemingly made towards a peace, were ſo many ſteps towards the renovation of the war; and whilſt at London ſhe breathed nothing but moderation, and the moſt earneſt deſire of putting a period to the calamities of Europe; at Madrid ſhe was taking the moſt vigorous meaſures to encreaſe and continue them.

Though on the part of Great Britain there was a much greater degree of ſincerity, there were yet many obſtacles. The extenſive conqueſts of the Britiſh arms had raiſed proportionable expectations in the minds of the people, who deemed it unreaſonable to make almoſt any conceſſions to a nation, whoſe every public procedure was founded on ambition, and whom they now thought they had a right to give laws to.

The miniſtry, on the other hand, were by no means inſenſible, from the ſituation of the allies in Germany, that though their caſe was in the plan ſeparated from the main object in diſpute between the courts of France and England, it muſt have an influence on the final determination of the treaty.

In this perplexing ſituation, between the juſt demands of their country, and the natural expectations of her allies, they thought the beſt means they could purſue, to obviate the difficulties, was, a vigorous proſecution of the war; accordingly, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick was empowered to carry into execution, the operations he had planned in the beginning of the winter; and another expedition was prepared in England, the object of which was kept a profound ſecret.

The French had entirely poſſeſſed themſelves of Heſſe before the cloſe of the laſt campaign; they had driven the allies from

the Lower Rhine, where they kept a conſiderable body of troops on that ſide; on the right they poſſeſſed the town of Gottingen, in which they had placed a very ſtrong garriſon, ſo that the allies were ſhut up on this quarter alſo, whilſt the Hanoverian dominions were left entirely open to the enterprizes of the enemy.

Prince Ferdinand, ſenſible of the inconveniences of his ſituation, and of the advantages the enemy had over him, determined in this emergency to act with vigour. He appointed three places of rendezvous, on the Dymel, the Rhine, and in Saverland. His army aſſembled on the ninth of February, without ſuffering the enemy to have any previous notice of their intentions. The day following, the prince communicated the reſpective diſpoſitions he had made, to his general officers.

His ſerene highneſs in perſon led the center, which advanced directly into Heſſe, and marching by Zirenberg and Durenberg, made its way towards Caſſel. The right and left of the army were at a conſiderable diſtance from this body; but they were ſo diſpoſed as fully to co-operate in the general plan of operation. The hereditary prince commanded in the right; he marched by Stadbergen, for Mengeringhauſen, and having the county of Heſſe to the eaſtward, as the alarm was to be as ſudden, and as widely diffuſed as poſſible, puſhed forward into the heart of the French quarters. General Sporcken commanded a corps at a greater diſtance to the left, and marching by Dudeſtadt, and Heiligenſtadt, penetrated into Thuringia.

The French were, by this extenſive, ſudden and vigorous attack, thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and they retreated on every ſide; but had very ſufficient means of ſecuring their retreat.

The hereditary prince, whoſe party was the moſt advanced, ſtruck the firſt blow, by an attempt to ſurprize Fritzlar: having received advice, that it was in a defenceleſs condition, he took only a few battalions, thinking to carry the place at once. But unfortunately the garriſon was prepared and reſolute, and though he attacked it with great ſpirit, he was obliged to draw off with conſiderable loſs. Soon after this diſappointment, cannon and mortar was brought before Fritzlar, which, after a ſhort defence, ſurrendered upon honourable terms; and the allies found in the place a very large magazine. The marquis of Granby was employed, with ſucceſs, in reducing the forts and caſtles in this neighbourhood. The allied army boldly advanced, and the French continually retired, abandoning poſt after poſt, and fell back almoſt to the Maine. They fired their magazines as they retreated, but the allies purſued with ſuch celerity, that they ſaved five capital ſtores, which, affording proviſion for the cavalry, was of the utmoſt ſervice in promoting their advances.

But the ſiege of Caſſel, in which the French had a garriſon of ſeventeen battalions, beſides other forces, under the command of M. de Broglio, was the grand object of operation. As it was neceſſary, previous to the ſiege of this place, to clear the adjacent country of the enemy, and to cut off the communication of the garriſon with their grand army; prince Ferdinand, when Broglio had been driven out of Heſſe, and retreated towards Franckfort, ceaſed to advance, and formed that part of the army which was with him, into a chain of cantonments, making a front towards the enemy; thus he propoſed to watch the motions of Broglio's army, to cover the ſiege of Caſſel, and the blockades of Marpurg and Ziengenheyn, which he had ordered to be inveſted. The ſiege of Caſſel was carried on by the count of Dippe Schaumberg, a ſovereign prince of the empire, reputed one of the ableſt engineers in Europe. Trenches were opened on the firſt of March, and all eyes were turned to this point, on the ſucceſs of which depended the whole fortune of the campaign, as the inferior places muſt inevitably fall with it if that was reduced.

M. de Broglio, in order to relieve this important place, called in, though with the utmoſt difficulty, his moſt diſtant poſts, embodied his army, inſpired them with new ſpirit, and made them capable, by a more exact order in their

their diſcipline and a great ſuperiority in their numbers, of attempting ſome important enterprize.

Prince Ferdinand had three ſtrong poſts of the enemy in his rear, and their grand army united in his front; which obliged him to call in general Sporcken's body, which had effected its purpoſe and could beſt be ſpared. However, the prince kept his poſition as long as poſſible; and the ſiege was carried on with as much vigour, as a winter operation, and the ſpirited defence of a numerous garriſon, under an able commander, could admit.

As ſoon as Mareſchal de Broglio had got together his army, he advanced without delay. He cauſed the troops under the hereditary prince to be attacked near the village of Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the very firſt ſhock of which broke the whole foot, conſiſting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers. The French on this occaſion, though very few were killed or wounded on either ſide, made two thouſand priſoners, and took ſeveral trophies of victory.

The ſeverity of this blow was ſuch, that the allies, who could no longer think of making head againſt the French, or of maintaining their ground in Heſſe, retired behind the Dymel, and fell back near to the quarters they poſſeſſed before this undertaking.

While the armies on the continent were employed as above deſcribed, colonel Coote, in conjunction with the Britiſh ſquadron under rear admiral Stevens, inveſted and reduced the French ſettlement of Pondichery in the Eaſt Indies, by which means the French intereſt was annihilated on the coaſt of Coromandel, and therefore the conqueſt was of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh nation. Notwithſtanding the French ſuſtained this loſs, they found means to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire called ſhah Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourſcore thouſand men, againſt the forces of the Engliſh company, commanded by major John Carmack, and reinforced by the ſuba of Bengal. This army conſiſted of five hundred Europeans, two thouſand, five hundred ſeapoys, and twenty thouſand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. The ſhah made an effort to join two rajas, who had taken up arms againſt the ſuba; but receiving intelligence that they were already reduced by the Engliſh troops, he ſurrendered at diſcretion to the ſuba, and promiſed to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the Mogul empire, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh company.

The negotiation for a peace, was, in the interim, carried on at London and Paris, but nothing concluſive was effected; as the Engliſh miniſtry could not comply with the propoſals of France, conſiſtent with the intereſt of their country, or the general expectations of the people, eſpecially at a time, when a deſign on the enemy's coaſt was depending, of the ſucceſs of which the moſt ſanguine hopes were conceived by the public in general.

On the twenty-ninth day of March the fleet deſtined for this expedition ſailed from Spithead, and it was ſoon diſcovered that the object was Belliſle, the largeſt of all the European iſlands belonging to the French king, between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference. Belliſle has three nominal harbours, Palais, Sauzen, and Goulfard, but each of theſe labours under ſome capital defect, being either dangerous at the entrance, ſhallow, or too much expoſed.

The fleet, which was commanded by commodore Keppel, the land forces being under the command of general Hodgſon, arrived before Belliſle on the ſeventh day of April, and on the eighth agreed to attempt a landing, on the ſouth eaſt of the iſland, in a ſandy bay, near Lochmaris point. The attempt was made in three places, with great reſolution; a few grenadiers got on ſhore and formed themſelves: but, as they were not ſupported, they were for the greateſt part made priſoners. The reſt of the army, after ſeveral brave efforts, being unable to force the enemy's lines, or make good their landing, were obliged to retire with loſs; the chief cauſe of this diſaſter was, that ſeveral of the flat bottomed boats were deſtroyed or damaged in a hard gale, which ſprang up while the Engliſh

liſh were retiring from the ſhore; near five hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, were loſt in this attack.

The weather was ſo bad that the Engliſh were unable to make a ſecond attempt for ſome conſiderable time after the firſt; but, however, they found at length a convenient ſituation. The attempt was accordingly made at the point of Lochmaris. Beſides the principal attack, two feints were made at the ſame time to diſtract the enemy, whilſt the men of war directed their fire with great judgment towards the hills, which produced a conſiderable effect.

Theſe attacks gave brigadier general Lambert, at the head of an handful of men, an opportunity of climbing up a very ſteep hill, without moleſtation. As ſoon as this little body had gained the ſummit, they formed, and were attacked by three hundred of the French; but maintained their ground, till the whole corps of brigadier Lambert arrived to their aſſiſtance, by which the enemy were in the end repulſed.

All the forces were landed on the twenty-fifth of April, without further moleſtation; and the loſs in this daring, though ſucceſsful attempt, was inconſiderable. The great difficulty which now remained, was to bring forward the cannon, which were to be dragged up the rocks, and afterwards, for two leagues, along a very rugged road. This was at length effected, the ſiege commenced, and the garriſon, commanded by the chevalier de St. Croix, an experienced officer, threatened a long and obſtinate defence. The enemy made ſome ſallies, one of which had a conſiderable effect, major-general Crawford being made priſoner on the occaſion. But the Engliſh, rouzed by theſe checks, made a furious attack upon the enemy's lines, which covered the town, and they were carried without much loſs, chiefly by the intrepidity of a new raiſed regiment of marines.

The enemy now entirely abandoned the town, and the defence was confined to the citadel. As the Engliſh fleet cut off all communication with the continent, and conſequently all hopes of relief, the place muſt neceſſarily be reduced; but the chevalier, though he could not maintain it, was determined to ſell it as dear as poſſible. Accordingly, there was no mention made of ſurrendering, till the ſeventh of June, when there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſuccour; and the place was by no means ſafely tenable. Then he capitulated, and the garriſon marched out with the honours of war.

After a defence of two months, the iſland of Belliſle was ſubjected to the crown of Great-Britain. In this expedition, the loſs of the Engliſh in killed, and wounded, amounted to about eighteen hundred men.

The members of the privy council, to a very conſiderable number, having aſſembled in the month of July, his majeſty informed them that, "having nothing ſo much at heart, "as to promote the welfare and happineſs "of his people, and to render the ſame ſta-"ble and permanent to poſterity, he had, "ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, "turned his thoughts towards the choice of "a princeſs for his conſort, and, now, with "great ſatisfaction, acquainted them, that "after the fulleſt information, and matureſt "deliberation, he had come to a reſolution, "to demand in marriage the princeſs Char-"lotte, of Mecklenberg Streſitz; a princeſs "diſtinguiſhed by every eminent virtue, and "amiable endowment; whoſe illuſtrious "line had conſtantly ſhewn the firmeſt zeal "for the proteſtant religion, and a particu-"lar attachment to his family; that he had "judged proper to communicate to them, "theſe his intentions, that they might be "fully apprized of a matter ſo highly im-"portant to him and his kingdoms, and "which he perſuaded himſelf would be moſt "acceptable to all his loving ſubjects." Then the council unanimouſly requeſted that his majeſty, for the ſatisfaction of his people in general, would make this declaration public.

The ambaſſador extraordinary appointed on this occaſion, to the court of Mecklenberg Strelitz, was the earl of Harcourt, who was authorized to demand the princeſs, and ſign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts

yatchts were prepared, under convoy of a ſquadron, commanded by lord Anſon, to convoy the future queen to England. Mean while, her houſhold being eſtabliſhed, the ambaſſador ſet out for the continent, on this important affair. The dutcheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg, in her paſſage to England, and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Stade, on the eighth of Auguſt. On the ſeventeenth, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, ſet out with all her attendants for Mirow, and proceeded to Perleberg, where the count de Gotton complimented her in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty. On the twenty-ſecond ſhe arrived at Stade, under a general diſcharge of cannon, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. Next day ſhe embarked in a yatcht at Cuxhaven, where the Britiſh ſquadron, aſſembled for her convoy, ſaluted her with a diſcharge of cannon.

The eager and anxious curioſity of the people of England was never more conſpicuous than during this interval. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was expoſed to contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh of September, in the afternoon, at Harwich; thence ſhe advanced with her attendants, by the way of Colcheſter, to Witham, and lodged at a houſe belonging to the earl of Abercorn. Mean while the king, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, diſpatched his own coaches, with a party of horſe guards, who met her at Rumford, and and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people: Thus accompanied, the princeſs proceeded through Hyde Park, down Conſtitution-hill, to the Garden gate of the palace of St. James's, where ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, in quality of lord chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, and in the garden ſhe was met by the king, whoſe countenance indicated the tranſports of his mind. When ſhe made her obeiſance, he raiſed her by the hand, and led her up to the palace, where they dined, together with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occaſion. Beſides the royal family, all the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, peers, and peereſſes, and foreign miniſters were preſent at the ſervice, the concluſion of which was announced to the people by the diſcharge of the artillery in the Park, and at the Tower; and the cities of London and Weſtminſter, were illuminated in honour of this auſpicious event. His majeſty received addreſſes of felicitation from the city of London, the univerſities, and the cities, towns, and corporations, in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, on the happy occaſion.

The ceremony of the nuptials was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the coronation. A commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal conſtituting a court to decide the pretenſions of ſeveral perſons to various offices and privileges on this occaſion, many of which are derived from the cuſtoms of the moſt remote antiquity. Weſtminſter-hall was prepared for the coronation banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, erecting canopies, and building galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were crowded with benches and ſcaffolding, which, when filled with above two hundred thouſand people of both ſexes, gayly attired, exhibited a ſtriking picture of the wealth and proſperity of Great-Britain, and vaſtly ſurpaſſed, in point of view, the proceſſion itſelf.

While the court of London was engaged in this brillant manner, the allied army under prince Ferdinand continued their vigilance and activity; nor did the French remain motionleſs.

A reſolution to attack the allied army, having been formed by mareſchal de Broglio, he united his troops to thoſe of the prince of Soubiſe, at a place called Soeſt, between Lipſtadt and Ham. On the other hand, as ſoon as the general of the allies was apprized of the French mareſchal's

intention, he poſted his army in a very advantageous manner. The left wing he placed between the rivers Aeſt, and Lippe, the left extremity of which, under general Wutgenau, extended to the Lippe, by which it was perfectly ſecured; and the right was ſupported by the village of Kirch Denkern, ſituated immediately on the Aeſt. The marquis of Granby commandeded in that wing, with the aſſiſtance of lieutenant general Howard, and the prince of Anhalt, who were poſted near the above village. Behind the river Aeſt, on a conſiderable eminence, was placed the center, commanded by general Conway: and, on a continuation of the ſame eminence, the right wing, under the hereditary prince, ſtretched out towards the village of Werle, and was well defended on the flank, by rugged and buſhy ground.

On the evening of the fifteenth of July, a moſt furious attack was made on lord Granby's poſts, and ſuſtained for a long time, with great intrepidity; when general Wutgenau, according to the plan originally projected, arrived to their aſſiſtance, and then, with united and redoubled efforts, in an obſtinate engagement, which continued till it was dark, they repulſed the enemy, and drove them into the woods.

The diſpoſition of the allies was compleated by the next morning; and it was evident, that the French were prepared for a more furious attack than the former. M. Broglio commanded againſt the left wing of the allies; the prince de Soubiſe led the left wing and center of the French.

About three o'clock in the morning the engagement began, and there was a ſevere and continual fire for upwards of five hours, before the leaſt effect could be perceived on either ſide. About nine the prince diſcovered that the enemy were preparing to erect batteries on an eminence in the front of the marquis of Granby's camp, which he had not been able to incloſe with his lines. To prevent their ſeizing on this eminence, he called in a reſerve, which had been placed at the other ſide of the Lippe, under general Sporcken. This movement proved fortunate, the enemy gave way, fell into diſorder, and retired with precipitation. Their loſs, however, was conſiderable, the regiment of Rouge, conſiſting of four battalions, with its cannon and colours, was entirely taken, by the ſingle battalion of Maxwell.

The whole loſs of the enemy amounted to about four thouſand killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The allies had about three hundred killed, a thouſand wounded, and about two hundred taken priſoners.

This action did the greateſt honour to the wiſdom of the commander, and the bravery of the troops; but it was far from being deciſive.

The French were ſtill ſuperior in number to prince Ferdinand's army, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and were ſoon in a capacity for advancing again. Accordingly, the party under the prince de Soubiſe paſſed the Lippe, and made diſpoſitions for the ſiege of Munſter; and prince Ferdinand continued in the country, towards the Weſer, to obſerve the motions of mareſchal Broglio.

As the armies were frequently moving towards each other, while theſe various poſitions were mutually taken, a number of ſmart ſkirmiſhes enſued; and theſe actions generally terminated in favour of the allied troops.

It was by this time extremely apparent to prince Ferdinand, that the deſign of M. Broglio was to make himſelf maſter of the Hanoverian and Brunſwick territories; he therefore reſolved, as often as he obſerved him making any progreſs towards the ſuſpected quarter, to throw himſelf as far into Heſſe as the enemy had advanced towards Hanover, and by ſtopping their ſubſiſtence, oblige them to quit their enterprize. This plan at firſt ſucceeded to his wiſhes, and drew back mareſchal Broglio into Heſſe, upon whoſe approach prince Ferdinand returned to his old quarters at Paderborn, on the nineteenth of October, and was ready for a new movement, as ſoon as Broglio ſhould attempt to carry his former deſign into execution.

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His highneſs by this time found the diſadvantage of not being able to form the two armies, which might act ſeparately; for, on one hand, mareſchal Broglio, when he had perfectly ſecured his poſts in Heſſe, took a ſituation, in which he watched all the motions of the allies, and kept himſelf in readineſs to fall back into Heſſe, or to advance into Hanover, as might beſt agree with his deſign. From hence he ſent out ſome powerful detachments, which acted with great effect; one of theſe reduced the ſtrong caſtle of Schartfelt, which they demoliſhed; another appeared before Wolfenbuttle, which in five days ſurrendered, and was ſubjected to a grievous contribution. In the mean time, prince Ferdinand, who ſaw the rage of war ſpread around him, kept the central poſition, which he had taken ſoon after the battle of Kirch Denkern; nor could any movements of the enemy terrify or allure him from it. He ſaw that the winter approached, which had always been a circumſtance favourable to him; and it was evident, that whilſt he continued with his main body immoveably fixed as it was, and his detachments active on every ſide, it was impoſſible for the enemy to keep any of the places which they had taken.

While the above recited tranſactions paſſed in Germany, the Engliſh cruizers made prize of a great number of French privateers; and the Britiſh navy maintained their uſual ſuperiority on the ocean.

In the month of June, the iſland of Dominique, which the French had put in a poſture of defence, was attacked and reduced by a ſmall body of troops commanded by lord Rollo, and conveyed thither from Guadaloupe by Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates. Two officers being ſent on ſhore at Roſeau, with a manifeſto directed to the inhabitants, two deputies came off, in order to treat of a ſurrender; but M. Longprie, their governor, encouraging them to ſtand upon their defence, they afterwards refuſed to ſubmit, and manned their entrenchments with a face of reſolution. The ſhips immediately anchored cloſe to the ſhore, and prepared for a diſembarkation, which was effected in the evening, under the fire of the ſquadron. Lord Rollo, ſeeing the forces galled by an irregular fire from trees and buſhes, reſolved to attack their entrenchments without delay; and this ſervice was performed by himſelf and colonel Melville, at the head of the grenadiers with ſuch vigour, that the enemy were driven from all their batteries and entrenchments; and M. Longprie and other officers were taken at their head quarters. Next day the inhabitants ſubmitted, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty. Thus the Britiſh commander reduced the whole iſland, at a very inconſiderable expence, and eſtabliſhed a defenſible poſt at Roſeau.

Let us now look back to the negotiation ſtill carrying on at London and Paris. The Engliſh miniſter, before he could agree to treat definitely upon any point, inſiſted upon two preliminary conditions.

Firſt, that every thing which ſhould be happily adjuſted between the two crowns, in relation to their particular war, ſhould be made obligatory, final, and concluſive, independent of the ſtate of the negotiation at Augſburg.

Secondly, that the definite treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, or preliminary articles to that end, ſhould be ſigned and ratified between the date of that memorial, and the firſt of the following Auguſt.

England, on her part, conſented, provided theſe conditions were accepted, to name determinate epochas to which the *uti poſſidetis* ſhould refer. By theſe terms were are to underſtand, an article of treaty, importing, the ſituation in which the two crowns ſhould ſtand, with reſpect to their poſſeſſions at certain periods of time. The firſt of July was fixed for Europe, the firſt of September for Africa and America, and the firſt of November the Eaſt Indies. The French miniſtry, without conteſting the epochas, complained of the conditions of the firſt, becauſe, they ſaid, it departed from the letter and ſpirit of a former memorial; of the ſecond, on account of the ſhortneſs of the time allotted for the diſcuſſion of ſuch momentous points; as little more than a month was left to obtain the conſent of the court of Vienna, to a ſe-

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parate treaty, to ſettle the terms of that treaty; and finally, to ratify every particular.

But her Imperial majeſty immediately received it, upon the following very ſhort condition, "That nothing might be ſtipulated "to the prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria." Every thing ſeemed to portend a final adjuſtment of affairs, and the contending parties ſeemed to be mutually animated with a ſincere deſire of peace.

In conſequence of the articles of *uti poſſidetis*, it was neceſſary for the two powers to aſcertain their reſpective poſſeſſions, pretenſions, and demands.

The principal objects in the negotiation were no leſs than ſix: The limits of the two crowns in North America: The conqueſts of Great Britain in the Weſt Indies, together with the neutral iſlands there: The Engliſh conqueſts in Africa, and in India: The adjuſtment of the particular affair between the Engliſh and French in Germany: The conduct which the two crowns were to obſerve, with regard to their reſpective allies in Germany: and laſtly, the reſtitution of the captures made by England, previous to the declaration of war.

The propoſals of the French, with regard to the greater part of theſe articles, were the moſt artful that their inſidious policy could ſuggeſt; and many not only inadequate to what England had a right to expect, but ſuch as the moſt preſumptuous arrogance alone could have offered, or the moſt ambitious of princes have made to a people whom they had conquered.

The reader will readily ſuppoſe, from the character of the miniſter, in what manner he received theſe propoſals, and eſpecially, when we obſerve, that M. de Buſſy, the French agent, delivered, with the papers which contained them, a private memorial, importing, that in this negotiation, the three points which had been diſputed between the crowns of England and Spain, might be finally ſettled. Theſe were, the reſtitution of ſome captures made upon the Spaniſh flag; the privilege of the Spaniſh nation to fiſh upon the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements made on the Spaniſh territories in the bay of Honduras.

Fired with indignation at this procedure, the Btitiſh miniſter rejected, with juſt contempt, the offer of finiſhing a negotiation, through the mediation of an humbled enemy; called upon the Spaniſh miniſter to diſavow the propoſitions, and return, as inadmiſſible, this offenſive memorial; declaring, that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his maſter, and incompatible with the ſincerity of the negotiation, to make any further mention of ſuch a circumſtance.

The two courts being, by this means, mutually diſpleaſed with each other, all that followed was rather altercation than treaty. Without entering into a tedious detail of the ſeveral memorials which were delivered in, or refering numerically to the ſeveral articles; ſuffice it to obſerve, that after Mr. Pitt had delivered in his anſwer, there were two points, upon which the negotiation ſeems to have been broken off. The firſt was the manner in which England and France might be at liberty to aſſiſt their reſpective allies; the ſecond referred to the reſtitution of Weſel, Gueldres, and ſuch other places belonging to the king of Pruſſia as had been taken by the French.

The general conduct of the French was ſuch, that the Engliſh miniſtry, having the greateſt reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of their intentions, ſent directions to Mr. Stanley to return to England, and to deſire that M. Buſſy ſhould, on the part of his court, receive the ſame orders; accordingly, on the twentieth of September, an end was put to this negotiation, while that of Augſburgh never took place.

It was not long before various circumſtances made it evident, that the court of Spain was regularly, as a kind of party, apprized of every ſtep that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgment was appealed to, and her authority called in aid, to force the acceptance of the terms which were offered by France; in ſhort, there appeared to be between thoſe two courts, a perfect union of intereſts and councils.

From theſe circumſtances, Mr. Pitt imagined (as the event ſoon proved) that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal,

cal, and that this partiality, which they ſtrongly avowed, not only by declarations, but by facts, would drive them into all the meaſures of France. He therefore declared, that a war, on that account, was inevitable; that we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court, as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only neceſſary to continue our preſent efforts, no new armaments would be neceſſary; and that if any war could provide its own revenues, it muſt be a war with Spain; that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once diſable their hands and ſtrengthen ours; that this procedure, ſo ſuited to the nation, and the inſults it had received, would be a leſſon to Spain, and to every other power, how they ſhould preſume to dictate in our affairs; and that we ſhould allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to recollect themſelves.

Almoſt all the other members of the council oppoſed the method of proceeding which Mr. Pitt thus ſtrenuouſly recommended. They admitted, that we ought not to be terrified from the aſſertion of our juſt demands by the means of any power; they owned that Spain had taken a very extraordinary and very unjuſtifiable ſtep, but that they ought to admit, and wiſh for an explanation; they declared, that to plunge into ſuch meaſures in the manner propoſed, and upon no better grounds, could not fail to alarm all Europe, and that we could derive no advantage from this precipitate conduct, which would not be more than counterbalanced by the jealouſy and terror it would neceſſarily create in every nation near us. As to the ſeizure of the flota, it was not to be depended upon, as at the very time of that deliberation, it might be expected to be ſafe in its harbour, and, perhaps, if we could ſucceed in ſeizing it, we might perform a ſervice not very advantageous to our own commerce, and by no means agreeable to neutral nations.

Fired by this oppoſition to his ſentiments, Mr. Pitt declared that, "this was the time "for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; "that if this opportunity was let ſlip, it "might never be recovered, and if he could "not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved "that this was the laſt time he ſhould ſit in "that council. He thanked the miniſtry of "the late king for their ſupport; ſaid he was "himſelf called to the miniſtry by the voice "of the people; and that he would not re-"main in a ſituation, which made him re-"ſponſible for meaſures, he was no longer "allowed to guide."

Mr. Pitt himſelf, and a noble lord, were, on the diviſion, the only voices in favour of the immediate declaration of war; the reſt of the board were unanimouſly againſt it. Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, adhering to their firſt opinion, and having declared their reaſons in writing, reſigned their employments. An univerſal alarm was immediately ſpread, and it was rumoured abroad, that this great and juſt miniſter, endeavouring to avail himſelf by his firmneſs in negotiation, of the advantages he had acquired by his vigour in war, was oppoſed by the whole council, who were reſolved to have a peace at any rate, and that he was compelled to reſign the ſeals in conſequence of this oppoſition.

His majeſty, the day following, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, ſettled a penſion of three thouſand pounds per annum on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the ſame time, his lady was made counteſs of Chatham in her own right.

Without concerning ourſelves with the debates with which his majeſty's council was agitated, we may with truth affirm, that no man was better qualified for the important ſtation he filled, than Mr. Pitt, a gentleman poſſeſſed not only of an extenſive capacity, but inviolable honour, and inflexible integrity: who prefered his country's intereſt to every ambitious and mercenary view, and nobly dared to differ from moſt in power, in an opinion to him apparently founded on truth and good policy. With very little parliamentary, and with leſs court influence, he maintained a ſway both in the council and the

ſenate. Under him, Great Britain carried on the moſt extenſive war, with the moſt ſignal ſucceſs; and every good man cannot but regret the loſs of ſo able and honeſt a guide of the helm of ſtate, at a time, when nothing was wanting to complete the glory, and aggrandize the people of this nation, but the effectual humiliation of an inſolent ambitious foe; which, as affairs were then circumſtanced, muſt inevitably have enſued, had his plan of operations been vigorouſly carried into execution.

The new parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the third day of November, when his majeſty being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons, to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the mouth of the lord high chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe and chuſe a ſpeaker. Accordingly, their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cuſt, baronet, a gentleman of capacity and probity, and qualified to ſucceed Mr. Onſlow, by whom this important office had been diſcharged in the moſt honourable manner for a great number of years.

The king having approved of the ſpeaker, on his next going to the houſe of peers, harangued the parliament in a ſpeech, wherein he gave them to underſtand, that his marriage with a princeſs eminent for her virtues, as it added to his domeſtic felicity, could not but contribute to the happineſs of his kingdoms; that he earneſtly deſired to crown the firſt period of his reign with the reſtoration of peace, and ceſſation of calamitous war; that the military operations had not only been carried on with vigour, but crowned with ſucceſs, in the reduction of Belleiſle, Dominique, and Pondicherry; as well as the defeat of the enemy's projects, by the able conduct of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and the valour of his troops, and by the abilities and bravery of the king of Pruſſia; that he was perſuaded they would concur in opinion with him, that the vigorous proſecution of the war, was the moſt probable means of procuring a laſting peace; and that no conſideration ſhould induce him to depart from the true intereſt of theſe his kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of his crown. He informed the houſe of commons, that he had ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before them; and deſired ſuch ſupplies as might enable him to proſecute the war with vigour, aſſuring them of the faithful application of whatever might be granted. He told them, that he doubted not but their affectionate regard for him and the queen, would induce them to make an honourable proviſion for her in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive him; and concluded with a general declaration, that from a confidence of the zeal and good affections of his parliament, he was well aſſured they would purſue the moſt proper meaſures without any particular exhortations on his part.

Both houſes of parliament preſented to his majeſty, addreſſes filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and loyalty, together with congratulations on the ſucceſs of his arms in the four quarters of the globe.

Soon after this, the attention of the public was deeply engaged by an incident of national importance. The king of Great Britain had directed the earl of Briſtol, his ambaſſador at Madrid, to demand of the Spaniſh miniſter, an explanation of the late treaty concluded between the kings of France and Spain, and to require a categorical declaration, with reſpect to the part his Catholic majeſty intended to act in the diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles. As the anſwers given appeared evaſive and unſatisfactory, he became more peremptory in his remonſtrances, and at length plainly declared, that if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe a poſitive explanation, whether the Catholic king intended to aſſociate himſelf with France againſt England, he ſhould interpret the refuſal into an aggreſſion and declaration of war, and in conſequence be obliged to retire from the court of Madrid. In anſwer to this declaration, Mr. Wall, the Spaniſh miniſter, replied, that ſuch a ſtep could only be ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of ambition and of diſcord, which ſtill reigned but too much in the Britiſh government; that it was in that very moment the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently

violently attacked, and the earl might depart from the court of Spain, how and when he pleaſed.

The moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending this rupture was, the purport of a paper delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, by the count de Fuentes, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, at the court of London. It ſeems to have been calculated for ſewing jealouſies, and fomenting diviſions among the ſubjects of Great-Britain, containing bitter invectives againſt the perſon of Mr. Pitt, late ſecretary of ſtate, and miniſter to the king of Great-Britain.

*A. D.* 1762. The count de Fuentes, now departed from the court of London, and the earl of Briſtol was recalled from that of Madrid. His Britannic majeſty granted a commiſſion, empowering the admiralty to iſſue letters of marque, and commiſſions for privateers to act againſt the ſubjects of Spain. War was declared in form on the fourth of January, and on the nineteenth the king communicated it to both houſes of parliament. He expreſſed at the ſame time his reliance on the divine bleſſing, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the zealous and powerful aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, and the concurrence of his allies; who muſt find themſelves involved in the pernicious, and extenſive projects of his enemies. The two houſes then preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, aſſuring him in the moſt affectionate and loyal manner, that they would vigorouſly ſupport the juſtice of his cauſe.

It had been wiſely reſolved by the late miniſter to employ a very conſiderable part of the force of the nation againſt the French colonies in the Weſt Indies, and a ſtrong one was accordingly equipped. This armament ſailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year, having under their convoy a number of tranſports, with four battalions from Belliſle, to join at Barbadoes a ſtrong body from North America, together with ſome regiments and volunteers from Gaudaloupe, and the Leeward iſlands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that ſtation, and make a conqueſt of Martinique, which ſince the attempt of general Hodgſon, had been ſtrengthened by a large body of men, and the building of new fortifications.

Martinique is the moſt populace and flouriſhing of all the French colonies in America; its towns and harbours are ſtrongly fortified; the country itſelf is rendered difficult of acceſs by woods, paſſes, rivers, and rocks; defended by a body of regular troops, and reinforced by a diſciplined militia, ſaid to conſiſt of ten thouſand white natives, beſides four times that number of negroes, whom they can arm in caſes of emergency. The reduction of the iſland was an object of the higheſt importance to Great-Britain, not only on account of its own intrinſic worth, and the detriment the loſs of it muſt occaſion to the enemy, but likewiſe for the ſecurity of the Engliſh trading ſhips, which the privateers of Martinique had greatly annoyed.

The armament from North America and England, under the command of major general Monckton and rear admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fire ſhips, having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence on the fifth of January; and on the eighth the fleet and tranſports anchored in St. Ann's bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinique, after the ſhips of war had ſilenced ſome batteries, which the enemy had erected on that part of the coaſt.

But the general being of opinion that this was an improper place for landing, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petiteanſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron, and other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton, and the forces landed without oppoſition on the ſixteenth in the neighbourhood of Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a deſcent in the other place, and marched to the ground oppoſite Pidgeon Iſland, but general Monckton altered his firſt deſign on finding the roads impaſſable for the artillery.

The

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, the general reſolved to beſiege the town of Fort Royal, but in order to make his approaches, he found it neceſſary to attack the heights of Garnier, and Tortueſon, which the enemy had fortified, and ſeemed reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. The Engliſh commander, having erected a battery to favour the paſſage of a ravine which ſeparated him from thoſe heights, made a diſpoſition for the attack, which on the twenty fourth day of January, was carried into execution.

About the break of day, brigadier Grant at the head of the grenadiers, ſupported by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy, under a briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Ruſarne, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Welſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy. By nine in the morning they were in poſſeſſion of Morne Garnier. Major Leland with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Welſh, Grant, and Haviland moved up in order to ſupport him, ſo that by nine at night the Engliſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this very ſtrong poſt, that commanded the citadel, againſt which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia diſperſed in the country. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation.

The gate of the citadel was delivered up to the Engliſh on the fourth day of February, and next morning the garriſon, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war.

Fort Royal was no ſooner reduced, than deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland, deſiring a capitulation; but the governor general, M. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend with uncommon vigour. On the ſeventeenth, Pidgeon Iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and deemed one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrenderd at the firſt ſummons, and was allowed to capitulate on the ſame terms that the citadel had done.

On the part of the Engliſh, theſe ſignal ſucceſſes were obtained at the ſmall expence of four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded, in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Fort Royal, and a much greater number from other ports in the iſland were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who in all other reſpects were treated in the moſt humane manner.

At the moment when general Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, two deputies arrived with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland, on the part of M. de la Touche, the governor general.

The terms were adjuſted, and the capitulation ſigned on the fourteenth, and on the ſixteenth, the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood, while the governor general, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant governor, the ſtaff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked in tranſports to be conveyed to France.

The conqueſt of Martinique naturally drew on the ſurrender of all the Caribbees, and that chain of iſlands extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola, almoſt to the continent of South America.

When the Engliſh miniſtry had come to a reſolution of carrying the war into the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, they turned their thoughts at once upon the capital object, and accordingly began with the Havannah, the center of the trade and navigation of that part of the world.

Lord Albemarle was appointed commander in

in chief of the land forces, and admiral Pocock of the fleet, deſtined to undertake this enterprize. They ſailed from Portſmouth on the fifth of March, the day on which the Grenades were ſurrendered. A fleet had ſailed from Martinique, under the command of Sir James Douglas, in order to reinforce them. The ſquadrons very happily met, on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, at Cape Nichole, without diſperſion or loſs of time.

After this junction, the armament amounted to nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen ſmaller veſſels of war, and near one hundred and fifty tranſports, which conveyed about ten thouſand land forces. A ſupply of four thouſand had been ordered from New York, and was expected to join them, about the time that it was imagined their operations would begin.

The admiral had now before him two choices for his courſe to the Havannah. The firſt, and moſt obvious, was the common way, to keep to the ſouth of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons. But this, though by much the ſafeſt, would prove by far the moſt tedious paſſage, and delays above all things were to be avoided, as the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize probably depended upon its being in forwardneſs before the hurricane ſeaſon came on. He therefore reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of that iſland, purſuing his courſe from eaſt to weſt, through a narrow paſſage, not leſs than ſeven hundred miles in length, called the old ſtraights of Bahama. There was no pilot in the fleet, whoſe experience could be depended on, to conduct them ſafely through it, and very dangerous ſhoals and ſands were known to bound it on the right and left.

Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties and dangers, the admiral reſolved on this paſſage, and being provided with a good chart of lord Anſon's, reſolved to truſt to his conduct and vigilance, to carry ſafely through thoſe ſtraits a fleet of near two hundred ſail.

A ſhip was, therefore, firſt diſpatched to reconnoitre the paſſage, and when returned was ordered to take the lead; ſome frigates followed; ſloops and boats were ſtationed on the right and on the left, with well adapted ſignals, both for the day and night. The fleet moved in ſeven diviſions, and being favoured with pleaſant weather, and ſecured by the admirable diſpoſitions that were made, they, without the ſmalleſt loſs or interruption, got clear of this dangerous paſſage on the fifth of June, nine days after they entered into it.

The Havannah, the object of many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba; St. Jago, ſituated at the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, has that title; but the Havannah, though the ſecond in rank, is the firſt in wealth, ſize, and importance. The harbour is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, and is ſufficient in extent and depth, to contain a thouſand ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathom water, and being covered from every wind. The Havannah has become one of the richeſt and moſt populous cities in this part of the world, from this circumſtance.

A very ſtrong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land, ſecures the narrow entrance into the harbour on one ſide, while on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itſelf, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and oppoſite to the Moro fort, is ſurrounded by a good rampart, flanked with baſtions, and covered with a ditch.

As preparations for a war had been, for ſome time paſt, making by the Spaniards, they had formed a conſiderable fleet in the Weſt Indies, amounting to near twenty ſail, moſtly of the line, which lay in the baſon of the Havannah; but they had not at that time received an authentic account from their court, concerning the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations.

When the proper preparations for landing had been made, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the weſtward, in order to divert the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended

tended to land on that ſide; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey, commanding a detachment of the ſquadron, approached the ſhore to the eaſtward of the harbour, where they effected a landing in the utmoſt order, on the ſeventh day of June.

The Spaniſh fleet, for what reaſon we know not, now lay quiet in the harbour, and the only uſe they made of their ſhipping, in defence of the place, was to ſink three of them behind a boom which they laid acroſs the mouth of the harbour. The principal part of the army was deſtined to act upon the eaſt ſide, and was divided into eight corps, one of which was advanced a conſiderable way up the country, in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure the Engliſh parties employed in watering, and procuring proviſions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack of Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the Engliſh were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town, and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel; and a detachment under colonel Howe was encamped to the weſtward of the town, to make a diverſion in favour of this grand operation.

The utmoſt hardſhips and difficulties were ſuſtained by the Britiſh troops in carrying on the ſiege of the Moro; and the earth was every where ſo thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themſelves in their approaches. There was neither ſpring nor river near them; it was neceſſary to bring water from a great diſtance, and ſo precarious and ſcanty was their ſupply, that they were obliged to have recourſe to the ſhips for water. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods; the artillery was to be dragged for a vaſt way, over a rocky ſhore. Several of the men dropped down dead, with heat, thirſt, and fatigue; nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all difficulties, batteries were raiſed againſt the Moro, and all along the hill upon which this fort ſtands, in order to drive the enemy's ſhips into the harbour, and thus prevent them from moleſting the approaches of the Engliſh.

The fire on both ſides, which was kept up with the utmoſt vivacity, was for a long time nearly equal. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town; from which they were recruited and ſupplied: they did not rely ſolely on their works, but made a ſally on the twenty-ninth of June, with ſufficient reſolution, and a conſiderable force, but with little ſucceſs. They were obliged to retire, with the loſs of between two and three hundred men, left dead on the ſpot.

The day the batteries on ſhore were opened, three of the largeſt ſhips, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, under the command of captain Hervey, laid their broad ſides againſt the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great conſtancy. This firing was continued without intermiſſion, for the ſpace of ſeven hours.

But the Moro, which was ſituated on a very high and ſteep rock, had, in this cannonading, very great advantages over the ſhips, and was proof againſt all their efforts. Beſides, the fire from the oppoſite fort of the Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them exceſſively; inſomuch, that they were at length compelled, though much againſt their inclination, to bring all the ſhips off, in order to ſave them from abſolute deſtruction.

In this long and unequal conteſt, the Engliſh had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, together with captain Gooſtrey of the Cambridge, a brave and experienced officer. The captains Hervey and Burnet gained with better fortune, an equal honour, by their intrepid behaviour throughout the whole operation.

The attention of the Spaniards was no ſooner relieved from the Engliſh men of war, than they returned again to the eaſtern face of the fort: their defence was revived with great vigour, and it now became evident, that the reduction of this fortreſs muſt be a work of time.

While the Engliſh were carrying on the ſiege with the utmoſt reſolution, their capital battery againſt the fort unfortunately took fire, and was almoſt conſumed. This was a mortifying ſtroke; and was felt the more ſeverely, as the other hardſhips of the ſiege were

were become, by this time, almoſt inſupportable. Sickneſs had reduced the army to half its number, at the ſame time that it doubled the fatigue of thoſe few whoſe health and ſtrength were ſtill continued.

At one period, five thouſand ſoldiers were infected with various diſtempers, and no leſs than three thouſand of the ſeamen were in the ſame miſerable condition. A total want of good proviſions exaſperated the diſeaſe, and retarded the recovery. Want of water was, of all their grievances, the greateſt, and aggravated their other ſufferings. The hearts of the moſt ſanguine ſunk within them; many fell into deſpair and died, overcome with fatigue, anguiſh, and diſappointment.

Their hopes were, however, conſiderably revived by the appearance of the Jamaica fleet, on the twelfth day of June; and a few days after, they received a conſiderable part of the New York reinforcement, which, added to the proviſion on board the fleet, infuſed double life into their operations, in this advanced ſtate of the ſiege; but a new and grand difficulty appeared, juſt at the ſeeming accompliſhment of their work. An immenſe ditch opened before them, for the greateſt part cut in the ſolid rock, eighty feet deep and forty wide. Difficult as the work of mining was, in thoſe circumſtances, it was the only expedient. It might have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left, in order to cover the ditch towards the ſea. On this narrow ridge, the miners, wholly uncovered, but with very little loſs, paſſed the ditch on the twentieth of July, and ſoon buried themſelves in the wall.

By this time it was evident to the governor of the Havannah, that the fort muſt be ſpeedily reduced, if left to its own ſtrength, and that ſomething muſt be done in this exigence for its relief. Accordingly, before break of day, a body of twelve hundred, moſtly compoſed of the country militia, mulattoes, and negroes, were tranſported acroſs the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three attacks upon the Britiſh poſts. But the ordinary guards, though ſurprized, defended themſelves ſo reſolutely, that the Spaniards made little impreſſion, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The poſts attacked were ſpeedily reinforced, and the enemy, who were little better than undiſciplined rabble, fell into great confuſion. They were driven down the hill; ſome gained their boats, others were drowned, and the enemy loſt upwards of four hundred men, in this well concerted, but ill executed ſally.

The miners compleated their buſineſs on the thirtieth of July; a part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach, which though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable.

Animated with the hopes of ſeeing an end to their labours, the Engliſh troops who were deſtined to this ſervice, mounted the breach with ſuch alacrity, and formed themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, flew on all ſides. About four hundred were killed on the ſpot, or ran into the water, where they periſhed; and four hundred more obtained quarters on throwing down their arms.

The marquis de Gonſales, the ſecond in command, bravely fell whilſt he was endeavouring to animate and rally his people.

Don Lewis de Velaſco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with invincible fortitude, ſeemed reſolved, in this extremity, to ſhare the ſame fate with it. He collected an hundred men in an entrenchment he had made round his colours; but ſeeing that all his companions were fled from him, or ſlaughtered about him, diſdaining to fly, or call for quarters, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his ſword to the conquerors. The Engliſh at once pitied and admired that heroic, though unfortunate valour, which had occaſioned the loſs of ſo much blood on both ſides, and ſuch toil to themſelves.

Thus after an obſtinate defence of forty-four days, the important fort of Moro fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Nothing was wanted to avail themſelves of this great advantage; not only the fire of the fort was turned

turned againſt the town, but a line of batteries was erected on the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the town ſtands. Preparations for an attack were alſo made, and batteries erected to the weſtward of the town, which on that ſide had hitherto been only watched.

Lord Albemarle, as ſoon as theſe preparations were ready to take effect, ſent a meſſage to the governor, in which he repreſented the irreſiſtible nature of the operations now completed, and which, to prevent the farther effuſion of human blood, he was willing to ſuſpend, that the Spaniſh might have leiſure to capitulate. The governor, in a reſolute, but polite manner, returned for anſwer, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity, and began to fire.

Lord Albemarle, willing to convince the governor of the truth of his repreſentation, on the very next morning, ordered a general fire from the batteries, ſo that in ſix hours, almoſt all the enemy's guns were ſilenced; and, to the inexpreſſible joy of the fleet and army, a flag of truce appeared from every quarter of the town.

A capitulation was now ſet on foot, by which the eſtabliſhed religion, the former laws, and private property, were ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men, marched out with the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain.

Together with the town was yielded up to the Engliſh, a diſtrict of one hundred and eighty miles weſtward of the Havannah. The Spaniards ſtruggled a long time to ſave the men of war; but this, being a point of eſſential conſequence, could not be admitted. They alſo attempted to have the harbour declared neutral, during the war; but this, being of equal importance with the former, was refuſed.

In the end, the Spaniards being obliged to give up theſe points, the Engliſh troops were put in poſſeſſion of the Havannah, on the fourteenth of Auguſt when they had been before it two months and eight days:

All the advantages to be expected from any war, reſulted from the conqueſt this place; as thereby the enemy loſt a whole fleet, and in ſpecie and merchandize a computed ſum of three millions ſterling; acquiſitions to the conquerors, equal to the greateſt naval victory, by their effect on the enemy's marine, and by the plunder, which equalled the produce of a national ſubſidy.

An incidental piece of ſucceſs equally fortunate crowned this expedition: this was the capture of a large Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, called the Hermoine. She ſailed from Lima on the ſixth of January bound for Cadiz, and was taken on the twenty-firſt of May, off Cape St. Vincent, by two Engliſh frigates, and carried into Gibraltar:

Her cargoe conſiſted of near twelve millions of money, regiſtered, and the unregiſtered was likewiſe very conſiderable, beſides two thouſand ſcrons of cocoa, and other articles of merchandize to a large amount.

England was not the only power that was involved in the war againſt France and Spain; Portugal alſo ſhared the ſame fate, and was attacked by the united force of theſe two powers.

By this time both parties had publiſhed declarations of war, and preparations were made by France and Spain for an invaſion of the kingdom of Portugal.

After innumerable dangers and fatigues, the Britiſh troops in Germany, at length enjoyed the pleaſing proſpect of a ſpeedy return to their native land, but this joy was ſuddenly overcaſt, by the indiſpoſition of lord Granby; who was attacked by a very dangerous fever. Words cannot expreſs the concern of the whole army, during this anxious interval, or the joy which his recovery diffuſed among all ranks of his followers.

It is much to the honour of the marquis of Granby, that his benevolence always kept pace with his valour. The ſick and wounded ſoldier, the neceſſitous officer, found in him a never failing, never wearied reſource. To animate the courage, and alleviate the hardſhips of his fellow ſoldiers of all ranks, he ſpared not his private fortune, and by the manner in which he conferred his ſalutary relief,

lief, plainly indicated a desire to exceed his greatest liberality. It is acknowledged by many, that the sublimity of soul, and consummate philanthropy of this truely noble man, inspired foreigners with a venerable idea of English nobility; and we cannot but recommend his shining example, which so eminently displays the happy connection of greatness of soul with greatness of birth, to those, who having been favoured with the latter, have given no proofs that they possessed the former.

His majesty went to the house of peers on the second day of June, and closed the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his approbation of their zeal, unanimity and dispatch, in the course of their proceedings; intimated, that though it was his earnest wish to restore the blessings of peace to his people, it was his fixed resolution, with their concurrence and support, to prosecute the war with vigour till that desirable end could be obtained; that the united attack of the house of Bourbon on his ancient ally the king of Portugal, required the continuance of their military preparations, and augmentation of their fleets and armies; and finally assured them of his reliance on the favour of Divine providence in the use of those means, which might tend to promote the dignity of his crown, and the commercial interests of his people. He told the commons, that he could not but lament the heavy, though necessary burthens imposed on the people; assuring them at the same time of the most exact œconomy, in the application of what might be hereafter granted; returned them thanks for their testimony of regard to him and his family, in the ample provision they had made for the queen, and concluded with declaring, that the grand end of all his actions should ever be to promote the welfare and happiness of all his people.

Between seven and eight o'Clock in the morning of the twelfth of August, the queen was safely delivered of a prince, and a few days after the royal infant was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester.

It was by this time apparent to the court of France, that Great-Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of the formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces, and she therefore came sincerely into those pacific sentiments, which before she had only counterfeited. The slow progress of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinique and its dependencies, and the reduction of the important city of the Havannah, all conspired to humble the pride, and defeat the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

The spirit of party now raged in a violent degree, and was not a little enflamed by an alteration in the ministry, which suddenly took place.

In this disturbed state of affairs the conduct of a war became difficult, its continuance unsafe, and its supplies uncertain; especially as the ancient and known connections between the chiefs of the moneyed interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have greatly perplexed the administration.

For these reasons the court of Great Britain began seriously to apply itself to methods of pacification, which were readily embraced by their humbled, impoverished foes. As soon as terms were proposed, in order to give a pledge to each other of their mutual sincerity, it was agreed, that this treaty should not be negotiated, as the former had been, by subordinate persons, but that the two courts of London and Versailles, should depute a person of the first consequence and distinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, the duke of Bedford was sent to negotiate on the part of England, and the duke de Nivernois on that of France. The preliminaries were signed at Fontainbleau, on the third of November, and a definitive treaty very soon afterwards

His majesty went to the house of peers on the twenty-fifth day of November, and opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he declared his resolution on his accession, to consent to peace

on juſt and honourable terms, whenever the events of war ſhould incline the enemy to the ſame diſpoſition. He therefore ſaid, that he embraced an occaſion offered him of renewing the negotiation. He expreſſed a peculiar ſatisfaction in the conduct of his general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and his army in Germany, which had gained immortal glory, by many ſignal advantages obtained over an enemy ſuperior in numbers; declared the joy he received from the prevention of the progreſs of the Bourbon arms in Portugal, through the conduct of the count de la Lippe, and the valour of the troops under his command; as well as from the conqueſt of Martinique, the Havannah, and a great part of the navy of Spain. He ſaid it was apparent, that next to the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, it was owing to the courage and conduct of his officers and troops, that his enemies had been brought to accept of peace on ſuch terms, as, he truſted, would give his parliament ſatisfaction; and informed them, that preliminary articles had been ſigned by his miniſter, with thoſe of France and Spain, which he would order in due time, to be laid before them: that the conditions thereof were ſuch, that there was not only an immenſe territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a ſolid foundation laid for the increaſe of trade and commerce; and aſſured them, that the utmoſt care had been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes between his ſubjects and thoſe of France and Spain, and thereby to add ſecurity and permanency to the bleſſings of peace. He obſerved, that while he attended to the eſſential intereſts of his own kingdoms, he had the utmoſt regard to the good faith of his crown, and the intereſts of his allies; and that he made peace for the king of Portugal, ſecuring to him all his dominions; and that the armies of the king of France were immediately to evacuate all the territories which they occupied, belonging to the king of Pruſſia, as well as his other allies, in Germany, or elſewhere.

His majeſty acquainted the houſe of commons, that he had ordered the proper eſtimates to be laid before them, and ſhould proceed to make whatever reductions might be found conſiſtent with wiſdom and ſound policy, aſſuring them of his concern that the burthens of his people could not be immediately ſo much alleviated as he could deſire, and concluded with obſerving, that, induced chiefly by principles of policy, and views of humanity, he had entered early into negotiation, in order to make a progreſs in it before the fate of many operations was known, and ſo to haſten the concluſion of it, to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign; and reminding them, that the ſame unanimity would be neceſſary, to make a proper uſe of the advantages of peace, as had been requiſite for the maintenance of an expenſive war.

It was at this time, the common opinion, that the preliminaries would undergo a rigorous ſcrutiny, and might poſſibly incur heavy cenſure from parliament. The terms of peace were declared, by many, inglorious, inadequate, and inſecure; unequal to the great ſucceſſes of the war, and below the juſt expectations of the nation; that our commerce was neglected, and our allies abandoned. But the public expectation was diſappointed; the preliminaries were approved, on the ninth of December, without any qualification, by a great majority in the houſe of commons, and without any diviſion at all in that of the lords.

Soon after the reſpective ſignatures, conferences were opened at Hubertſbourg, and a treaty concluded between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs queen. The wiſe and valiant king of Pruſſia, having withſtood for ſix years the united efforts of almoſt all the great powers in Europe, enjoys at length the rewards of his magnanimity, retaining his dominions in their full extent, and reaping the ſatisfaction of delivering his country from the encroachments of ambitious foes. He then turned his attention to domeſtic policy, and by well concerted regulations, gave the moſt demonſtrative proof, that his genius for war was no way ſuperior to his capacity for cultivating the arts of peace.

The various events of a long bloody war having been thus recited, as well as the important

portant circumſtances, relative to the pacification which at length enſued; we now diſmiſs that buſy ſcene, and proceed to relate occurrences of a domeſtic nature.

As the honour of the metropolis of this kingdom is not leſs concerned than his own, it may not be improper to obſerve, that Mr. Beckford maintained the office of mayor this year, with peculiar dignity and ſplendor, and was favoured with the company of ſome of the firſt perſonages in the kingdom, at a magnificent entertainment preſented by him at the manſion houſe.

*A. D.* 1763. The marquis of Granby arrived from Germany in the beginning of February, to the general joy of the nation, which omitted no opportunity of teſtifying their approbation of his valour and generoſity.

In conſequence of his majeſty's warrant iſſued for that purpoſe, the peace was, on the twenty-ſecond of February, proclaimed in London with the uſual ceremony, and in the uſual places; and on the twenty-fourth his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, as he did likewiſe on the thirty-firſt, on both which occaſions he gave the royal aſſent to various bills then depending.

We come now to the recital of an event which extremely engaged the attention of the public. A rule for an information was granted by the court of King's Bench, againſt the publiſhers, and the ſuppoſed printers of a paper called the North Briton, of the nineteenth of March, and the publiſher, ſuppoſed printers, and Mr. Wilkes, the ſuppoſed author of that paper, were taken into cuſtody by the meſſengers of ſtate, of the ſubſequent proceedings of which tranſactions, a ſummary account ſhall be laid before the reader.

When the meſſengers entered the houſe of Mr. Wilkes, in order to ſeize his perſon, he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it; and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order, which they might, or might not have received for that purpoſe; upon which the meſſengers thought proper to defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody without oppoſition, and carried him before the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination. On the intimation of this event, a motion was made in the court of Common Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which, as the prothonotary's office was not open, could not be granted till four in the afternoon. During the interval, ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was peremptorily refuſed, upon pretence of an order from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order, however, was never produced. Though it was well known that the court of Common Pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, and P—C—W Eſq; was aſſured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower of London, where many of his friends, even after repeated ſollicitations, were alſo denied admittance to him.

Being brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, on the third day of May, he made a ſpeech, ſetting forth his grievances, the oppreſſive manner in which he had been treated, and aſſuring them, that he only wanted an opportunity to ſhew that he had ever been ſuperior to the arts of corruption, and proof againſt every venal temptation. The caſe was then learnedly argued on both ſides, and the court, after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, took time to conſider the affair and to give their opinion; and therefore remanded him priſoner to the Tower till the ſixth, on which day he attended, and in an eloquent ſpeech, ſet forth the aggravated nature of the injuries he had ſuſtained, the violation of liberty that might reſult therefrom, as well as aſſerted, the privileges to which by Magna Charta he was intitled as an Engliſhman.

Mr. Wilkes's ſpeech being at an end, the lord chief juſtice Pratt ſtood up, and delivered the opinion of the court reſpecting the principal heads inſiſted on by the council. Theſe were, the legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in No. 45 of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament. Theſe points his lordſhip diſcuſſed,

in

in a manner that did honour to him, as a man and a judge, as well as obtained the approbation of the court, and diſcharge of Mr. Wilkes.

Before Mr. Wilkes had left the court, a perſon of eminence in the law ſtood up, and told the lord chief juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſollicitor general, to intreat his lordſhip not to give Mr. Wilkes leave to depart till their coming, which would be inſtant, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege; the motion was, however, rejected, and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court in a very polite manner, after having addreſſed them with great ſpirit, on their generous and patriotic deciſion. The audience teſtified their joy on this occaſion, by frequently repeated acclamations.

Not long after this, Mr. Wilkes cauſed a printing preſs to be ſet up under his own direction, at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, advertiſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the original papers at the price of a guinea; and the North Briton was again publiſhed.

While Mr. Wilkes was proceeding with his publications, an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as author of the aforeſaid North Briton, No. 45; and on the meeting of the parliament, a meſſage was ſent to acquaint the lower houſe, with the informations his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, Eſq; a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel, and with the meaſures that had been taken thereupon; and the examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel were likewiſe laid before the houſe, and the North Briton No. 45 was adjudged "a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel," containing expreſſions of the moſt unexampled inſolence and contumely towards his majeſty, the groſſeſt aſperſions upon both houſes of parliament, the moſt audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legiſlature, and moſt manifeſtly tending to withdraw the people from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt his majeſty's government, and ordered to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

Soon after this, a complaint was exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes in the upper houſe, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe, to a book intitled, "An Eſſay on Woman," which book was produced to the eternal diſgrace of all concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his anſwer, being at that time indiſpoſed in conſequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Mr. Martin.

When the North Briton No. 45 came to be burnt at the Royal Exchange purſuant to the ſentence, a riot enſued, and the ſheriffs were groſsly inſulted in their office by the mob, one of which was taken and committed to Newgate. It is ſaid that ſome ſcraps of the adjudged libel were reſcued from the flames by the violence of the aſſailants, carried off in triumph, and in the evening diſplayed at Temple-Bar, where a bonfire was made, and a large jack boot was committed to the flames in the room of them, amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people.

Mr. Wilkes, not content with the complaint which he had made to the houſe of commons of a breach of their privilege on his perſon, commenced an action in the court of Commen Pleas againſt Robert Wood Eſq; the under ſecretary, for ſeizing his papers, and on the ſixth of December, this cauſe was tried before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury at the defendant's deſire; when Mr. Wilkes obtained damages and full coſts of ſuit; and the populace, as before, teſtified their joy in the moſt extravagant manner.

On the evening of the day on which this verdict was obtained, a perſon knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, deſiring to ſpeak with him on particular buſineſs; but it appearing by his dialect that he was a Scotchman, and being beſides an entire ſtranger, he was refuſed admittance, on which he went to a coffee-houſe, near Parliament-ſtreet, where a perſon made affidavit, that he overheard him declare, that himſelf and ten more men were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes, let the event

event be what it would; and next morning gave information of it by a letter to Mr. Wilkes, deſiring him to be on his guard. According to the information, the perſon ſworn againſt, as is ſuppoſed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's houſe, ſigned Alexander Dun, the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on an affair of the moſt intereſting nature, he was deſired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and ſeven o'clock being then appointed, as he was going out at the parlour door, into Mr. Wilkes's bed-chamber, two gentlemen who had placed themſelves behind it, ſeized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On ſearching him a new penknife was found in his pocket, which he pretended he had purchaſed about nine months ago, but after many equivocations, owned he bought it at Chatham about a fornight ſince. Upon this he was taken into cuſtody by a tipſtaff then preſent for that purpoſe, was carried next morning before one of the judges; and a complaint likewiſe exhibited againſt him in the houſe of commons, who thereupon ordered the officer in whoſe cuſtody he was, to bring him to the bar; but when he was there, the houſe diſcharged him from any farther appearance, as it was evident from his behaviour, that he was diſordered in his mind.

When Mr. Wilkes had been wounded, he gave notice of it to the houſe of commons, who thereupon gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards enlarged it on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon; but beginning at laſt to ſuſpect ſome colluſion betwixt him and them, on the ſixteenth of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden, and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and to report the ſame to the houſe. Dr. Heberden acquainted the phyſician with this order and deſired him to communicate it to Mr. Wilkes, that the time of attendance might be ſettled. Mr. Wilkes, in conſequence of the intelligence received by him from his phyſician, diſpatched cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expreſſing his ſenſe of the kind care of the houſe for his ſpeedy recovery, intimating his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his caſe, and aſſuring them, that though he did not wiſh to ſee them at preſent, he was impatient for an opportunity of ſhewing the juſt regard, he would ever pay to diſtinguiſhed merit.

After Mr. Wilkes had acted in this ſpirited manner, he thought proper, in juſtification of the characters of Doctor Brockleſby his phyſician, and Mr. Graves his ſurgeon, to ſend for Dr. Duncan one of his majeſty's phyſicians in ordinary, and Mr. Myddleton one of his majeſty's ſerjeant ſurgeons, who attended him accordingly. The reaſon he humouroufly gave to theſe two gentlemen, it is ſaid, for ſending for them was; that as he found the houſe thought it proper that he ſhould be watched, he himſelf thought two Scotchmen moſt proper for his ſpies.

We will not pretend to ſay whether the attention of the houſe, had any happy effect on Mr. Wilkes's health, but he recovered ſo faſt, that on the twenty-fourth of December he ſuddenly ſet out for France, to viſit his daughter, as he himſelf gave out, then dangerouſly ill at Paris, and arrived there on the twenty-ſixth.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth day of April, and prorogued the parliament, after a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his thanks for the zeal and diſpatch they had manifeſted in their proceedings; informed them, that he had ordered the preliminary articles to be laid before them, in conſequence of which he had received the higheſt ſatisfaction, on their grateful expreſſions of their entire approbation; and acquainted them with his firm reſolution to form his government on a plan of ſtrict œconomy. He aſſured the commons, that they might depend on the utmoſt frugality being obſerved in the diſpoſition of the ſupplies they had granted; and when the account of the money ariſing from the ſale of ſuch prizes as are veſted in the crown ſhould be cloſed, it was his intention to direct, that the produce ſhould be applied to the public ſervice. He concluded with declaring, that his future attention ſhould be directed to the extention of the commerce of his ſub-

juſts, the improvement of the advantages they had obtained, and the increaſe of the public revenue.

Sir Charles Aſgill, who repreſented the lord mayor, ſix other aldermen, the recorder, ſheriffs, chamberlain and town clerk, on the twelfth day of May, waited on his majeſty with the city's addreſs on the peace. They were hiſſed, going and coming, by great numbers of people: and as they paſſed by St. Bride's church, in their way to St. James's, the great bell began to toll, and then a dumb peal ſtruck up, which continued ſome time: and they were treated in the ſame manner at their return by Bow bells. This addreſs was followed by that of the proteſtant diſſenting miniſters, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter: ſome of the merchants and traders of the city of London; the people called Quakers, and ſeveral corporations in various parts of the kingdom.

Mr. Pitt, having declined accompanying Sir John Sebright, in preſenting the addreſs from Bath, cauſed his ſentiments on that ſubject, as communicated to Mr. Allen, to be inſerted in the journal of that city; the ſubſtance of which is as follows; "That as the epithet of *adequate*, given to the peace, contained a deſcription of the conditions of it, ſo repugnant to his unalterable opinion concerning them, as fully declared by him in parliament, it was as impoſſible for him to obey the corporation's commands, in preſenting their addreſs, as it was unexpected to receive ſuch a commiſſion; that with reſpect to the peace, he formed his opinion with ſuch lights, as his little experience, and ſmall portion of underſtanding could afford him; and that though this conviction muſt remain to himſelf the conſtant rule of his conduct, he left it to others, with much difference, to follow their own; expreſſing at the ſame time, the higheſt veneration for the virtues and friendſhip of Mr. Allen, though in relation to that important ſubject, he very much differed in opinion from him."

About ten o'clock in the morning of the ſixteenth day of Auguſt, the queen was happily delivered of a prince, at her majeſty's palace in St. James's Park; and on the fourteenth of September his royal highneſs was baptiſed at St. James's, in the great council-chamber, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the name of Frederic. The ſponſors were his royal highneſs the duke of York, repreſented by the earl of Huntingdon, groom of the ſtole; his moſt ſerene highneſs the duke of Saxe Gotha, repreſented by earl Gower, lord chamberlain; and her royal highneſs the princeſs Amelia, in perſon. An addreſs was preſented to his majeſty on the occaſion, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, which was graciouſly received and politely anſwered by his majeſty.

The king went to the houſe of peers on the fifteenth day of November, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, that the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour and advantage to his kingdoms, which was the firſt great object of his reign, had ſince been happily completed and carried into execution, by the definitive treaty; aſſured them that it had been and ſhould be his endeavour to inſure the continuance of the peace, by a ſteady adherence to the condition upon which it was concluded, and reminded them, that their principal care ſhould be the improvement of their valuable acquiſitions, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. He told the houſe of commons, that he would order the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the year to be laid before them; reminded them of the heavy debts contracted in the courſe of the late war, and recommended to them, the maintenance of a conſiderable fleet, to which paſt ſucceſſes had been ſo much owing, and on which the importance and welfare of Great Britain eſſentially depends. He concluded with a general deſire, that as the intereſts and proſperity of his people were the ſole objects of his care, they would unite their efforts to diſcourage that licentious ſpirit, which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty, and cultivate that unanimity on which it ſo much depends.

His

His majeſty having been pleaſed to communicate to both houſes of parliament the intended marriage of her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta, with the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, the houſe of commons, on the ſecond of December, waited on his majeſty, with their addreſs of thanks for ſuch communication; as did the houſe of lords on the fifth.

In purſuance of his majeſty's meſſage, the houſe of commons allowed her highneſs, on her marriage, a dowry of eighty thouſand pounds.

About the cloſe of this year, general Amherſt, commander in chief of the troops in North America, arrived in this city, and was received with all the honours due to his eminent ſervices abroad.

The ſingular hardſhips and diſtreſſes to which our forces, both naval and military, were expoſed, during a long and toilſome war, having been already related, we ſhould think ourſelves very remiſs, as well as partial, did we paſs by in ſilence the attention paid by the government to thoſe brave men, who, in the height of deſtruction and rapine, ſecured us from the diſtreſs, in which all the nations engaged in it were involved, and prevented our feeling any burthen by it, but that of ſupporting them. Not to mention the uſual parliamentary leave of freely dealing and working in every corporate town, and ſelling liquors therein, Oxford and Cambridge only excepted, his majeſty, beſides ample grants of lands in the new conquered countries, was graciouſly pleaſed to order, that thoſe ſailors, who had deſerted from one ſhip to another, ſhould receive the wages which they had forfeited by ſuch deſertion; and iſſued proclamations, for pardoning and ſetting at liberty, both in Great Britain and Ireland, all deſerters that were in goal, without fee or reward, whoſe names had been given in to the ſecretary at war.

Both houſes preſented an addreſs to his majeſty during the courſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſetting forth their ſurprize and indignation at the publication of the North Briton, as an indignity offered to his majeſty, and a violation of the ſacred regard due to his authority, and preſcribed by the laws and conſtitution of the realm, as well as tending to inflame the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, againſt his mild and juſt adminiſtration; aſſuring his majeſty, at the ſame time, of their ardent wiſhes, that ſuch wicked deſigns might be defeated, and thoſe who were guilty puniſhed in a manner proportioned to their deſerts.

*A. D.* 1764. His moſt ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, having ſailed from Helvoetſluys, on board his majeſty's yatcht the Princeſs Auguſta, on the tenth of January, landed at Harwich in the morning of the fourteenth, and arrived at night at Somerſet-houſe. On the evening of the ſixteenth, the ceremony of the marriage of her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, with his moſt ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, was performed in the great council-chamber, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in preſence of a great number of peers, peereſſes, and foreign miniſters. After the ſolemnization of the nuptials, their ſerene and royal highneſſes repaired to Leiceſter-houſe, where was prepared an elegant entertainment; at which their majeſties, the princeſs dowager of Wales, and the reſt of the royal family were preſent.

The military atchievements of the hereditary prince were already ſufficiently known, and his affable and generous behaviour, now procured him the affection of the people of England. During his ſhort ſtay he viſited the Royal Society, the Britiſh Muſæum, St. Paul's cathedral, the Tower, Weſtminſter-abbey, and other remarkable places; alſo the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Newcaſtle, and many others of the nobility and gentry, and the marquis of Granby attended his ſerene highneſs in his excurſions.

On the twentieth of this month, the commons, after long debates, expelled John Wilkes, Eſq; for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North Briton, being adjudged an infamous libel; and iſſued out a writ of election for Ayleſbury in his room.

Addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty on the

the ſame day, by the houſe of lords, and the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, on the late happy marriage. On the twenty-fifth his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave, among others, the royal aſſent to the bill for naturalizing his ſerene highneſs the prince of Brunſwick, who was in the houſe, during his majeſty's ſtay. In the mean time, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Brunſwick remained at Leiceſter-houſe, taking leave of the ladies of quality her intimates, with the greateſt tenderneſs and fortitude. In the afternoon their highneſſes took leave of the company; when the prince, on the people's expreſſing their ardent wiſhes for their highneſſes happineſs and proſperity, returned his prayers for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh nation, for which he ſaid he had already bled, and would again with pleaſure, on any future occaſion. Their highneſſes then deſcended the ſtairs, to their coaches, amidſt an innumerable crowd of ſpectators, who were waiting for their laſt farewel of their amiable princeſs; and the people attended their departure with acclamations and tears.

A great variety of melancholy accounts were received during the courſe of this month of the loſs and damage of the ſhips at ſea, and on the coaſts: robberies, with many daring circumſtances, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the magiſtracy, were committed in town and country, where ſharpers exerciſed their various ſtratagems, and murders, the conſequence of paſſion, reſentment, and luſt were perpetrated.

As a great part of the converſation of the public during this year was engaged by the diſputes which prevailed amongſt the proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock; our readers will not perhaps deem a conciſe recital of their riſe, progreſs, and deciſion, unworthy of their regard.

A ſtop having been put to the payment of the rents of lord Clive's eſtate in India, in conſequence of ſome objections made to his conduct there, his lordſhip, in a letter to the proprietors, gives a ſhort and modeſt account of his conduct in India; anſwers the objections, that had been made againſt it here at home, and laſtly, conſiders the reaſons given for that part of their behaviour towards him, which gave riſe to this altercation.

His lordſhip's words are as follows. "I "muſt acquaint the proprietors, that the "rents of my jaghire were regularly paid "during the time I was in Bengal, and, ſince "my return, have been received by my at-"tornies in Bengal, and remitted by them "to me, as the ſhips ſailed from thence in "bills on the company here, which were al-"ways regularly paid without objection, un-"til May laſt, when, on the ſhips going out "for Bengal, which were the firſt that went "out, after the election, on that voyage, I "was given to underſtand, that orders had "been ſent to ſtop the payment of the jag-"hire. I applied to the court of directors "for a copy of thoſe orders, but that was "refuſed; however, I afterwards came to "the knowledge of them." They are to the following purport: "With reſpect to the "jaghire given by the late Nabob to the com-"pany, we direct that you do not pay any "further ſums to the attornies of lord Clive "on their account; and we further direct, "that whatever ſhall ariſe in future from the "jaghire, be carried to our credit. You are to "cauſe exact accounts to be made out and "tranſmitted to us, not only of what ſhall "ſo come into our caſh, but alſo of the ſums "lord Clive's attornies have already received "on the ſame account, together with the dates "of the ſeveral payments. His lordſhip's "pretenſions to the ſaid jaghire will be ſettled "here."

And Mr. Sulivian, by a letter wrote at the ſame time by him to the preſident at Calcutta, informed him, "That all cordiality being at "an end with lord Clive, the court of direc-"tors had ſtopped payment of his jaghire; "a meaſure which would have taken place "years ago, had it not been for him (Mr. "Sulivan) and that on this head the ſaid "preſident was to obey every order, which "he might receive from the court of direc-"tors; and that more was not, nor muſt be "expected of him."

"I ſhall

" I ſhall not trouble the proprietors with
" any obſervations on this order and letter,
" they will ſufficiently ſpeak for themſelves;
" but ſhall only remark, that I muſt think it
" extremely hard to be deprived of my pro-
" perty, becauſe I cannot agree with the pre-
" ſent court of directors.

" But the company having paid my jaghire
" ſo long without any objection, and even
" now not claiming any right thereto them-
" ſelves, nor pretending to ſay that any one
" elſe does; under ſuch circumſtances one
" might be at a loſs to conceive what founda-
" tion in reaſon there could be for the direc-
" tors ſending ſuch orders to Bengal. But on
" inquiry into the matter, the reaſons aſſign-
" ed appear to be four.

" 1ſt. That the Mogul is ſovereign of the
" provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa,
" and proprietor of all the lands within the
" provinces, and that the rents granted to
" me are the ancient and imperial rents re-
" ſerved and payable to the emperor; and
" that the company may be called to an ac-
" count by the emperor for what they have
" paid to me. Nor is that all the company
" ſeem to expect, but that I am accountable
" to them for what I have received.

" 2dly. That ſuppoſe the nabob had a
" right to alienate thoſe rents, ſuch alienation
" could exiſt no longer than the nabob, who
" granted the ſame, continued in his govern-
" ment, and that ſuch alienation was not
" binding on his ſucceſſor; and as Meer
" Jaffier had been depoſed, the grant became
" of no effect.

" 3dly. That my acceptance of the dig-
" nity of an omrah, or title of honour,
" (which honour they doubt my having had,
" although they have a copy of the patent
" in their cuſtody,) was contrary to my duty
" to the company, as I might be obliged by
" ſuch acceptance, to aſſiſt the Mogul
" and nabob in war, even againſt the com-
" pany.

" And laſtly, for fear theſe reaſons ſhould
" fail them, then comes a fourth; which
" is, ſuppoſe that I have a right, that even
" then I have no remedy in England; but
" muſt reſort to the court of the mayor
" of Calcutta, or to the courts of the em-
" peror at Delhi, or the courts of the na-
" bob.

" As to the firſt, it may be proper to ob-
" ſerve, that, upon the original foundation
" of the mogul empire, all the lands, like
" thoſe in England, were in the crown, who
" granted the rents in the nature of fee-farm
" rents in England, theſe lands were, and
" now are called Calſa Lands, or lands be-
" longing to the crown; the rents whereof
" were, for ſeveral years, received by offi-
" cers appointed, within the provinces, by
" the emperor for that purpoſe; and the na-
" bobs, who were then viceroys to the mo-
" gul had penſions aſſigned them to maintain
" their courts, and ſupport their govern-
" ments: but, for a great number of years
" paſt, that method has been changed, and
" inſtead of penſions, the emperor allotted
" to the nabobs, large quantities of land
" within the provinces, to be diſpoſed of and
" managed for their own benefit; and theſe
" lands were, and now are, called Jaghire
" lands, and for which no taxes are paid:
" and as to the reſt of the lands within the
" provinces, the nabobs farmed the ſame of
" the mogul at a certain yearly ſum.

" This alteration being received into the
" mogul government, it became immaterial
" to the mogul what the nabobs did with
" the rents; the yearly ſum ſtipulated was
" all he expected, and that they were obliged
" to pay; ſo that all the rents, and alſo the
" lands that produce them, were under the
" power of the nabobs, who might and did
" diſpoſe of them as they thought fit, and
" out of them conferred favours on whom
" they pleaſed. The nabobs granted zeminda
" ries or leaſes of all the lands from time
" to time at their pleaſure, or as occaſion
" required; and in this ſtate the conſtitution
" and uſage of the Mogul empire ſtood at
" the death of Aurengzebe.

" After the death of Aurengzebe, the na-
" bobs began to aſſume ſovereign authority,
" and the invaſion of the Perſians, before ta-
" ken notice of, rendered that ſovereignty
" abſolute,

" abſolute, and the nabobs do now, and have " for many years, exerciſed all thoſe ſove- " reign rights, regarding the lands and reve- " nues of the provinces, which the mogul " emperors ever had.

" It is under the authority of the nabob, " the company now hold their zemindary in " the lands ſubject to my jaghire; it is under " the ſame authority, they now hold by treaty " with the nabob Coſſim Cawn large diſtricts " of country, producing near 600,000l. a " year to them, without paying any rent at " all; notwithſtanding thoſe lands are calſa " or imperial lands, and would, in caſe the " original conſtitution of the mogul empire " exiſted, be ſubject to the payment of the " antient reſerved rents to the great mogul, " to a very large amount; it is well known " that there are numbers of jaghires in the " province of Bengal, granted by former na- " bobs, that have ſubſiſted for ſeveral gene- " rations.

" Yet as to my jaghire, they now at once " alledge it was an illegal act in Meer Jaffier, " and at the ſame time admit that the compa- " ny are in the enjoyment of all the lands " granted to them by the nabob Coſſim " Cawn, without paying or being ſubject to " any rent at all; and that the grant from " Coſſim Cawn to them, both of the lands " and ancient rents, is valid and effectual: " this ſeems a contradiction not eaſily to be " reconciled. But for a moment let us ſup- " poſe, that the fears the company entertain- " ed at that inſtant, of being accountable to " the great mogul, might have obſcured the " light which the compariſon of things alone " would have diſcovered, and that the mo- " guls ſhould hereafter recover the ancient " dominion of their empire: it muſt then be " obſerved, that the annual tribute ſtipulated " to be paid by the nabob on his confirma- " tion, is, in fact, the ſame annual ſum for- " merly reſerved and paid by the nabobs for " the farm of the rents and lands within the " provinces. Can it then be ſuppoſed that " the mogul would require both the revenues " of the lands, and alſo the annual ſum ſti- " pulated to be paid by the nabob, in lieu of " thoſe revenues? it might, with ſome de- " gree of probability, have been ſaid that " he might, according to the conſtitution of " the empire, call the nabobs, who might " then be conſidered as his viceroys, to ac- " count for all the annual tribute remaining " due to them: but to ſay the company " would be anſwerable to the mogul for the " rents paid by them to me, is an inconſiſt- " ency equal to the former, and not to be " reconciled to reaſon, or the nature of things: " and even to furniſh themſelves with this " pretence, bad as it is, they muſt have had " a very extraordinary foreſight; and I ſhould " be glad to have been informed of the pe- " riod when ſuch a reckoning was likely to " take place.

" I have before taken notice of the preſent " circumſtances of the mogul, and by what " means a prince, under his circumſtances, " or even ſuppoſing him in as good a ſituation " as his predeceſſors for ſeveral years have " been, could recover the dominion of large " and powerful provinces, which had long " ſhaken off his authority, I am really at a " loſs to gueſs. But, to remove any doubt " the proprietors may entertain concerning " the power and dominion of the great mo- " gul in Bengal, or the ſovereign authority " of the nabob, I will repeat the account " given by your directors of thoſe meaſures, " under their hands to his majeſty in the " year 1762, in a memorial preſented by " them relative to the tranſactions with the " Dutch, which account is in the following " words:

" By the ancient conſtitution of the mo- " gul empire, of which the provinces of " Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, are a part, the " nabob or ſoubah of thoſe provinces was no- " thing more than the mogul's viceroy, yet, " for many years paſt, as the ſtrength of that " conſtitution has been gradually declining, " the ſoubahs of theſe and other provinces " have been in like graduation aſſuming an " independence of the court of Delhi, and " the ſhock which the empire received, or " rather the ſubverſion of it, for it has never " recovered, nor probably ever will, from the

" irruption

" irruption of the Perſians under Nadir Shah,
" has ſo far confirmed that independence,
" that the relation between the nabob and
" the mogul, is at preſent little more than
" nominal. The nabob makes war or peace
" without the privity of the mogul, and
" though there appear ſtill ſome remains of
" the old conſtitution in the ſucceſſion to the
" nabobſhip, yet in fact that ſucceſſion is ne-
" ver regulated by the mogul's appointment,
" though the perſon in poſſeſſion is generally
" deſirous of fortifying a diſputed title by the
" mogul's confirmation, which the court of
" Delhi, conſcious of its inability to inter-
" poſe more ſubſtantially, and deſirous of re-
" taining an appearance of ſuperiority, rea-
" dily grants. The nabob of Bengal is there-
" fore *de facto*, whatever he may be *de jure*,
" a ſovereign prince, or at worſt, not a vice-
" roy, but a tributary to the mogul, there
" being ſome kind of tribute ſtill conſidered
" as due from theſe provinces to the mogul,
" though it rarely, if ever, finds its way to
" Delhi." It appears by the directors letters,
" that the Dutch, as well as we, conſidered
" him in this light.

" I muſt obſerve that the Dutch, in order
" to give ſome colour for their complaints
" againſt the company, made uſe of the fol-
" lowing allegation, viz. The mogul is ſo-
" vereign of the country, and we derive from
" him, under repeated phirmaunds a right
" to a free navigation from thence to other
" places; and this right we cannot be de-
" prived of, without infringing the phir-
" maunds of the great mogul, which the na-
" bob, who is only governor of a province,
" is not authorized to do.

" And it was in anſwer to this allegation,
" the declaration abovementioned was made
" by your directors, who now find themſelves
" under the fatal neceſſity, on behalf of the
" company, of making uſe of the ſame rea-
" ſon for juſtifying their conduct towards me
" as the Dutch made uſe of to juſtify theirs
" towards the company.

" As to the ſecond reaſon aſſigned by your
" directors, it might, perhaps, have been well
" for the proprietors, had it never been in
" their power to have employed it. But
" as it is aſſigned as ſuch, I will anſwer it as
" I would have done, at the time it was of-
" fered by them, without any regard to what
" has happened ſince, that may have deprived
" them of the uſe they at firſt propoſed from
" it.

" There are numbers of inſtances of jag-
" hires now ſubſiſting, that have been grant-
" ed by former nabobs; there are many,
" even on the company's own lands, of which
" the directors might have been informed by
" the proper officer appointed for ſurveying
" thoſe lands, who is now in England; and
" they might alſo have been informed, that
" there were many jaghires granted by the
" nabobs, Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier
" alſo exiſting. But enquiry here ſeemed
" not neceſſary; the directors at once boldly
" affirm, my jaghire to be determined by
" the removal of Meer Jaffier from the
" throne, ſince the grant did not, as they al-
" ledge, bind his ſucceſſor; without the leaſt
" conſideration of the natural inference ſuch
" an aſſertion might produce.

" I have before taken notice, that his ma-
" jeſty's arms, and thoſe of the company, by
" the revolution brought about whilſt I was
" the commander in chief, acquired the
" great power and influence the company en-
" joyed in Bengal, when I left that country;
" and that power after I came away, was
" made uſe of to depoſe the prince who ſat
" on the throne whilſt I was there, and to
" eſtabliſh Mahomed Coſſim Cawn in his
" ſtead. It is under theſe circumſtances,
" that the directors make uſe of the ſecond
" reaſon. Now to give that reaſon its utmoſt
" latitude, it can amount to no more than an
" admiſſion from the company, that I had
" once a good right to require from them
" the payment of my jaghire: but that this
" right is now defeated by a ſubſequent act,
" entirely effected by their own agents a-
" broad. The weight and juſtice of this ar-
" gument I leave to your conſideration.

" Before I quit this head, I muſt beg leave
" to take notice of the forms agreed on be-
" tween the company, and Mahomed Coſſim
" Cawn,

" Cawn, by which it will appear, that Meer " Jaffier was to remain nabob to all purpo- " ſes, except the executive part of the go- " vernment, which was to be the province of " the new nabob. This being the baſis of " that revolution, if it may be ſo called, it " will appear that the nabob, Meer Jaffier " ſtill remained nabob of Bengal; and it is " well known that he did, till lately, reſide " at the company's factory, at Calcutta, in " princely ſtate; and even ſuppoſing my jag- " hire to be good no longer than the reign of " the perſon who granted it, it would be ſtill " ſubſiſting. However, your directors do now " in effect declare, that they will retain my " jaghire for the benefit of the great mogul " (who would receive it, as Coſſim Ally " would readily give any directions touching " that matter the directors think proper to " ſuggeſt to him) and that, in prejudice to " me and their country, though they at the " ſame time are influenced to retain the " rents of the lands granted to them, not " only by Coſſim Cawn, but alſo by the na- " bob Meer Jaffier, in the preſence of the " great mogul.

" As to the third reaſon; here I muſt " beg leave to obſerve, that the titles of ho- " nour uſed in Europe, are unknown to the " Indians; their titles of honour are diſtin- " guiſhed only by a number of Azaras, or " one thouſand, from two to ten thouſand " horſe, which is the higheſt, and was the " title of the ſon of the great mogul: the " number of ſix thouſand, expreſſes the " dignity of an omrah, but not any leſs num- " ber; and the equipage of the perſon on " whom ſuch honours are beſtowed, are " proportioned by the uſage of the country " to his rank. Hence it will appear, that " of neceſſity, no perſon can be enobled in " India, unleſs the rank and number he is " appointed to, be expreſſed in the patent; " and this is a mere compliment, which does " not lay an obligation on the part of the " perſon receiving ſuch honour, to render to " the mogul any ſervices whatſoever; and " to affirm the contrary, it muſt be preſumed " that the nabob, in the preſent caſe, ap- " plied to the mogul to take me into his ſer- " vice: who, in ſuch ſervice, might (if the " emperor meant to recover the ancient do- " minion of his empire, or the payment of " his annual tribute) be employed againſt the " nabob himſelf, if military ſervices were to " be rendered to the mogul; which would " be an abſurdity to ſuppoſe.

" But the true intent of the honour was no " more than a perſonal favour to me, and " to give me rank amongſt the princes and " great men of that country; and may have " been of ſervice to you in my negotiations " and tranſactions with them. Monſieur " Dupleix, the commander in chief of the " French forces in India, obtained a title of " honour, inferior to mine, and had ſeveral " jaghires granted him by the nabob of the " Decan in lands, ceded to the French com- " pany, which he enjoyed for ſeveral years " after he returned to Europe, and indeed " until the lands, upon which the jaghires " were granted, were taken from the French. " And monſieur Dupleix conſidered his title " of honour, as an advantage to the French " in thoſe parts.

" As to the fourth reaſon, it is well " known, was I obliged to purſue my remedy " in the mayor's court, that the judges " of that court are dependent upon that " company: the appeal lies to their pre- " ſident and council, nay the perſon employ- " ed on my behalf, muſt be dependent on " the company. As to my reſorting to the " courts of the emperor or the nabob, no " mandate or proceſs from any ſuch could " be inforced againſt the company; and were " theſe reaſons to prevail, every avenue to " juſtice would be blocked up, and I ſhould " enjoy the ſatisfaction in my own mind, " of having a right to what I now de- " mand, without any remedy to obtain it."

In the month of February the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council, voted lord chief juſtice Pratt the freedom of the city of London, to be preſented to him in a gold box; and to deſire him to ſit for his picture, to be put up in Guildhall. They alſo agreed to re-

turn

turn thanks to the repreſentatives of that city, for their care and aſſiduity in parliament, and particularly their ſtrenuous exertion in endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the act relative to the impoſition of exciſe on cyder and perry.

The trial of John Wilkes eſq; for the republication of the North Briton in volumes, came on about this time before lord Mansfield in the court of Kings Bench; of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing "the Eſſay on Woman." The friends of Mr. Wilkes then publiſhed a letter from him, and a certificate ſigned by one of the French king's phyſicians, and a ſurgeon of eminence, and atteſted by two notaries, and the earl of Hertford, ambaſſador from the court of London; wherein it appears that he was ſo bad with his wound, as not to have been able during the month of January, to return to England.

As the freſh diſturbances in the Eaſt-Indies were at this time the ſubject of much diſpute, it may not be improper to relate in a conciſe manner, ſuch circumſtances as were ſuppoſed to give riſe to them.

By the company's ſhip Royal George, the court of directors received letters to the following purport: "That the diſputes between the company's ſervants and the reigning nabob, Coſſim Aly Cawn, had been productive of ſuch animoſities and jealouſies on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly neceſſary to uſe every means to allay them: for this purpoſe Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the nabob, with inſtructions to endeavour to adjuſt the difference in an amicable manner.

They accordingly arrived at Mongheer, the place of his reſidence, on the twelfth of May, and had many conferences with him, in which he evidently ſhewed a great averſion to an accommodation upon the terms offered to him.

A ſupply of five hundred arms going to Patna, was, about this time, ſtopped by the nabob's officers, and other acts of hoſtility were committed; and affairs being come to an extremity, a war with Coſſim Aly was unavoidable. Meſſ. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the meaſures were taken at the preſidency, to carry it on in the moſt effectual manner. Mr. Amyatt having taken leave of the nabod the twenty fourth of June, and received the uſual paſſports, he ſet out in boats for Calcutta, accompanied by Meſſ. Amphlett, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon; lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper; and Dr. Crooke (Meſſ. Hay and Gulſton remaining with the nabob as hoſtages.) As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked on the third of July, by a number of troops, aſſembled for that purpoſe, on both ſides the river, and ſome of the gentlemen in the boats were killed.

Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſeapoys, whom he forbad to fire, and he endeavoured to make the enemy's troops underſtand that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſports, and had no deſign of committing any hoſtilities; but the enemy's horſe advancing, ſome of the ſeapoys fired, notwithſtanding Mr. Amyatt's orders; and a general confuſion enſuing, that gentleman, and moſt of the ſmall party who were with him, were cut to pieces."

It farther appeared by the ſaid letters, that Mr. Ellis and his council at Patna having, with the approbation of captain Carſtairs, agreed to attack that city early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June; it was accordingly executed and carried: that they were in entire poſſeſſion of the city for four hours, the Mooriſh governor and moſt of his people having fled as far as Futwa; that he there came to a reſolution to return and attempt to regain the city, and having got in at the water-ſide gate of the fort, he ſucceeded in diſpoſſeſſing our troops, owing to the ſeapoys and Europeans being moſtly diſperſed in plundering. That upon the retiring into the factory, on account of the diſpiritedneſs of the men, and a great deſertion among the ſeapoys, it was found impracticable to make any ſtand there; and a reſolution was therefore taken to proceed to Sujah Dowla's coun-

try; that they accordingly croſſed the river on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, and met with no obſtruction until they paſſed Churpa; that then they were attacked, on the thirtieth, by the Phouſdar, with about two thouſand men, whom they eaſily routed; but he being that evening joined from Bugepore with four or five hundred ſeapoys, and five or ſix field pieces he attacked the party on the next evening, the firſt of July, and entirely routed them, the Europeans having quitted their ranks at the firſt onſet; that in the whole there were about fifty Europeans killed, and about eight or nine officers, amongſt the laſt captain Caſtairs, who was killed by a cannon ball in the morning of the firſt; that on the ſecond Mr. Ellis, with the officers and private men were taken priſoners, and by the laſt advices, were all at Mongheer, excepting the following, who then remained priſoners at Patna; viz. Captain Wilſon, enſigns Mackay and Armſtrong, Mr. Anderſon, ſurgeon, and Mr. Peter Campbell.

In conſequence of theſe and other acts of hoſtility, againſt ſeveral of the company's ſettlements committed by Coſſim Aly, it was determined to declare war againſt him, and to reſtore the former nabob Meer Jaffier to the ſubahſhip, upon his entering into a new treaty with the company. War was accordingly declared, and an advantageous treaty was concluded, the moſt material articles whereof are a confirmation of his former treaty, and alſo of the provinces of Burdwan, Nidnapoor and Chitagong, granted by the late nabob Coſſim Aly, engaging to give thirty lacks of rupees to defray the expences and loſs accruing to the company from the war, and engaging alſo to reimburſe the amount of what had been loſt by private perſons.

A few days afterwards Meer Jaffier ſet out to join the army under major Adams, which was then on its march towards Moorſhedabad. The firſt action which happened, was on the nineteenth of July oppoſite to Cutwa, on the Coſſimbuzar ſide of the river. The major having croſſed with the army the night before, in the morning came up with a large body of the enemy's troops who were ſtrongly poſted to oppoſe his progreſs to the city; and having attacked them, they were routed, after a ſmall reſiſtance, and with an inconſiderable loſs on our ſide. A detached party, under the command of captain Long, at the ſame time poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Cutwa, on the other ſide of the river; and all the artillery they had there, as well as what they had brought into the field, fell into our hands. In this action Mahomed Tuckey-Cawn, who, it is ſaid, commanded the attack on Mr. Amyatt's party, was mortally wounded, in conſequence of which he died in a few days.

The good effects of this ſucceſs were diſplayed in the eaſy conqueſt that followed of Moorſhedabad, which the army entered with a trifling oppoſition, the twenty-fourth at night. Here the major halted ſome days to refreſh his army, and eſtabliſhed and proclaimed Meer Jaffier in due form.

The major purſued his rout towards Mongheer, on the twenty-eighth of July; and on the ſecond of Auguſt, having arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Coſſimbuzar river, a very obſtinate engagement enſued, with a numerous army of the enemy's beſt troops and artillery, who there occupied a very advantageous poſt. The ſtand that they made was reſolute and uncommon for troops of this country, having cloſely engaged our forces for no leſs than four hours: however, the enemy at length ſuſtained a total defeat, through the major's good conduct and intrepidity, and the remarkable bravery of the officers and men.

On the part of the Engliſh, the loſs was not ſo great as might have been expected from ſo ſevere an action, conſiſting only of ſix officers and forty Europeans: and two hundred and ninety-two ſeapoys and black horſe, killed and wounded. On the part of the enemy, a great number of men were killed and wounded, twenty-three pieces of cannon, and about one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other ſtores, taken: among theſe laſt were found all the artillery and moſt of the Patna detachment; and within

in ſome days of the action, between ſixty and ſeventy of the men who were taken priſoners at Patna, and had been engaged by foul means and fair to ſerve the enemy's guns, returned to their colours.

Major Adams loſt no time after this battle, but immediately advanced with the army near to Rajamant; about three or four miles from which place, the enemy had thrown up a ſtrong entrenchment from the hills to the river, and for the forcing of which, it was adjudged moſt proper, for inſuring the ſafety of the troops, to carry on regular approaches. Every thing having been accordingly prepared, the works were begun upon the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, and continued till the fifth of September, when the major reſolved upon an aſſault, which was executed with very little loſs, and their whole works were in our poſſeſſion that morning. This ſucceſs we have great reaſon to believe, will be deciſive of the fate of the war, as the enemy ſeemed to repoſe the chief confidence in the ſtrength of theſe works, and now, by the loſs of them, are deprived of all ſupplies of proviſions from the province of Bengal, which is entirely ſecured to us.

In major Adams's letters, reciting the particulars of his ſeveral engagements with the enemy, he has given juſt praiſes to major Carnac, major Knox, and other officers, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as well as to the officers and troops in general, for their gallant behaviour. To major Carnac, he aſcribes particular merit, for the vigorous attack which he had led againſt the main body of the enemy, in the general action of the ſecond of Auguſt, and which made the firſt impreſſion, contributing thereby, in a great meaſure, to the victory we obtained. The ſame juſtice is due to major Adams, which he has done to the officers and troops under his command, and the higheſt praiſe is due to him from the company, for his good conduct in this campaign, which has been attended with extraordinary difficulties and fatigues, on account of the rainy ſeaſon and badneſs of the roads, and in which, by his ability in forming the plans of attack in ſuch manner, to take every advantage the ſituation of the enemy admitted, he has inſured the ſucceſs of his operations with the ſmalleſt loſs of men poſſible; and to which moſt valuable qualification, he adds, the great requiſite of intrepid fortitude and coolneſs during an engagement.

At the end of the foregoing advices, Governor Vanſittart writes, that as the friends of the gentlemen priſoners with the late nabob, Coſſim Aly, would be anxious to have a certain account of them, he tranſmitted the copy of a letter to major Adams, from Meſſrs. Ellis and Hay, dated at Patna the fourth of October laſt, mentioning that the number of priſoners was forty-nine, who were taking meaſures for the purchaſe of their deliverance on the major's nearer approach towards Patna: that officer was alſo endeavouring to effect ſo deſirable an event. The governor adds, as Meſſrs. Ellis and Hay take notice of the death of captain Turner only, it was preſumed that all the reſt were well. Governor Vanſittart afterwards gives an account of the major's reducing the town of Mongheer, on the eleventh of October, without the loſs of a ſingle man.

In a letter dated the eighth of October 1762, governor Vanſittart farther informs the court of directors, that if the war ſhould not be brought to a ſucceſsful end, he will ſtay in Bengal till the following year, at all riſks; although it is the opinion of the phyſicians he is very incapable of going through another hot ſeaſon; but if the troubles ſhould be ſo far quieted, that he can leave the company's poſſeſſions in ſafety, he hopes to be in London in the following month of September.

The court of directors, having a due ſenſe of the gallant behaviour and great ſervices of major Carnac, as noticed in the before mentioned advices, unanimouſly agreed to reſtore him to the command of the company's forces in Bengal.

At a numerous meeting of the proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, on the twelfth day of March, Sir Francis Goſling expatiated on the critical ſituation of their affairs in Bengal, and concluded with the following motion; "That conſidering the great alteration of our affairs in Bengal, by the late commotion in that ſettlement, and the reſtoration of Meer Jaffier

Jaffier Ali Cawn to the ſubahſhip, the preſent appointment of the ſucceſſor to the preſidency, and the military appointment of the commander of our forces, are therefore improper."

Much debate ariſing from this motion, and a majority of the proprietors appearing convinced of the neceſſity of appointing ſome man of ſuperior abilities and influence to reſtore the affairs of this company, from that anarchy and confuſion in which they are involved, all eyes ſeemed to be fixed upon one, which produced a motion, as if by inſpiration, from a candid and ſenſible member, who had ſet out with arguments againſt the firſt motion; but who had the honour of propoſing this, "That lord Clive ſhould be requeſted by this court to take upon him the preſidency of Bengal, and the command of the military forces there, upon his arrival in that province." This met with an univerſal ſhout of approbation, which obliged his lordſhip to deliver his ſentiments in a manly and modeſt ſpeech; "Confeſſing, that though his affluence of fortune, had induced him to form ſchemes of life which were, in their nature, totally different; yet, if he was called on by the general ſenſe of the proprietors, and matters could be ſettled ſo that he could proceed with any degree of prudence, ſupported by a friendly and united direction, he would once more ſtand forth in their ſervice." This queſtion was carried without a diviſion.

A few days after this, a general quarterly court of the proprietors being held, after a report being required of what had been done in purſuance of the laſt general meeting, two letters were read, one from the directors to lord Clive, acquainting him in form with the ſaid reſolution, and ſignifying that they were ready to provide for him every accommodation for his voyage. The other was lord Clive's anſwer, returning them thanks for their intention to provide for his voyage. This inexplicit anſwer, being conſidered as a refuſal to accept of the proffered command, it was moved, that the directors ſhould proceed to fill up the ſeveral vacancies in India. A debate enſued. The deputy chairman delivered a high elogium on lord Clive, and expreſſed the greateſt cordiality towards him, of the ſincerity of all which his lordſhip expreſſed ſome doubt; and went ſo far as to intimate, that it was indifferent to him who were in the direction, provided one gentleman was not in it; and that the court might conſider whether it was more for their intereſt that Mr. Deputy chairman ſhould continue to aſſume the lead in the court of directors, or that he (lord Clive) ſhould proceed to India. The Deputy chairman replied, and endeavoured to clear himſelf from the charge of ever having done his lordſhip any ill offices; and expreſſing the moſt cordial deſire of being honoured with his lordſhip's friendſhip. This altercation was put a ſtop to by a reſpectable member of the court, who ſtood up, and requeſted of lord Clive, that, as the proprietors entertained the higheſt idea of his lordſhip's merit, and his abilities to ſerve them at this critical time, his lordſhip would be pleaſed to name his terms, which, he durſt undertake, would be accepted, if in any degree reaſonable. After a ſhort pauſe, his lordſhip deſired a few days to give his anſwer, which was readily agreed to; and then the court broke up.

Many thouſand journeymen ſilk weavers, went in proceſſion from Spitalfields, in the beginning of the month of April, and waited on his majeſty at the queen's palace in St. James's Park, with a petition, repreſenting the miſerable condition themſelves and families were reduced to, by the clandeſtine importation of French ſilks. They waited before the court-yard, and two gentlemen, belonging to that manufactory, had the honour to be introduced to his majeſty's preſence, and preſent their petition, which his majeſty received in the moſt gracious manner; and gave for anſwer, "That he would ſend immediate orders to put an intire ſtop to the importation of French ſilks; that an affair of ſo much conſequence to the kingdom ſhould be properly laid before the parliament, and that he would do his utmoſt to procure them redreſs.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth of this month, and having given the royal aſſent to various bills, cloſed the

the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament, without returning you my hearty thanks for the prudent and ſalutary meaſures which you have taken to extend the commerce, and ſecure the happineſs, of my kingdoms.

The aſſurances which I have received of the pacific diſpoſition of the powers with whom we were lately at war, and of their reſolution to adhere inviolably to the terms of the late treaty, promiſe the continuance of peace abroad; and the firm and temperate exertion of your authority, joined to the conſtitutional and public ſpirited conduct which you have manifeſted on every occaſion, during the preſent ſeſſion, will, I truſt, eſtabliſh at home due obedience to the laws, reverence to the legiſlature, and domeſtic union.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I thank you for the ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully and unanimouſly granted. The ample proviſion you have made for the ſeveral ſervices recommended to you, and eſpecially for maintaining my fleet in a reſpectable ſtate, will, I am confident, preſerve to this nation its proper weight and influence, and give ſtrength and ſecurity to all my dominions.

The wiſe regulations which have been eſtabliſhed to augment the public revenues, to unite the intereſts of the moſt diſtant poſſeſſions of my crown, and to encourage and ſecure their commerce with Great Britain, call for my hearty approbation.

Your regard to public credit, in diſcharging a part of the heavy debt contracted and unprovided for during the late war, without impoſing on this kingdom the burthen of any new taxes, is particularly pleaſing to me, from the tender concern which I feel for my people.

My lords and Gentlemen,

It is the proper employment of this ſeaſon of tranquillity, to conſider of the moſt effectual means for perfecting thoſe works of peace, and plans of public utility, which have been ſo wiſely and happily begun.

I recommend theſe important objects to your conſideration during the receſs. You may depend upon my conſtant endeavours for the ſucceſs of theſe good purpoſes; as I ſhall ever eſteem it my trueſt glory, to employ that power with which the conſtitution hath entruſted me, in promoting your real intereſts and laſting happineſs.

It was reſolved on the ſame day, that the thanks of the houſe be given to brigadier-general Draper, for the eminent ſervices he had performed to his king and country, in aſſiſting in the conqueſt of Manila, and the reduction of the Philippine iſlands, and that Mr. Speaker ſignify the ſame to him; the thanks of the houſe were likewiſe voted to be given to vice-admiral Corniſh, and to be delivered in the very ſame words.

It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that we record theſe reſolutions, as they bear a parliamentary teſtimony of the courage of our ſoldiers and ſailors, and of the good conduct of our commanders, both by ſea and land, to which we owed our ſucceſs, in a war, that, to all human appearance, was the moſt unequal in which this nation was ever engaged.

Not long after the parliament was prorogued, a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at St. James's, when his majeſty was pleaſed to inveſt the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, eldeſt brother to her majeſty, with one of the vacancies of that order, and the other was beſtowed upon the right honourable the earl of Halifax, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Information having been given, about this time, that ſeveral of his majeſty's ſubjects had been for a conſiderable time, and were then detained in France, as hoſtages for the payment of ranſom bills, which had not yet been ſatisfied; notice was given in the Gazette, that in caſe ſuch ranſom bills were not forthwith diſcharged, proſecutions would be commenced in his majeſty's court of admiralty againſt all maſters, owners, and others,

refuſing or neglecting to pay the ſums of money ſtipulated for the releaſe of thoſe unfortunate perſons, who had ſuffered ſo long an impriſonment.

Great quantities of French ſilks and laces, were, during the courſe of this month, ſeized and confiſcated; and ſeveral bakers were fined for defrauding the public in the weight of their bread.

His majeſty was pleaſed, on the twenty-fourth day of April, to fill up the vacant ſtall, at Weſtminſter, of the moſt honourable military order of the Bath.

The ſovereign having put on a ribbon, with the ſymbol of the order hanging to it, the gentleman uſher bearing the red rod, and habited in the mantle of the order, introduced the lord Clive (a gentleman uſher, daily waiter, carrying the ſword of ſtate,) who kneeling, was knighted with the ſword of ſtate: then the earl of Breadalbane having received the ribbon, with the badge of the order, from the gentleman uſher, Bath, king at arms, being abſent, preſented the ſame to his ſovereign, who put the ribbon about lord Clive's right ſhoulder, which ceremony being over, his lordſhip roſe up and withdrew. This honour was conferred in the preſence of ſeveral great officers of ſtate.

The ſame day the prince of Averſperg had a private audience of his majeſty, to notify from his Imperial majeſty, the coronation of the king of the Romans.

A general court of the Eaſt India company was held on the firſt of May, at which there were many debates, which were carried on with great coolneſs and deliberation; and the court broke up with a reſolution, that the following queſtion ſhould be determined by a ballot, at a general court to be held on the third inſtant in the morning, namely;

"That it be recommended, and that the court of directors be impowered to agree with lord Clive for the payment of his jaghire for the ſpace of ten years, provided his lordſhip ſhall ſo long live, and the company ſhall be in actual poſſeſſion of the land out of which it iſſues, and the revenues thereof during that period of time."

This queſtion was occaſioned by a letter from lord Clive, of which the following is an abſtract:

"I need not repeat the nature of my pretenſions to the jaghire: the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, and the inſtructions I have ſent to my attornies, in conſequence of your ſtopping it, will, I make no doubt, be the means of having it confirmed to me in the ſtrongeſt manner that the cuſtoms of India will admit, and the laws of England require. But as there would be a very great impropriety in my going abroad in the company's ſervice, with a law ſuit of this conſequence depending between us, allow me to ſuggeſt to you the expediency of referring the matter to a general court of the proprietors, with the propoſal I make, viz. That I ſhall enjoy my jaghire for ten years, provided the company ſhall remain ſo long in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, of which the jaghire is the quit-rent; and provided I ſhould live ſo long. At the end of ten years, or at my death, if it ſhould happen firſt, my right and title to the jaghire ſhould ceaſe; and on my arrival in India, I ſhould uſe my endeavour with the nabob to ſecure the reverſion of it to the company. Should my death happen early in this ſervice, I ſubmit to the conſideration of the directors and proprietors, but do not inſiſt upon it, whether it be continued to my heirs for five years."

At this court, all the papers and opinions of council, relative to the court of directors proceedings concerning lord Clive's jaghire were called for; and the contrary opinions of the council, learned in the law, being read, a worthy proprietor judiciouſly remarked, that there was matter enough to juſtify the court of directors in their allowing or refuſing lord Clive's jaghire; and alſo there was matter enough for the proprietors conſenting to his lordſhip's propoſals or rejecting them.

When the debate reſpecting lord Clive's jaghire was ended, and many of the proprietors were gone, a motion was made, and agreed to by the court, that Mr. Johnſton (who is ſaid to be brother to governor Johnſton) ſhould be reſtored to his place in the council at Calcutta.

Another

Another motion was afterwards made, which ſeemed to meet the general approbation of the proprietors, that for the future, none of the company's ſervants ſhould, upon pain of expulſion, receive from any of the nabobs, or from any others, any kind of gratuity or reward, without the concurrence or conſent of the council, or of the court of directors of the Eaſt India company.

At the court on Friday the fourth, the numbers at the cloſe of the ballot, at Merchant-Taylors-Hall, on the third, were declared. The numbers were:

| | |
|---|---|
| For allowing lord Clive his jaghire | 583 |
| Againſt it | 306 |

On the following day, at a court held at the ſame place, a motion was made that the thanks of the general court be given to major Adams, for his wiſe and prudent conduct in ſaving the Eaſt-India company's ſettlements from deſtruction; and that the court of directors be deſired to apply to his majeſty for ſome higher honours, that he may remain at Bengal; and that he be preferred to be ſecond in command at the ſaid place.

A ſtrong oppoſition being made to the laſt clauſe of this motion, the queſtion was put, whether it ſhould be left out; and on the ſhew of hands, it was declared, that there was a majority for leaving out the clauſe about preferring the major to be ſecond in command at Bengal; whereupon a diviſion was demanded, and on caſting up the numbers there were,

| | |
|---|---|
| For leaving out the clauſe | 310 |
| Againſt it | 180 |

After this determination, a reſolution of the court of directors, taken the firſt inſtant, was read, viz. "That they would recommend major Adams to the ſecretary at war, for his majeſty to confer on him ſome higher poſt, that he may be continued at Bengal ſo long as the exigency of affairs ſhall require."

Upon this reſolution of the court of directors being read, a motion was made, and, after ſome debate, reſolved in the affirmative, to this effect, "That the thanks of the general court be given to major Adams, for his wiſe and ſpirited conduct, in ſaving the Eaſt India company's ſettlements in Bengal from imminent danger. And that their thanks be alſo given to the court of directors for their wiſe and prudent reſolutions, for an humble application to his majeſty, and the ſecretary at war, in behalf of major Adams, as mentioned in their minutes, the firſt inſtant, and that they be deſired forthwith to carry their reſolutions into execution."

After this a motion was made and unanimouſly agreed to, to return the thanks of the court to major Carnac, and the other gallant officers and troops, by whoſe courage and conduct the company's affairs were ſaved from imminent danger, under the conduct of major Adams at Bengal.

After theſe reſolutions were taken, upon the motion of ſome of the proprietors, the ſeveral orders, propoſals, and ſchemes, that had been laid before or agreed to by the court of directors, relating to the company's military eſtabliſhment in the Eaſt Indies, were read and taken into conſideration.

Hereupon many debates enſued; and one of the proprietors, in the beginning of his ſpeech happening to ſay, "that he had not now ſo high an opinion of a celebrated nobleman, as he once had:" his words ſeemed to diſguſt the majority of the company ſo highly, that there was an immediate cry of adjourn, adjourn; which being repeated, the queſtion was put, and the court was declared to be adjourned. There was then ſo much confuſion, that ſeveral gentlemen declared they did not hear the contra queſtion once put.

A general court of the proprietors was held on Thurſday the ſeventeenth, in conſequence of the demand of nine proprieters, agreeably to charter. As the reaſon aſigned for having another general court was, that the queſtion for adjournment of the laſt court was not put agreeably to order, a motion was made by Mr.

Mr. Dempſter, to this purport, "That to receive any motion for adjournment, till every perſon has been heard on the ſubject, is illegal, arbitrary, and tending to defeat the intention of having general courts." Great debates enſued, and at length the previous queſtion having been moved by Mr. Amyand, and put, "Whether a queſtion on the abovementioned ſubject ſhould be put?" upon holding up of hands, the chairman could not determine which had the majority. In conſequence thereof a diviſion was demanded, and the return made by the ſcrutineers was,

| | |
|---|---|
| For the previous queſtion | 373 |
| Againſt it | 288 |
| | 85 |

After this, a great number of debates enſued about the ſuggeſtions in lord Clive's letter to the directors, relating to the forming of the troops in the company's ſervice into regiments, the keeping two battalions here in England, in their pay, &c. &c. &c. After this a queſtion by Mr. Salvadore, was put and carried, to the following purport. "That the company's affairs in Bengal requiring immediate attention, and the ſeaſon being very far advanced, lord Clive be deſired to embark forthwith for that government; and that all the officers now appointed, be ordered to proceed thither without delay."

In the next place, draughts of the inſtruments, deſigned to prevent the ſervants of the company from receiving any gratuity, without the approbation of the court of directors here, or the council abroad, were read. The following queſtion, after many debates, was put, "Whether the draughts of the inſtruments to be executed by the civil and military gentlemen in the company's ſervice, as communicated by the general court, to the court of directors, are proper, and that they be forthwith prepared to be carried into execution;" and a ballot being demanded by nine proprietors preſent, the court was adjourned, at near twelve at night, to take the ſame between eleven in the forenoon and ſix in the evening, of the following day, and to receive the report of the ſcrutineers, at eight the ſame evening.

From their report there appeared to be

| | |
|---|---|
| For the queſtion | 475 |
| Againſt it | 285 |
| | 190 |

After this ſeveral altercations aroſe concerning the company's trading; but a memorial being made by Mr. Stuart, the tendency of which was to leave this matter to the conſideration of the directors, all parties ſeemed to agree.

The thanks of the court were afterwards moved and carried to be given to the chairman, and to the directors. Between ten and eleven the court broke up, upon the adjournment *ſine die*.

Few incidents of general national concern having ariſen during the courſe of this year, we have related at large the tranſactions of a mercantile body, the extent of whoſe commerce has long tended to the aggrandizement of this kingdom. From the courſe of that event, we learn the prevalence of ambition and avarice, which, when they bear ſway, wholly diſregard the ſublime principles of gratitude and juſtice, and ſcruple not to diſpenſe with every obligation, civil and ſacred. Whatever envy may impute to fortune, with reſpect to lord Clive's atchievements in India, candour muſt impute more to proweſs, and judge all the honours conferred on ſuch renowned valour, far from being ſuperior to its diſtinguiſhed merit. If the moſt vigilant attention to the preſervation of the company's poſſeſſions; if the moſt ſtrenuous exertion of his abilities in the vindication of their rights; if the moſt imminent, as well as frequent hazard of life, in the diſcharge of duty, ſtamp a merit on the character of his lordſhip, he certainly deſerves a rank among the other Britiſh worthies, recorded in our hiſtory; nor could we deny him a place therein, with any regard to that impartiality by which we profeſs to be guided.

In

In the month of July, advices were received from North America, by which it appeared, that the military operations in that quarter were ſtill carried on with vigour, and that Sir William Johnſton, after many very ſevere repulſes attended with infinite loſs on the Indians, brought the Seneca nation, to conceſſions highly advantageous to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

The preliminary articles of peace, friendſhip, and alliance, entered into between the Engliſh and the deputies ſent from the whole Seneca nation are as follows.

" That the Seneca nation do immediately ſtop all hoſtilities, and ſolemnly engage never more to make war upon the Engliſh, or ſuffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the perſons or proprietors of any of his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects.

" That they forthwith collect all the Engliſh priſoners, deſerters, Frenchmen and negroes amongſt them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnſton, and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deſerters; but ſhould any ſuch take refuge amongſt them, they are to be brought to the commanding officer of the next garriſon, and delivered up.

" That they cede to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, for ever, in full right, the lands from the fort of Niagara, to the Creek above fort Schloſſer, and down the ſame to the river or ſtraight, comprehending the whole carrying place, and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length, and four in breadth.

" That they allow a free paſſage through their country from that of Cayugas to Niagara, or elſewhere, for the uſe of his majeſty's troops for ever; engaging never to obſtruct, or moleſt any of his majeſty's troops, or other his ſubjects who may make uſe of the ſame.

" That they grant to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors for ever, a free uſe of the harbours for veſſels, within their country on Lake Ontario, or in any of the rivers, with liberty to land ſtores, and erect ſheds for their ſecurity.

That they immediately ſtop all intercourſe between any of their people, and thoſe of the Shawaneſe and Delawares, or other his majeſty's enemies, whom they are to treat as common enemies, and to aſſiſt his majeſty's arms in bringing them to proper puniſhment; ſolemnly engaging never to be privy to, or aſſiſt any of his majeſty's enemy's, or thoſe who may hereafter attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity.

" That ſhould any Indian commit murder, or rob any of his majeſty's ſubjects, he ſhall be immediately delivered up to be tried and puniſhed, according to the equitable laws of England: and ſhould any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he ſhall be immediately tried, and puniſhed if guilty: and the Senecas are never for the future to procure themſelves ſatisfaction, otherwiſe than as beforementioned, but to lay all matter of complaint before Sir William Johnſton, or his majeſty's ſuperintendant of India affairs for the time being, and ſtrictly to maintain and abide by the covenant claim of friendſhip.

" For the due performance of theſe articles, the Senecas are to deliver up three of their chiefs, as hoſtages, who are to be well treated, and reſtored to them, ſo ſoon as the ſame are fully performed on their parts.

" In conſequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing articles, Sir William Johnſton doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities repoſed in him, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, promiſe and engage, that the ſaid Indians ſhall have a full pardon for paſt tranſgreſſions: that they ſhould be left in the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of all their rights not compriſed in the foregoing articles, and that on their duly performing the ſame, and ſubſcribing the definitive treaty of peace to be held in conſequence hereof, they ſhall be once more admitted into the covenant chain of friendſhip with the Engliſh, and be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, ſo long as they abide by their engagements."

Equal ſucceſs attended the military proweſs of his majeſty's troops under the command of the colonels Bradſtreet and Bouquet, as had done that of thoſe under Sir William Johnſton; for the Delawares, and Shawaneſe,

&c. intimidated by the motion of two armies at once towards their country, under the abovementioned officers; though they had refuſed to meet Sir William Johnſton at the congreſs of Niagara, met colonel Bradſtreet at Preſque Iſle, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner begged for peace, which he granted them on the following conditions.

"That all priſoners in their hands ſhould be delivered to him at Sanduſky in twenty-five days.

"That they ſhould renounce all claim to the poſts and forts we now have in their country, and that we ſhall be at liberty to erect as many as we think neceſſary to ſecure our trade; and that they ſhall cede to us for ever, as much land round each fort as a cannon ſhot can fly over, on which our people may raiſe proviſions.

"That if any Indian hereafter kill any Engliſhman, he ſhall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the Engliſh laws, only to have half the jury of Indians. And if any one of the nations renew the war, the reſt ſhall join to bring them to reaſon.

"That ſix of the deputies ſhall remain with them as hoſtages, and the other four, with an Engliſh officer and one of our Indians, ſhould proceed immediately to acquaint the dependent nations with theſe terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the priſoners, to be ready at the day appointed."

The colonel reſolutely told them, that if their chiefs would not confirm this peace, no other would be granted them; and that if they continued the war, they ſhould find their country filled with warriors immediately, who would totally deſtroy every one of their people.

The lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, having, towards the end of this month, repreſented to his majeſty in council, that the endeavours they had uſed for improving his majeſty's revenue of cuſtoms, and preventing the many frauds committed in the out ports of this kingdom, were greatly obſtructed by the ſtate of the Iſle of Man, from whence a pernicious and illicit trade was carried on to the neighbouring coaſts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in violation of the laws of this kingdom, and to the great detriment and diminution of the public revenue: his majeſty was pleaſed, with the advice of his privy council, to enjoin on his officers the utmoſt vigilance in the execution of their duty; to declare that all perſons detected in ſuch offence, ſhould be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and iſſue orders that the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould ſtation a ſufficient number of ſhips and cutters, in the harbours and on the coaſts of the Iſle of Man, in order to diſcover, and bring to juſtice all concerned in ſuch illegal practices.

And the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or in his abſence the lords juſtices of that kingdom, were required, to give ſuch directions for carrying his majeſty's commands into execution, as unto them might reſpectively appertain.

It was repreſented to his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, on the eleventh day of September, that, in anſwer to the repreſentations made by his majeſty's ambaſſador at the court of France, demanding immediate ſatisfaction and reparation for acts of violence, committed on the firſt of June then laſt, by the commander of a French ſhip of war, in conjunction with other French veſſels, at one of the Turk's iſlands; the court of France had diſavowed the ſaid proceedings, diſclaimed all intention or deſire of acquiring or of conquering the Turks iſlands; and had given orders to the compte d'Eſtaign, governor of St. Domingo, to cauſe the ſaid iſlands to be immediately abandoned on the part of the French, to reſtore every thing therein to the condition in which it was on the firſt of June then laſt, and to make reparation of the damages which any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be found to have ſuſtained in conſequence of the ſaid proceedings, according to an eſtimation to be forthwith ſettled by the ſaid governor, with his majeſty's governor of Jamaica; and that a duplicate of the ſaid order ſhould be tranſmitted to his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate.

There

There are a conſiderable number of thoſe called Turks Iſlands, but there is one much larger than the reſt. The land is low, ſandy, and barren, without a drop of freſh water. There is good anchoring-ground to leeward, but no harbour any where.

For many years paſt the profit of gathering ſalt on theſe iſlands has accrued to the Engliſh nation. The buſineſs is chiefly carried on by Bermudians, who come here in the month of March, and continue during the dry ſeaſon, leading a life that the idea of liberty alone can render preferable to ſlavery itſelf. They live in little huts covered with leaves; their whole cloathing is a ſtraw hat, a check ſhirt, and a pair of trowſers; they have a knife in their pocket, and a kettle in their kitchen. Their food is ſalt pork, and ſometimes a turtle of quona (a ſort of large lizard) when they have time to catch them, and very often they are without bread; and yet in this way of life they enjoy health, nor ever differ about property or religion; for they have neither prieſt, lawyer, nor phyſician among them.

It is with pleaſure we embrace this opportunity of recording, to the credit of Britiſh hoſpitality, that at this time upwards of ſix hundred German emigrants, men, women, and children, conſiſting of Wurtzburghers, and Palatines, all proteſtants, (who were brought hither by a perſon, with a promiſe of being immediately ſent to ſettle at his own expence, in the iſland of St. Johns and Le Croix, in America, and ſince abandoned by him) were moſt generouſly relieved by the benevolence of this nation, in conſequence of a moſt affecting narrative of their ſufferings which the miniſter of the German Lutheran-church in London printed in the public papers.

The narrative ſet forth "That ſome of them had laid, during heavy rains, and were then lying in the open fields adjacent to this metropolis, without covering, without money, without the common neceſſaries of life; that others were languiſhing under the complicated evils of ſickneſs and extreme want; and more than two hundred remained on board the ſhip, which brought them over, on account of their paſſage not being paid for, where they were periſhing for food, and rotting in filth. That their diſtreſſes were unutterably great, and the narrator having been often a mournful witneſs, in his attendance on them to adminiſter the duties of his function, would mention but one inſtance as a cloſe of the melancholy detail. One of the poor women was ſeized with the pangs of labour in the open fields, and delivered by the ignorant people about her, but the tender infant, from the injury it received in the operation, died ſoon after he had baptized it, and the wretched mother for want of proper care and nutriment, ſoon followed her child to the grave.

On this occaſion the humanity and generoſity of the public were excited to a degree perhaps ſcarcely remembered; for according to the clergyman's account, before eleven in the very morning on which his letter appeared, they received from the Tower, by order of a great perſonage, a hundred tents, with the neceſſaries there unto belonging; by the ſame bountiful hand, the freight of thoſe on board the ſhips was diſcharged, and they were releaſed.

On the firſt day the contributions amounted to near three hundred pounds, which with future large additions enabled the benevolent committee to cloath them, and provide them with every requiſite for perſons in their condition. Having obtained his majeſty's permiſſion, they contracted for veſſels to convey them to South Carolina; for their proviſion and maintenance during the voyage, and for a time after their arrival.

A remonſtrance having been made by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, on the behaviour of one of their foreign governors, a meſſenger arrived in London on the twenty-ſeventh of September, with a duplicate of the orders which in conſequence of that remonſtrance were diſpatched to Don Felix Raming de Eſtenoz, governor of Jucatan. From the tenor of the orders, it appeared, that his Catholic majeſty diſapproved the proceedings of the ſaid governor, with reſpect to his majeſty's ſubjects in the bay of Honduras, expreſſed his deſire of giving his majeſty the greateſt

greateſt proofs of his friendſhip, and of preſerving peace with the Britiſh nation. That he had commanded the ſaid governor to reeſtabliſh the Britiſh Logwood Cutters, in the ſeveral places, from which he had obliged them to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupations of cutting logwood, without being diſturbed, under any pretence whatſoever.

The pacific diſpoſition of his Catholic majeſty, evident from the declarations above recited, was ſoon followed by thoſe of France; it appearing by letters received at the admiralty office, ſigned by commodore Palliſſer at St. John's in Newfoundland, that having diſpatched a ſloop with a letter to the French governor at St. Pierre, to enquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed of the French having mounted cannon, and erected works on that iſland contrary to treaty; he, in anſwer, received aſſurances from the ſaid governor, that there was only one four pounder mounted without a platform, and with no other intention than to anſwer ſignals to their fiſhermen in foggy weather; that there were no buildings, or works erected contrary to treaty, and that the guard conſiſted of no more than forty-ſeven men, and had never exceeded fifty; and that the concurrent fiſhery in thoſe parts of the ſaid coaſts, wherein the French are by treaties permitted to fiſh, had been carried on in perfect tranquillity.

The city of London in particular, and the nation in general, having about this time preferred complaints in parliament, concerning the exhorbitant price of proviſions; his majeſty, in order to prevent all unlawful combinations for enhancing the price of proviſions, and encourage thoſe, who might diſcover any concerned in ſuch illegal practices, promiſed to all perſons who ſhould diſcover, or cauſe to be diſcovered ſuch offenders, ſo as to be convicted, a reward of one hundred pounds, to be paid out of the treaſury, without any other warrant in that behalf. When the merchants petition, touching the above complaint was preſented to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, a council was immediately called, and after an examination of evidence, his majeſty directly ordered his royal proclamation to be iſſued as abovementioned.

Whatever expectations might be formed with regard to the reduction of the price of proviſions, the methods taken were by no means effectual, and the people of England were ſtill obliged to purchaſe thoſe neceſſaries at a moſt exorbitant rate, which their country annually yields in ſuch abundance, that the public might always be ſupplied on moderate terms, if the fruits of the earth were not withheld from them by the moſt infamous arts and contrivances.

Advices were received from Bengal by the Pigot Indiaman, which arrived in the month of October, that the fugitive nabob Coſſim Aly Cawn, had, with his treaſures, joined the Sajah Zadah, and the nabob of Oude, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in invading the province of Bengal, but that on their departure they had made no motion. There had been a mutiny among the troops, inſtigated by ſome French ſoldiers, about one hundred and fifty in number, who had inliſted in the company's ſervice; but the ſame, at the time of diſpatching thoſe advices, was perfectly quelled without the loſs or deſertion of a ſingle European, except thoſe Frenchmen abovementioned.

An account was alſo brought by the ſame ſhip, of the death of the gallant major Adams, who, in thoſe parts, had ſignalized his courage in the ſervice of his country.

On the fourth of December, her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta, ſiſter to his majeſty, and conſort to his ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, was ſafely delivered of a princeſs, to the great joy of of that ancient line, as well as univerſal pleaſure of her native country.

During the courſe of this month, the weather proved extremely boiſterous, by which many ſhips were wrecked, and other very conſiderable damage was ſuſtained both by ſea and land.

Notwithſtanding the ſolemn treaties ſo lately entered into between his majeſty's officer colonel Bradſtreet, and the Shawaneſe

and

and Delawares, the perfidious ſavages ſoon revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated inſolence.

In conſequence of this perfidious behaviour, major general Gage, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, who had ſo often experienced their treachery, determined to make no peace with them, but in the heart of their country, and upon ſuch terms as ſhould make it as ſecure as poſſible. This determination produced all the good effects that could be wiſhed for, in humbling the Indians, and reducing them to accept of peace in ſuch a manner, as did honour to his majeſty's arms among the ſeveral nations. The regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, and others from Maryland and Penſylvania, marched from Fort Pitt the beginning of October, and arrived at Tuſcarowas about the fifteenth. The march of the troops into their country, threw the ſavages into the greateſt conſternation, as they hoped their woods would protect them, and had boaſted of the ſecurity of their ſituation from the attacks of our army. The Indians hovered round the troops during the march, but deſpairing of ſucceſs in action, had recourſe to negotiation. They were told that they might have peace; but every priſoner in their poſſeſſion muſt firſt be delivered up. They brought in near twenty, and promiſed to deliver the reſt; but as their promiſes were not regarded, they engaged to deliver the whole on the firſt of November, at a ſpot about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near to the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the Shawaneſe. Colonel Bouquet kept them in ſight, and moved his camp to that place. He ſoon obliged the Delawares, and ſome broken tribes, to bring in all their priſoners, even to children bought of white women, and to tie thoſe who were grown as ſavage as themſelves, and unwilling to them, and bring them bound to the camp. They were then told that they muſt appoint deputies to go to Sir William Johnſton, to receive ſuch terms as ſhould be impoſed upon them, which the nations ſhould agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a number of their chiefs in the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for their performance of this agreement.

Theſe terms were readily ſubſcribed to by the above nations, but the Shawaneſe were more obſtinate. They did not approve of the conditions, and were particularly averſe to the giving of hoſtages: but finding their obſtinacy had no effect, and would only tend to their deſtruction, the troops having penetrated into the heart of their country, they at length became ſenſible, that there was no ſafety but in ſubmiſſion, and were obliged to ſtoop to the ſame conditions as the other nations. They then gave up forty principal chiefs as hoſtages, and appointed their deputies to go to Sir William Johnſton in the ſame manner as the reſt. The number of priſoners delivered exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the Engliſh parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns. The general declared, in juſtice to colonel Bouquet, that nothing but a firm and ſteady conduct, which he obſerved in all his tranſactions with thoſe treacherous ſavages could have ever brought them to a ſerious peace, which he now hoped would be as laſting as it was general.

*A. D.* 1765. His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, on the tenth day of January, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

My lords and gentlemen,

The ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad, has enabled me to allow you that receſs, which has been uſual in times of public tranquillity. I have now the ſatisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with my good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which has long ſubſiſted between the two crowns, by the marriage of the prince Royal with my ſiſter the princeſs Carolina Matilda, which is to be ſolemnized as ſoon as their reſpective ages will permit. I obſerve, with pleaſure, that the events which have happened in the courſe of the laſt year, give

us reaſon to hope for the duration of that peace, which has been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and which it is my reſolution ſtrictly to maintain. The courts of France and Spain have given me freſh aſſurances of their good diſpoſitions. The future quiet of the empire has been confirmed, by the unanimous choice of a ſucceſſor to the Imperial dignity; and the peaceable election of the king of Poland, has prevented thoſe fatal conſequences, which, upon ſimilar occaſions, have ſo frequently been deſtructive to the repoſe of Europe. I am happy, therefore, to meet my parliament, at a time, when no foreign diſturbances interrupt their conſultations for the internal good order and proſperity of my kingdom.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I ſhall aſk for the current ſervice of the year, no other ſupplies than ſuch as are neceſſary for thoſe eſtabliſhments, which have already met with your approbation, and I will order the proper eſtimates for this purpoſe to be laid before you. I muſt, however, earneſtly recommend to you the continuance of that attention which you have hitherto ſhewn to the improvement of the public revenue, and the diminution of the public debt. For theſe deſirable and neceſſary ends, I am perſuaded, that you will purſue every proper meaſure which the ſtate of my dominions, and the circumſtances of the times require.

My lords and Gentlemen,

The experience which I had of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wiſdom and firmneſs in promoting that obedience to the laws, and reſpect to the legiſlative authority of this kingdom, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of the whole, and in eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations, as may beſt connect and ſtrengthen every part of my dominions, for their mutual benefit and ſupport. The affection which I bear to my people excites my earneſt wiſhes, that every ſeſſion of parliament may be diſtinguiſhed by ſome plans for the public advantage, and for their relief from thoſe difficulties, which an expenſive war has brought on them. My concurrence and encouragement ſhall never be wanting where their welfare is concerned; and I truſt, that for the attainment of that great object, you will proceed with temper, unanimity and diſpatch.

The liverymen of the city of London, during this month, ſhewed a noble and diſintereſted regard for genuine merit, by electing Mr. Alderman Janſſen to the office of Chamberlain of that city. This gentleman having reduced his circumſtances, by his connections with ſeveral public ſpirited plans, had for ſome years paſt lived in obſcurity, and abridged himſelf of every ſuperfluity, gradually to compenſate the loſs of his creditors. Such was his modeſty, that he was not without much difficulty prevailed upon to offer himſelf a candidate for the vacant poſt; but merit overcame every obſtacle, and his grateful fellow citizens exulted in an opportunity of publicly honouring a man, who had given ſuch abundant and uncommon proofs of his integrity.

No leſs than fifty-five reſolutions of the committee of ſupply, were, on the ſeventh day of February agreed to by the houſe of commons, for impoſing much the ſame ſtamp duties upon our people in America, as are payable here in England; but as they were afterwards formed into a bill, and the bill paſſed into a law, which muſt have been in every ones hands, we omit them, and only obſerve, that by the laſt it was reſolved, that all the ſaid duties be paid into the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, and there be reſerved from time to time, and diſpoſed of by parliament, towards further defraying the neceſſary expences of defending, protecting, and ſecuring the ſaid colonies and plantations. A few days after it was reſolved, that for the better ſupply of our export trade to Africa, with ſuch coarſe printed callicoes and other goods, being the product or manufacture of the Eaſt Indies, or other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as are prohibited to be wore in Great Britain; the Eaſt India company be permitted to import the ſame from any port of Europe not within his majeſty's dominions, under proper limitations and reſtrictions. That upon failure of the ſaid company's keeping the ſaid export trade ſupplied

with

with a ſufficient quantity of ſuch callicoes and other goods, other perſons be permitted to import the ſame into this kingdom from any ſuch part of Europe, under proper limitations and reſtrictions. That the ſaid callicoes and other goods, which ſhall be ſo imported, be liable to pay the ſame duties, as if the ſame were imported by the ſaid company from the Eaſt-Indies, or any other place beyond the Cape of Good Hope and no other.

Mr. John Williams, bookſeller, was, on the fourteenth of this month, brought, purſuant to a former ſentence, from the King's Bench priſon, to ſtand in the pillory, in New-palace-yard, Weſtminſter, for re-publiſhing the North Briton in volumes. A few minutes after twelve he mounted amidſt the repeated acclamations of upwards of ten thouſand people, who maintained an inceſſant ſhout during the hour of his ſtanding. Oppoſite to the pillory were erected four ladders, with cords running from each other, on which were hung a jack boot, an ax, and a Scotch bonnet. The two latter, after remaining there ſome time were burnt, and the boot beheaded. During his ſtand alſo, a purple purſe ornamented with orange colour'd ribbons, was produced by a gentleman eminent for his patriotiſm, who began a collection for the benefit of the culprit, after which, the purſe being carried round, every one contributed according to pleaſure, to the amount in the whole, as was ſuppoſed, of upwards of two hundred guineas. He had a ſprig of laurel in his hand all the time; and received, on this occaſion, greater and louder marks of the public applauſe, than would perhaps have been given to a ſovereign prince, at the head of a victorious army.

His majeſty had fixed on the twenty third of march, as the day of his going to the houſe of peers, in order to give the royal aſſent to various bills prepared for that purpoſe; but being prevented by indiſpoſition, that buſineſs was tranſacted by commiſſion. Many people in different parts of the kingdom ſuſtained great loſſes by high winds and exceſſive floods, during this month, and ſuch was the forlorn ſituation of ſix or ſeven thouſand people ſtarving for want of employment in the weaving branch, that the public compaſſion being excited, a ſubſcription was generouſly ſet on foot for their relief, and conſiderable ſums were raiſed.

In the month of April, William, lord Byron, was tried by his peers in Weſtminſter, for an unhappy affair, which happened between his lordſhip and a member of the lower houſe, when, after a learned diſcuſſion of the caſe, the peers adjourned to their own houſe and after ſome conſideration returned, when they found his lordſhip guilty of felony, but not of murder.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers, on the twelfth of this month, and in a ſpeech from the throne informed them, that the tender concern he felt for his faithful ſubjects, made him anxious to provide for every poſſible event, which might effect their future happineſs or ſecurity. That his late indiſpoſition, though not attended with danger, had led him to conſider the ſituation in which his kingdom and his family might be left, if it ſhould pleaſe God to put a period to his life, while his ſucceſſor was of tender years. That the high importance of this ſubject to the public ſafety, good order and tranquillity, the paternal affection which he bore to his children and to all his people, and his earneſt deſire that every precaution ſhould be taken, which might tend to preſerve the conſtitution of Great Britain undiſturbed, and the dignity and luſtre of his crown unimpaired, had determined him to lay this weighty buſineſs before his parliament; and as his health was now perfectly reſtored through the indulgence of providence, he took the earlieſt opportunity of meeting them, and recommending to their moſt ſerious deliberation, the making ſuch proviſion as would be neceſſary, in caſe any of his children ſhould ſucceed to his throne, before they ſhould reſpectively attain the age of eighteen years. That to this end he propoſed to their conſideration, whether, under the preſent circumſtances, it would not be expedient to veſt in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by inſtrument in writing under his ſign manual, either the queen,

queen, or any other perſon of his royal family, to be the guardian of the perſon of ſuch ſucceſſor, and the regent of theſe kingdoms, until ſuch ſucceſſor ſhall attain the age of eighteen years, ſubject to the like reſtrictions and regulations, as are ſpecified and contained in an act paſſed upon a ſimilar occaſion in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the late king, his royal grandfather: the regent ſo appointed to be aſſiſted by a council compoſed of the ſeveral perſons, who by reaſon of their dignities and offices, are conſtituted members of the council eſtabliſhed by that act, together with thoſe, whom they might think proper to leave to his nomination.

The poor weavers of Spital-fields and parts adjacent, aſſembled on the morning of the ſeventh of May, by beat of drum, to the number, as ſuppoſed, of upwards of fifty thouſand, and proceeded in three large bodies to Weſtminſter, where they ſtopped the carriages of the members, beſeeching them to compaſſionate their diſtreſſed ſituation, but behaved in all other reſpects with the utmoſt decorum. They continued aſſembled till near four o'clock, when being informed by their heads, that hand bills would be diſtributed next day, which would allay all their fears, and every other neceſſary ſtep be taken for their advantage, they were recommended to ſeparate peaceably, on which they repaired to their ſeveral habitations.

Their principal orator was a Welſhman; who received the meſſage at St. James's a few days after, and then drew his brethren off to the green Park and ſignified to them what had paſſed, from a tree. On another occaſion he harangued them in Old-palace-yard, perſuading them to diſperſe, and ſeemed to behave in a very decent and modeſt manner.

As theſe people aſſembled from time to time, ſeveral outrages were committed, but the tumults were at length ſuppreſſed by the united influence of the military and judiciary powers.

A regency bill was, not long afterwards, paſſed, in conſequence of his majeſty's repreſentation to the parliament, by which the council for aſſiſting the regent was decreed to conſiſt of the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the princes Henry Frederic, and Frederic William, and the duke of Cumberland, (the ſaid princes Henry Frederic, and Frederic William, to be members of the ſaid council of regency, when they ſhall reſpectively attain the age of twenty-one years,) and alſo of the perſons and officers following. The archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being; the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, or firſt commiſſioner, named in any commiſſion for the cuſtody of the great ſeal of Great Britain for the time being; the lord treaſurer of Great Britain, or the firſt commiſſioner in that office for the time being; the lord preſident of the council for the time being; the lord high admiral of Great Britain, or the firſt commiſſioner for executing that office; the two principal ſecretaries of ſtate for the time being; and the lord chief juſtice of the king's or queen's bench for the time being. But if any of the king's brothers, or his uncle, ſhall die, during his majeſty's reign, or ſhall be nominated regent on his demiſe, his majeſty, by three inſtruments under his ſign manual, ſealed and depoſited, and revocable at pleaſure, may appoint ſome other perſon to be of the council, and ſuch inſtruments of nomination are to be produced unopened to the privy council.

Not long after theſe tranſactions in parliament, an account arrived of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in conjunction with the company's troops in the Eaſt Indies; a complete victory having been obtained over the king and vizier Hindortan, by major Hector Monro. They had ſix thouſand men ſlain on the field of battle, and loſt, beſides ſtores of various kinds, one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon.

The major went out, on the morning of the action, with ſome of the principal officers, to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, intending to attack them the following day; but finding their whole army under arms, he returned to the camp, ordered in the advanced poſts and grand guard, the drums to beat to arms, and in leſs than twenty minutes, the line of battle was formed, having made the diſpoſition the preceding day. The enemy began

began to cannonade about nine in the morning, and the action became general in about half an hour afterwards.

In the front of the Engliſh army was a moraſs, which prevented their moving forward for ſome time, by which means they were much galled by the enemy's cannon. The major then ordered a battalion of ſeapoys, with one gun, from the right of the firſt line, to move forward in order to ſilence one of their batteries, which played upon his flank, and afterwards was forced to ſupport it by another battalion, which had the deſired effect. He then ordered both the lines to face to the right, and keep marching in order to clear the left wing of the moraſs; which done, to face to the former front, the right wing wheeling up to the left, to clear a tope or ſmall wood that was upon the right; then the firſt line moved forward, keeping a very briſk cannonade. Major Monro then ſent orders to major Pemble, who commanded the ſecond line, to face it to the right about, and follow the firſt; but that officer ſaw the propriety of ſuch a movement, and had begun to put it into execution before he received the orders. Immediately after both lines puſhed forwards with ſuch ardour and reſolution, and the ſmall arms were plied with ſuch vigour, that the enemy ſoon after began to give way, and five minutes before twelve, their whole army was put to flight. According to the account of the commander in chief, major Pemble and captain Charles Gordon ſignalized their valour in this action, and had their horſes ſhot under them.

The city of London and its ſuburbs ſuffered much during this year by frequent fires, which, together with the many incendiary letters that were diſperſed, kept the inhabitants for ſome time in the utmoſt dread. Several incendiaries were taken into cuſtody, and the utmoſt precaution uſed to prevent the execution of their horrid deſigns.

Subſcriptions were now opened for, and the public bounty moſt generouſly extended, towards a great number of unfortunate ſufferers, who had loſt all, or the greater part of their effects, by a dreadful fire at Rotherhithe; for ſuch was the extraordinary amount of the contribution, that every claimant was paid the full value of their loſs; a laudable example well worthy of general imitation.

About two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-firſt day of Auguſt, the queen was ſafely delivered of a prince, who was afterwards baptized by the name of William Henry.

An account of ſeveral outrages, committed by the ſoldiers in Dublin, having been laid before the king, by his excellency the earl of Hertford, lord lieutenant of Ireland; his majeſty was thereupon pleaſed to order his excellency to ſignify his pleaſure to the lords juſtices, that it be given out in public orders in every quarter in Ireland; that his majeſty received, with the utmoſt ſurprize and diſpleaſure, the accounts of the late behaviour of the garriſon of Dublin, of ſuch dangerous tendency to the peace and ſafety of ſociety, and utterly ſubverſive of all military diſcipline; that his majeſty expects and requires from his army in Ireland, that they do, upon all occaſions, demean themſelves quietly and peaceably and in perfect obedience and ſubmiſſion to the laws; and that it is his majeſty's fixed reſolution to ſhew the higheſt marks of his diſpleaſure to all military perſons whatever, who ſhall, in any reſpect, act contrary thereto.

Information was given, by letters received from North Carolina, that many outrages had been committed in that country, by a ſet of lawleſs banditti, who had murdered ſome Cherokees in alliance with the Engliſh, and that colonel Lewis, in conſequence thereof, diſpatched expreſſes to the lieutenant governor of Virginia, and it was reſolved by the burgeſſes of that colony, "That the killing the Cherokee Indians, as mentioned in a letter of colonel Andrew Lewis, to his honour the governor, which he has been pleaſed to lay before the houſe of burgeſſes, is a flagrant violation of the treaties of peace eſtabliſhed and ſubſiſting between his majeſty and the ſaid Indians, and of the laws of this colony, and that the offenders ought to be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity." The lieutenant governor then offered a reward by proclamation, for apprehending the ringleaders,

a pardon to any of them not an actual perpetrator of the murder, who ſhould make ſuch diſcovery, that the reſt might be brought to juſtice. Colonel Lewis had apprehended two of the murderers, and ſent two meſſengers to the Cherokees, to inform them of the whole affair; by which means the miſcreants were brought to condign puniſhment; and the conſequence was, a total ſuppreſſion of the tumults.

The ſame accounts likewiſe contained a moſt affecting narrative of the arrival of the priſoners at the Engliſh camp, after the defeat of the Ohio Indians by the forces under the command of general Bouquet. This ſcene exhibited a view of fathers and mothers recognizing and claſping their once loſt babes; huſbands hanging round the necks of their newly recovered wives; ſiſters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after a long ſeparation, ſcarce able to ſpeak the ſame language.

Thoſe who diſcovered and recognized each other, gave way to the moſt extravagant raptures of joy, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others, flying from place to place in eager enquiries after relatives not to be found, trembling to receive an anſwer to their queſtion; diſtracted with doubts, hopes, and fears, on obtaining no account of thoſe they ſought; or chilled with horror, on being made acquainted with the deplorable fate of their friends and relatives.

This affecting ſcene was not a little heightened by the part which the Indians bore in it; who, ſeeming to have forgot the fierceneſs of their diſpoſitions, delivered up their beloved captives with the utmoſt reluctance, ſhed torrents of tears over them, recommended them to the care and protection of the commanding officers; their regard to them continued all the time they remained in the camp. They viſited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, ſkins, horſes, and other matters they had beſtowed on them, while in their families, accompanied with other preſents, and all the marks of the moſt ſincere and tender affection. Nay, they ſtopped not here; but when the army marched, ſome of the Indians ſollicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employ themſelves in hunting, and bringing proviſions to them on the road. A young Indian carried this ſtill further, and gave an inſtance of love, which would cut a figure even in romance.

Among the captives was a young woman of Virginia, to whom he was ſo ſtrongly attached, as to call her his wife. Againſt all remonſtrances on the imminent danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by approaching the frontiers, he perſiſted in following her, at the riſk of being killed by the ſurviving relations of many unfortunate perſons whom the people of his nation had either ſcalped or made priſoners.

Our wonder is not more excited than our eſteem, on finding, in ſavages, qualities ſuch as theſe, which are an undoubted proof that their barbarities are the effects of wrong education, and falſe notions of bravery and heroiſm; and alſo that as nature has made them fit ſubjects of cultivation, 'tis the indiſpenſible duty of a civilized people, to yield them all poſſible aſſiſtance in this way. If theſe inſtances of Indian tenderneſs and humanity are deemed worthy of particular notice; it is preſumed we may cite one amongſt our own people, as claiming at once our admiration and imitation.

A woman was brought into the camp at Muſkingam, among the captives, having a babe about three months old at her breaſt. One of the Virginia volunteers ſoon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about ſix months before. She was immediately delivered to her overjoyed huſband, who flew with her to his tent, and cloathed her and his child in proper apparel. But their joy after the firſt tranſports was ſoon damped, by the reflection that another dear child captivated from the mother, and ſeparated from her, was ſtill miſſing, although many children had been brought in. A few days afterwards a number of other priſoners were brought to the camp, among whom were ſeveral more children. The woman was

was ſent for, and one ſuppoſed to be her's, was produced to her. At firſt ſight ſhe was uncertain; but viewing the child with great earneſtneſs, ſhe ſoon recollected his features; and was ſo overcome with joy, that literally forgetting her ſucking child, ſhe dropt it from her arms, and catching up the new found child in an extacy, carried it off, unable to ſpeak for joy: the father ſeizing the babe ſhe had let fall, followed her with no leſs tranſport and affection. It muſt be obſerved, that there were ſome grown perſons, who appeared extremely unwilling to return from their captivity.

The Shawaneſe were obliged to bind ſeveral of their priſoners, and force them along to the camp, and ſome women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to eſcape, and ran back to the Indian towns. Some who could not make their eſcape clang to their ſavage acquaintance at parting, and for many days afterwards, refuſed all kind of ſuſtenance, and continued to lament their fate bitterly.

The following paragraph, from the ſpeech of the Shawaneſe chief on delivering up his priſoners, is a ſtrong proof of the above obſervation, concerning their tenderneſs and affection for the captives, whom they had preſerved.

"Fathers (ſaid he to the Engliſh) we have "brought your fleſh and blood to you: they "have been all united to us by adoption; "and although we now deliver them; we "will always look upon them as our relations, "whenever the great ſpirit is pleaſed that "we may viſit them. We have taken as "much care of them as if they were our own "fleſh and blood. They are now become "unacquainted with your cuſtoms and man-"ners, and therefore we requeſt you will "uſe them tenderly and kindly, which "will induce them to live contentedly with "you."

A dangerous mob aroſe in the latter end of this ſummer, at Boſton in New-England on account of the ſtamp duty, and did conſiderable miſchief At length the magiſtracy raiſed and armed five hundred men, and committed ſeveral of their rioters to goal; but not till they had deſtroyed all the goods and papers of the comptroller, judge of the admiralty, diſtributor of the ſtamps, as well as every individual article in the houſe of the lieutenant governor, even to the uncovering his houſe, burning all his books and papers, carrying off even his clothes, as well as thoſe of his ſiſter and daughter, putting them on by way of maſquerade; beſides nine hundred pounds ſterling in caſh, ſcarcely leaving him any more than the ſhirt he had on.

They acted in the ſame manner at Newport in Rhode iſland; ſo that the principal perſons were obliged to fly for refuge on board a man of war then lying in the harbour. Violent oppoſition was alſo made to the new tax in almoſt all the other parts of North America.

The earl of Hertford having been appointed Lord Lieutenant general, and general governor of Ireland, opened the ſeſſion of parliament, in that kingdom on the twenty-ſecond of October with the following ſpeech.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am honoured with his majeſty's command to meet you in parliament, and embrace with ſingular ſatisfaction this opportunity of concurring with you in promoting his majeſty's moſt gracious and cordial intention for the proſperity of this his kingdom of Ireland. Long and perſonal experience hath raiſed in my mind, the moſt honourable ſentiments of your zeal and affection for his majeſty's ſervice, and of your ſerious attention to the welfare of your country; and conſcious that theſe will be the ſole objects of my conduct, I reſt aſſured that this ſeſſion of parliament will be eminently diſtinguiſhed by our laudable emulation, how beſt to be informed of the means, and moſt effectually to carry them into execution. This will prove the moſt acceptable ſervice to his majeſty, and unanimity in your proceedings beſt expreſs your ſenſe of the happineſs enjoyed under the government you are ſupporting; and your gratitude

titude for his majeſty's paternal care and protection of his people. In this light his majeſty has moſt graciouſly accepted and highly approved of your paſt conduct, and by your preſervance in theſe principles, the future felicity of this kingdom will be eſtabliſhed. Intereſted as we are in the domeſtic happineſs of our moſt amiable ſovereign, and the ſtability of his moſt illuſtrious houſe, you will receive with pleaſure, information of the increaſe of his royal family, by the auſpicious birth of another prince deſcended from him.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to prepare the ſeveral accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you, and doubt not but you will find that your ſupplies have been properly applied to the public ſervices. His majeſty is well pleaſed that thoſe ſervices have been anſwered without making uſe of the confidential credit, which his majeſty conſidered as your wiſe precaution againſt caſes of neceſſity. As I have nothing in command to aſk, but the uſual ſupplies, I am confident you will eſteem it your duty and intereſt, that his majeſty's eſtabliſhment be ſupported with dignity and honour.

My lords and gentlemen,

Times of peace are the ſeaſons to deliberate on the means to render the natural advantages of this country moſt uſeful to its inhabitants, and to increaſe national wealth by the employment of the people. Policy directs where the country admits of it, the choice of ſome principal object of induſtry as the ſtaple of commerce. The linen manufacture in its ſeveral branches is evidently that object in Ireland. The produce ſhews its conſequence; your care will be to aſſiſt the progreſs, and by prudent laws to guard againſt private frauds, which prevent the conſumption, and will deſtroy the credit of this commodity at foreign markets. It would be highly pleaſing to me, were my adminiſtration marked by any uſeful ſervices to this moſt valuable trade. When our thoughts are turned to promote induſtry in the people, we ſhould remember how neceſſary religious principles and virtuous education are, to obtain that end.

The Charter ſchools were firſt inſtituted for this purpoſe. You have repeatedly given them parliamentary aſſiſtance; your experience, therefore, of their utility, will induce you to continue them under your protection: other particulars muſt be left to your wiſdom, with this aſſurance, that duty and the warmeſt zeal will ever engage my vigilant attention, to prevent what may tend to the prejudice, and to forward every meaſure for the peace, ſafety, and proſperity of Ireland."

The commiſſioners of the longitude having, about this time, repreſented to the commiſſioners of the navy, that Mr. John Harriſon had aſſigned to them, for the uſe of the public, the property of three ſeveral time keepers, and alſo explained to them the principle upon which they are conſtructed; the latter ordered this ingenious artiſt, the reward to which, by previous contract, he was entitled, for ſo curious and uſeful a diſcovery.

To the great and ſincere grief of all lovers of virtue and their country, his royal highneſs William Auguſtus, duke of Cumberland, departed this life on the thirty-firſt day of October. His death, which was ſudden, was ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the rupture of ſome blood-veſſel in the brain.

We flatter ourſelves that the characters we have drawn of perſons whoſe virtues have rendered them reſpectable, or vices odious in the eye of the public, have formed no unuſeful, no unentertaining part of this hiſtory; and it would be a piece of injuſtice to mankind, to paſs over in ſilence, the many qualities of an illuſtrious prince, which at once rendered him the delight and ornament of human nature. A review of his life will afford a moſt ſhining example of patriotiſm, valour, juſtice, friendſhip, ſincerity and humanity. Inflexibly attached to the intereſt of his country, he braved every danger, nor indulged a thought of life, when called on his ſovereign's duty. Patriotic from principle, he gave ſanction to wiſe and conſtitutional meaſures; nor feared to diſcountenance the ſchemes of oppreſſion, ambition and avarice. Conſcientiouſly

tiouſly juſt, he rewarded merit irreſpective of rank, nor ſuffered the dignified Minion to eſcape his reſentment. Refined in his friendſhip, he ſweetened life by a judicious ſelection of worthy men to partake at his hoſpitable board, and amuſe his leiſure hours with an unreſerved affability of converſe. Inviolably ſincere, he never promiſed without deliberation, or the moſt punctual performance of his engagements. Above all, ſympathetically humane, and extenſively generous, his royal heart never failed to feel, nor his royal hand to relieve the diſtreſſes of his fellow creatures of every age, ſex, and condition. Nay, he ſought opportunities for doing good, and ſtudied plans for the employment of the poor. With theſe virtues to preponderate, his foibles may be eaſily conſigned to oblivion, eſpecially when it is remembered, that to err is the lot of humanity, but to do good is the property of piety. If ſome from prejudice may deem our deſcription exaggerated, we preſume others from juſtice will allow it but adequate, nor refrain a tributary tear at the loſs of ſo eminent a compound of all that was great, excellent, and amiable in human nature.

A moſt terrible fire broke out on the ſeventh of October, near the end of Biſhop's-gate-ſtreet, next Cornhill, when the wind being weſterly, the flames ſoon ſpread, and the fire communicated itſelf to all the four corner houſes, which were burning at one time. On the whole it was computed, that above a hundred houſes were conſumed, and that more loſs had been ſuſtained from this fire, than from the late dreadful one in march, 1748. The flames were ſo rapid that the unhappy ſufferers had ſcarce time to ſave any of their effects; but a contribution being ſet on foot, conſiderable ſums were raiſed for the uſe of ſuch as choſe to accept the donations of the public.

It appeared by advices received from Boſton in New England, that a committee was choſen to draw up and tranſmit to Mr. ſecretary Conway, and colonel Barré, ſeveral addreſſes of thanks for their patriotic ſpeeches in parliament, in favour of the colonies, and to deſire correct copies thereof to be placed among their moſt precious archieves, and voted the pictures of thoſe gentlemen to be placed in their town hall. The ſtamp duty was ſo repugnant to the ideas of the people of America, that in moſt of the northern colonies, they obliged the ſtamp officers to reſign their places; and when the perſon appointed for Virginia arrived there, he was treated with elegance and reſpect, but obliged next morning to re-embark on his return to England. When the ſtamped papers arrived at Philadelphia, the veſſels in the harbour hoiſted their colours half maſt high, the bells rung being muffled, and every countenance betrayed dejection; finally, they obliged the ſtamp diſtributor to promiſe not to exerciſe his office, and the ſtamped papers were obliged to be taken on board a man of war to prevent their being totally deſtroyed by the people.

The lawyers of New Jerſy alſo came to an unanimous reſolution not to make uſe of the ſtamped papers.

The corpſe of his late royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland was, on the evening of the ninth of December, privately interred in the royal vault in king Henry the ſeventh's chapel at Weſtminſter, the body having been privately conveyed to the prince's chamber the night before. About ten o'clock the proceſſion began to move, paſſing through the old palace yard, to the ſouth eaſt door of the abbey, at the entrance of which, the dean and prebends attended by the choir, received the body, falling into the proceſſion juſt before the officers of arms who conducted the lord chamberlain, and ſo proceeded into the chapel, where the body was depoſited on treſſels, the head towards the altar, the coronets and cuſhion being laid upon the coffin, and the canopy held over it, while the ſervice was read by the dean of Weſtminſter; the chief mourner, and his two ſupporters, ſitting on chairs at the head of the corpſe and the ſupporters of the pall on either ſide. The part of the ſervice before the interment being read, the corpſe was depoſited in the vault, and the dean having finiſhed the funeral ſervice, Garter proclaimed his royal highneſs's ſtile as follows.

"Thus

"Thus it hath pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this tranſitory life unto his divine mercy, the late moſt high, moſt mighty, and moſt illuſtrious prince William Auguſtus, Duke of Cumberland, and duke of Brunſwic and Lunenberg, marquis of Berkhamſtead, earl of Kennington, viſcount Trematon, baron of the iſle of Alderney, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and firſt and principle companion of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, third ſon of his late moſt excellent majeſty king George the ſecond." Twenty-one pieces of artillery were drawn into the park, and minute guns fired during the ceremony, and three battalions of foot guards were drawn up in St. Margaret's church yard, and fired vollies on a ſignal given, as ſoon as the corpſe was depoſited. The minute guns at the Tower were fired as is cuſtomary on like occaſions.

About this time advices were received, by which it appeared that upon the arrival of the ſtamps at New York, there was a general ſign of mourning. The merchants ſoon after met and reſolved to have no more goods ſhipped from Great-Britain, unleſs the ſtamp act was repealed; to countermand all orders already ſent, and not to vend any goods ſent from Great Britain after the firſt of January 1766.

The ſtamped paper having been ſecured by the governor, in Fort George, a great aſſembly of perſons, preceded by lights, went to the fort, took from the ſtables the governor's coach, which, with his effigy, they burnt, with every mark of contempt, and exaſperation, under the guns of the fort. After this they went to the houſe of major James (a ſuppoſed abettor of the ſtamp act) whoſe goods they likewiſe ſeized and conſumed. The next day they forced from his excellency a declaration that he would have nothing to do with the ſtamps. The governor of Maryland having deſired the advices of the aſſembly, with reſpect to taking care of the ſtamp papers, as the officer appointed for that purpoſe had gone off: They replied; "In anſwer to your meſſage juſt now received, relative to the ſtamped paper, we ſhould think ourſelves extremely happy, were we in circumſtances to adviſe your excellency on ſo new a ſubject; but it being a matter of importance, and ſuch as we do not think ourſelves at liberty to adviſe in, without the inſtruction of our conſtituents, which we cannot now obtain; we hope your excellency will think us excuſable for declining to offer any advice upon the occaſion."

The agents from the ſeveral colonies, having aſſembled at New York, to take the ſtamp act into conſideration; after coming to many warm reſolutions were ſeparated; and the houſe of repreſentatives of Maſſachuſet's bay animadverted very ſmartly on ſome expreſſions in their governor's late ſpeech. In ſhort, the diſcontent and diſſatisfaction was ſo general all over North America, as to be very ſhort of exciting a general inſurrection, and the printers continued to publiſh their papers every where without ſtamps.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſeventeenth day of December, and being ſeated on the throne with the uſual ſolemnity made the following ſpeech.

My lords and gentlemen.

The preſent general ſtate of tranquillity in Europe gave me hopes that it would not have been neceſſary to aſſemble my parliament ſooner than is uſual in times of peace: but as matters of importance have lately occurred in ſome of my colonies in America, which will demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament, and as further informations are daily expected from different parts of that country, of which I ſhall order the fulleſt accounts to be prepared for your conſideration; I have thought fit to call you [illegible] together, in order that the opportunity may be thereby given, to iſſue the neceſſary writs on the many vacancies that have happened in the houſe of commons ſince the laſt ſeſſion, ſo that the parliament may be full, to proceed immediately after the uſual receſs, on the conſideration of ſuch weighty matters as will then come before you.

*A. D.* 1766. The parliament having adjourned for the holidays, met again on the fourteenth

fourteenth of January, when his majeſty addreſſed them in the following ſpeech.

My lords and gentlemen,

When I met you laſt, I acquainted you, that matters of importance had happened in America, which would demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament.

That no information which could ſerve to direct your deliberations in ſo intereſting a concern might be wanting, I have ordered all the papers that give any light into the origin, the progreſs, or the tendency of the diſturbances which have of late prevailed in ſome of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before you.

No time has been loſt, on the firſt advice of theſe diſturbances, to iſſue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government, in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, and in the effectual ſupport of lawful authority.

Whatever remains to be done on this occaſion, I commit to your wiſdom; not doubting but your zeal for the honour of my crown, your attention to the juſt rights and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and your affection and concern for the welfare and proſperity of all my people, will guide you to ſuch ſound and prudent reſolutions, as may tend at once to preſerve thoſe conſtitutional rights over the colonies, and to reſtore to them that harmony and tranquillity, which have lately been interrupted by riots and diſorders of the moſt dangerous nature.

If any alterations ſhould be wanting in the commercial œconomy of the plantations, which may tend to enlarge and ſecure the mutual and beneficial intercourſe of my kingdoms and colonies, they will deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration. In effectuating purpoſes ſo worthy of your wiſdom and public ſpirit, you may depend upon my moſt hearty concurrence and ſupport. The preſent happy tranquillity, now ſubſiſting in Europe, will enable you to purſue ſuch objects of your interior policy with a more uninterrupted attention.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you. Such ſupplies as you may grant, ſhall be duly applied with the utmoſt fidelity, and ſhall be diſpenſed with the ſtricteſt œconomy.

My lords and gentlemen,

I earneſtly recommend to you to proceed in your deliberations with temper and unanimity. The time requires, and I doubt not but your own inclinations will lead you to thoſe ſalutary diſpoſitions. I have nothing at heart but the aſſertion of legal authority, the preſervation of the liberties of all my ſubjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and proſperity of all parts of my dominions.

The repeal or continuance of the ſtamp act, was in itſelf a matter of the higheſt importance; and perhaps there ſcarce ever was any affair debated in a Britiſh parliament, in which the public thought themſelves more deeply intereſted, or for the reſult of which, they felt a more impatient anxiety; nor was the reſt of Europe, the commercial part eſpecially, inattentive to the event.

Petitions were received from the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Lancaſter, Hull, Glaſgow, &c. and indeed from moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, ſetting forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America; the vaſt quantity of our manufactures, (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies) which the American trade formerly took off our hands: by all which, many thouſand manufacturers, ſeamen, and labourers had been employed, to the very great and increaſing benefit of the nation. That in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whale fins, furs, and lately pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities, beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts

for

for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market; and therefore exported to other places.

Theſe petitions farther ſet forth, that from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them uſed in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſen our dependence on neighbouring ſtates, it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation. That this commerce, ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the immediate interpoſition of parliament.

That the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling: and that, when preſſed for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their willingneſs; but declare, it is not in their power at preſent to make good their engagements, alledging, that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, eſtabliſhed by ſome late acts of parliament, particularly by an act paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, and by an act paſſed in the fifth year of his majeſty, for granting and applying certain ſtamp duties, &c. in the ſaid colonies, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purpoſes, they repreſent to have been extended in ſuch a manner, as to diſturb legal commerce, and to harraſs the fair trader; and to have ſo far interrupted the uſual and former moſt fruitful branches of their commerce, reſtrained the ſale of their produce, thrown the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces into confuſion, and brought on ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments, were utterly loſt and taken from them.

That the petitioners were, by theſe unhappy events, reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or elſe ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loſs of the kingdom; and to preſerve the ſtrength of this nation entire, its commerce flouriſhing, the revenues increaſing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a ſtate of growth and extenſion, and the colonies, from inclination, duty, and intereſt, firmly attached to the mother country.

Such a number of petitions from every part of the kingdom, pregnant with ſo many intereſting facts, ſtated and atteſted by ſuch numbers of people, whoſe lives had been entirely devoted to trade, and who muſt be naturally ſuppoſed to be competent judges of a ſubject, which they had ſo long and ſo cloſely attended to, could not fail of having great weight with the houſe.

There was alſo a petition from the agent for the iſland of Jamaica, ſetting forth the ill conſequences that had attended a ſtamp-tax, which the aſſembly of that iſland had impoſed, and which was ſuffered to expire, it having been found *unequal* and *burdenſome* in a very high degree: and he conceived that the preſent law for a ſtamp duty in the colonies, would be attended with the ſame, if not greater inconveniences.

Petitions were likewiſe received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth their inability to pay the ſtamp duty.

But neither the arguments nor facts contained in the petitions, could prevail on the party who had reſolved to ſupport the ſtamp act at all events; to remit in the leaſt of their ardor.

They repreſented the petitions as the effect of miniſterial artifice; and they argued, that even if the diſtreſs of trade, from a due exertion of the authority of parliament, had been as real and as great as it was repreſented, yet it were better to ſubmit to this temporary inconvenience, than, by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total loſs of the juſt ſuperiority of Great Britain over her colonies.

Thoſe who contended for the repeal, were divided in opinion as to the right of taxation: the

the more numerous body, of whom were the miniſtry, inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies; but relied on the inexpediency of the preſent tax, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great Britain.

Thoſe who denied the right of taxation, were not ſo numerous; but they conſiſted of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular names in the kingdom, among which was that of a noble lord at the head of one of the firſt departments of the law, who, by ſome deciſions favourable to liberty, ſtood high in the eſteem of the public; and a right honourable commoner, who had long enjoyed the moſt unbounded popular applauſe; together with other lords and gentlemen of the firſt character.

Though the urgency of the matter occaſioned the houſe to attend to it with the moſt unwearied application; and twelve, one, or two o'clock in the morning were become common hours of dining with the members; ſo late was it frequently before they broke up from the public buſineſs; yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witneſſes they had to examine, occaſioned a delay that could not be avoided.

In the interim there were continual debates, and the oppoſition made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to enforce the ſtamp act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. There were two queſtions aroſe in the courſe of this debate, upon which the whole turned. The firſt was, whether the legiſlature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies or not? The ſecond was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late law.

We ſhall now recite ſome of the arguments that were made uſe of on both ſides, without preſuming to give any opinion of our own.

As to the right of taxation, the gentlemen who oppoſed it, produced many learned authorities from Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf, ſhewing, "that the very "foundation and ultimate point in view of "all government, is the good of ſociety."

They urged, that by going up to Magna Charta, and referring to the ſeveral writs upon record, iſſued out for the purpoſe of raiſing taxes for the crown, and for ſending repreſentatives to parliament, as well as from the bill of rights, it appears throughout the whole hiſtory of our conſtitution, that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed, but *per communem conſenſum parliamenti*, that is to ſay, of himſelf, or his own repreſentative; and this is that firſt and general right, as Britiſh ſubjects, with which the firſt inhabitants of the colonies emigrated; for the right does not depend upon their charters: the charters were but the exterior modelling of the conſtitution of the colonies; but the great interior fundamental of their conſtitution is this general right of a Britiſh ſubject; which is the very firſt principle of liberty,—No man ſhall be taxed, but by himſelf, or by his repreſentative.

That the counties palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, were not taxed but in their own aſſemblies or parliaments; till at different periods in our hiſtory, they were melted into our preſent form of parliamentary repreſentation. That the body of the clergy, till very lately, taxed themſelves, and granted benevolences to the king.

That the marches of Wales had a right of taxing themſelves till they ſent members to parliament, and from this circumſtance has continued the ſtyle of the king's proclamations, and of our acts of parliament to this day, although unneceſſarily, to name eſpecially the principality of Wales, and the town of Monmouth, as they do that of Berwick.

That many people carry the Idea of a parliament too far, in ſuppoſing a parliament can do every thing; but that is not true, and if it were, it is not right conſtitutionally; for then there might be an arbitrary power in a parliament, as well as in one man.

There are many things a parliament cannot do. It cannot make itſelf executive, nor diſpoſe of offices that belong to the crown. It cannot take any man's property, even that of the meaneſt cottager, as in the caſes of incloſures, without his being heard. The lords cannot reject a money-bill from the commons, nor the commons erect themſelves into a court of juſtice. The parliament could not tax the clergy, till ſuch time as they were

repreſented in parliament: nor can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

The charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogative, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown, are not the only rights the colonies have to being repreſented before they are taxed: they, as Britiſh ſubjects, take up their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters only. They take them from the ſame origin and fountain, from whence they flow to all Engliſhmen, from Magna Charta and the natural right of the ſubject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be reſtricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the ſubjects. Had the firſt inhabitants of the colonies renounced all connection with their mother country, they might have renounced their original right; but when they emigrated under the authority of the crown, and the national ſanction, they went out from hence at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, with all the firſt great privileges of Engliſhmen on their backs. But at the ſame time they were not, and could not be bound by penal laws of this country, from the ſeverity of which they fled, to climates remote from the heavy hand of power; and which they hoped to find more friendly to their principles of civil and religious liberty.

It is upon this ground, that it has been univerſally received as a law, that no acts of parliament made here, and particularly thoſe which enact any penalty, are binding upon the colonies, unleſs they are ſpecially named. The inhabitants of the colonies once removed from the domeſtic legiſlation of the mother country, are no more dependent upon it in the general ſyſtem, than the Iſle of Man is, or than, in the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, many ſubordinate principalities are dependent on the juriſdiction of the ſeigneur ſuzerain, or lord paramount; but owing only a limited obedience.

It is not meant by what has been ſaid, to affect the caſe of any external duties laid upon their ports; or of any reſtrictions which by the act of navigation, or other acts, are laid upon their commerce; for they are in the ſame caſe, as all other colonies belonging to the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe, who have ſhut up their colonies from all intercourſe with foreign countries, in the very firſt eſtabliſhment. What is ſpoken of are internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people: and that, before they can be liable to theſe internal taxes, they muſt firſt be repreſented.

Many other arguments were uſed, and inſtances were brought from ancient hiſtory, of the conduct of ſome of the moſt famous republics, with reſpect to their colonies, as well as of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, ſuch as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c.

Precedents were quoted from what happened in the united Netherlands, and other places, which ſhould ſerve as a beacon, to warn us from purſuing ſuch meaſures as brought about thoſe revolutions.

Theſe arguments were anſwered with great force of reaſon, and knowledge of the conconſtitution, by the other party. They obſerved, that it was neceſſary to clear away from the queſtion, all that maſs of diſſertation and learning, diſplayed in arguments which have been brought from ſpeculative men, who have written upon the ſubject of government. That the refinements upon that ſubject, and arguments of *natural* lawyers, as Locke, Seldon, Puffendorf, and others, are little to the purpoſe in a queſtion of conſtitutional law. That it is abſurd to apply records from the earlieſt times, to our preſent conſtitution; becauſe the conſtitution is not the ſame: and nobody knows what it was at ſome of the times that are quoted: that there are things, even in Magna Charta, which are not conſtitutional now, and that thoſe records are no proofs of our conſtitution as it now is.

The conſtitution of this country has always been in a moving ſtate, either gaining or looſing ſomething: nor was the repreſentation of the commons of Great Britain formed into any certain ſyſtem till the reign of Henry VII. that with regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reign of Edward I.

or

or king John, we are all in doubt and obſcurity: the hiſtory of thoſe times is full of uncertainties. In regard to the writs upon record, they were iſſued, ſome of them according to law; and ſome not according to law; and ſuch were thoſe concerning ſhip-money; to call aſſemblies to tax themſelves, or to compel benevolences. Other taxes were raiſed by eſcuage, fees for knights ſervice, and other means ariſing from the feudal ſyſtem. Benevolences are contrary to law, and it is well known how people reſiſted the demands of the crown in the caſe of ſhip-money, and were proſecuted by the court. And if any ſet of men were to meet now, to lend the king money, it would be contrary to law, and a breach of the rights of parliament.

With reſpect to the marches of Wales, who were the borderers privileged, for aſſiſting the king in his wars againſt the Welſh, in the mountains; their enjoying this privilege of taxing themſelves, was but of ſhort duration, and and only during the life of Edward I. till the prince of Wales came to be king: and then they were annexed to the crown, and became ſubject to taxes like the reſt of the dominions of England, and from thence came the cuſtom, though unneceſſary, of naming Wales and the town of Monmouth in all proclamations, and in acts of parliament. Henry VIII. was the firſt who iſſued writs for it, to return two members to parliament. The crown exerciſed the right *ad libitum*: from whence ariſes the inequality of repreſentation, in our conſtitution of this day: Henry VIII. iſſued a writ to Calais to ſend one Burgeſs to parliament. One of the counties Palatine was taxed fifty years to ſubſidies, before it ſent members to parliament. The clergy at no time were unrepreſented in parliament. When they taxed themſelves in their aſſemblies, it was done with the concurrence and conſent of parliament, who permitted them to tax themſelves upon their petition, the convocation ſitting at the ſame time with the parliament: they had their repreſentatives too, always ſitting in the houſe of lords, biſhops and abbots: and in the other houſe, they were at no time without a right of voting ſingly for the election of members; ſo that the argument fetched from the caſe of the clergy, is not an argument of any force, becauſe they were at no time unrepreſented.

The reaſoning about the colonies of Great-Britain drawn from the colonies of Antiquity, is a meer uſeleſs diſplay of learning: for the colonies of the Tyrians in Africa, and of the Greeks in Aſia, were totally different from our ſyſtem. No nation before ourſelves formed any regular ſyſtem of colonization, except the Romans: and their ſyſtem was a military one, by garriſons placed in the principal towns of the conquered provinces. But the right of juriſdiction of the mother country over her colonies was, among the Romans, boundleſs and uncontrolable. The ſtates of Holland were not colonies; but they were ſtates dependant on the houſe of Auſtria, in a feudal dependance. Nothing could be more different from our colonies, than that ſhock of men (as they have been called) who came from the North and poured into Europe. Thoſe emigrants renounced all laws, all protection, all connection with their mother countries. They choſe their leaders and marched under their banners, to ſeek their fortunes and eſtabliſh new kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman empire; whereas our colonies, on the contrary, emigrated under the ſanction of the crown and parliament. They were modelled gradually into their preſent forms, reſpectively by charters, grants, and ſtatutes: but they were never ſeparated from the mother country, and ſo emancipated as to become *ſui juris*.

There are ſeveral ſorts of colonies in Britiſh America: the charter colonies, the proprietary governments, and the king's colonies. The firſt colonies were the charter colonies, ſuch as the Virginia company, and theſe companies had among their directors, members of the privy council, and of both houſes of parliament; they were under the authority of the privy council, and had agents reſiding here reſponſible for their proceedings. So much were they conſidered as belonging to the

the crown, and not to the king perſonally, (for there is a great difference though few people attend to it,) that when the two houſes in the reign of Charles I. were going to paſs a bill concerning the colonies, a meſſage was ſent to them by the king, that they were the king's colonies, and that the bill was unneceſſary; for that the privy council would take order about them; and the bill never had the royal aſſent.

The commonwealth parliament, as ſoon as it was ſettled, were very ealry jealous of the colonies ſeparating themſelves from them; and paſſed a reſolution or act, (and it is a queſtion whether it is not now in force,) to declare and eſtabliſh the authority of England over her colonies. But if there was no expreſs law, or reaſon founded upon any neceſſary inference from an expreſs law; yet the uſage alone would be ſufficient to ſupport that authority. For have not the colonies ſubmitted, ever ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, to the juriſdiction of the mother country? In all queſtions of property, the appeals of the colonies have been to the privy council here: and ſuch cauſes have been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England. The colonies have been obliged to recur very frequently to the juriſdiction here, to ſettle the diſputes among their own governments. New Hampſhire and Connecticut, have been in blood about their differences: Virginia and Maryland were in arms againſt each other: this ſhews the neceſſity of one ſuperior deciſive juriſdiction to which all ſubordinate juriſdiction may recur. Nothing could be more fatal to the peace of the colonies at any time, than the parliament giving up its authority over them; for in ſuch a caſe there muſt be an entire diſſolution of government. Conſidering how the colonies are compoſed; it is eaſy to foreſee, that there would be no end of feuds and factions among the ſeveral ſeparate governments, when once there ſhall be no one government here or there, of ſufficient force or authority to decide their mutual differences: and government being diſſolved, nothing remains, but that the ſeveral colonies muſt either change their conſtitution, and take ſome new form of government, or fall under ſome foreign power. At preſent the ſeveral forms of their conſtitution are very various, having been produced, as all governments have been originally, by accident and circumſtances. The forms of government in every colony, were adapted from time to time according to the ſize of the colony, and ſo have been extended again from time to time, as the numbers of the inhabitants, and their commercial connections outgrew the firſt model. In ſome colonies at firſt, there was only a governor aſſiſted by two or three council: then more were added, then courts of juſtice were erected, then aſſemblies were created.

Some things were done by inſtructions from the ſecretaries of ſtate: other things were done by order of the king and council, and other things by commiſſion under the great ſeal.

It is obſervable, in conſequence of theſe eſtabliſhments from time to time, and the dependency of theſe governments upon the ſupreme legiſlature at home, that the lenity of each government in the colonies, has been extreme towards the ſubject; but if all theſe governments which are now independent of each other, ſhould become independent of the mother country, it is to be feared the inhabitants would ſoon find to their coſt, how little they were aware of the conſequences. They would very ſoon feel in that caſe, the hand of power much heavier on them in their own governments, than they have yet done, or than they have ever imagined.

As the conſtitutions of the ſeveral colonies, are made up of different principles; ſo they muſt remain dependent (from the neceſſity of things and their relations) upon the juriſdiction of the mother country, or they muſt be totally diſmembered from it. No one ever thought the contrary, till the trumpet of ſedition was lately blown. Acts of parliament have been made, not only without a doubt of their legality, but with univerſal applauſe, the great object of which had been ultimately to fix the trade of the colonies, ſo as to center in the boſom of that country, from whence they took their origin. The navigation act ſhut up their commerce with foreign countries.

countries. Their ports have been made ſubject to cuſtoms and regulations, which cramped and diminiſhed their trade, and duties have been laid, affecting the very inmoſt parts of their commerce, and among others, that of the poſt; yet all theſe have been ſubmitted to peaceably; and no one ever thought, till now, of this doctrine, that the colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, or bound by parliament. A few particular merchants then, as now, were diſpleaſed at reſtrictions, which did not admit them to make the greateſt poſſible advantage of their commerce, in their own private and peculiar branches; but though theſe few merchants might think themſelves looſers, in articles which they had no right to gain, as being prejudicial to the general ſyſtem; yet, upon the whole, the colonies were benefited by theſe laws, becauſe theſe reſtrictive laws, founded upon principles of the moſt ſolid policy, threw a great weight of naval force into the hands of the mother country, which was to protect the colonies, and without an union, with which the colonies muſt have been entirely weak and defenceleſs; inſtead of which they became relatively great, ſubordinately and in proportion, as the mother country advanced in ſuperiority over the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe, to which both mutually contributed, and of which both have reaped the benefit, equal to the natural and juſt relation in which they both ſtand reciprocally, of dependency on one ſide, and protection on the other.

There can be no doubt but that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much repreſented in parliament, as the greateſt part of the people of England are, among nine millions of whom, there are eight who have no votes in electing members of parliament: every objection therefore to the dependency of the colonies upon parliament, which ariſes to it upon the ground of repreſentation, goes to the whole preſent conſtitution of Great Britain. A member of parliament choſen for any borough, repreſents not only the conſtituents, and inhabitants of that particular place, but likewiſe the inhabitants of every other borough in Great-Britain; he repreſents the city of London, and all other the commons of the land, and the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great-Britain, and is in duty and conſcience bound to take care of their intereſts.

The diſtinction of internal and external taxes, is as falſe and groundleſs as any other that has been made. It is granted, that reſtrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports, are legal, at the ſame time that the right of parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied.

What real difference can there be in this diſtinction? a tax laid in any place is like a pebble falling into, and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces, and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the center; for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent, laid upon tobacco, either in the ports of Virginia or London, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia wherever the tobacco grows.

Many other arguments were made uſe of. It was urged, that protection is the ground that gives a right to taxation. That the obligation between the colonies and the mother country, is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other; and that common ſenſe dictates, that they muſt be dependent in all points upon the mother country, or elſe not belong to it at all. That the queſtion is not, what was law, or what was the conſtitution? but the queſtion is, what is law now, and what is the conſtitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exerciſed, and as generally held to be law, as hath been proved in numberleſs inſtances, without its ever having been queſtioned before, it is now the conſtitution. It was alſo obſerved, that the colonies had gone very great lengths; and it was even inſiſted, that by appointing deputies from their ſeveral aſſemblies to confer together, they had abſolutely forfeited their charters.

No matter of debate was ever more ably and learnedly handled in both houſes. The ſubject was of the higheſt importance, and

it was not without difficulties both conſtitutional and political, in the diſcuſſion, and in the conſequences.

Upon the queſtion being put, the power of the legiſlature of Great-Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and aſcertained without a diviſion. And this was, perhaps, the only queſtion that could have been thought of, upon which the miniſtry, and their antagoniſts in the oppoſition, would have gone together on a diviſion.

The grand committee who had paſſed the reſolutions on which the foregoing queſtion was debated, had alſo paſſed another for the total repeal of the ſtamp act: and two bills were accordingly brought in to anſwer theſe purpoſes. By the reſolutions on which the former was founded, it was declared, that tumults and inſurrections of the moſt dangerous nature had been raiſed and carried on in ſeveral of the colonies; in open defiance of government, and in manifeſt violation of the laws and legiſlative authority of this kingdom. That theſe tumults and inſurrections had been encouraged and inflamed, by ſeveral votes and reſolutions which had paſſed in the aſſemblies of the ſaid colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and deſtructive to their legal and conſtitutional dependency on the crown and parliament, &c.

By the bill itſelf, all votes, reſolutions, or orders, which had been paſſed by any of the general aſſemblies in America, by which they aſſumed to themſelves the ſole and excluſive right of taxing his majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legiſlative authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with their dependency upon the crown.

The oppoſition, far from being diſpirited, ſeemed to gather freſh vigour, and ſtill oppoſed the repeal in every part of its progreſs: but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, the bill paſſed upon a diviſion, by a majority of 275 to 167, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the houſe of commons.

The eclat with which it was introduced in the upper houſe, did not prevent its meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition there; thirty three lords entered a proteſt againſt it at the ſecond reading, as twenty eight did at the third; it was, however carried through by a majority of thirty-four lords.

On the eighteenth of march his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and gave the royal aſſent to the bill for repealing the American ſtamp-act; that for ſecuring the dependencies of the colonies on the Britiſh crown, and to ſeveral other bills. On this occaſion the American merchants made a moſt numerous appearance to expreſs their joy and gratitude; the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours; great numbers of houſes in the city were illuminated; and every decent and orderly method was obſerved, to demonſtrate the juſt ſenſe that was entertained of his majeſty's goodneſs, and the wiſdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people on this critical occaſion.

His majeſty having, on the fourteenth of May, given the royal aſſent, among others, to "the bill to prohibit the importation of "foreign wrought ſilks and velvets for a li-"mited time," ſeveral thouſand weavers went to St. James's, with ſtreamers flying, drums beating, and muſick playing, and teſtified their gratitude by loud acclamations of joy.

During the long debates that had attended the repeal of the ſtamp act, the miniſtry had frequent conferences with the North American and Weſt India merchants, by which means they acquired great knowledge of the trade, and the manner of conducting it in that part of the world: and in conſequence of theſe informations, and of petitions from ſeveral of the capital trading towns in England, a bill was paſſed for opening free ports, under certain reſtrictions, in different parts of the Weſt-Indies.

On the ſixth of June, the king went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the abovementioned bill, and to ſeveral others; after which his majeſty made a ſpeech from the throne, in which he ſays, that "it is

"with

" with the utmoſt ſatisfaction he has obſerv-
" ed, the wiſdom and moderation by which
" the parliament have been uniformly guided,
" through the important deliberations in
" which they have been engaged." His majeſty obſerves, that " the many regulations
" which have been made for extending and
" promoting the trade and manufactures of
" Great Britain, and for ſettling the mutual
" intercourſe of his kingdoms and planta-
" tations, in ſuch a manner as to provide for
" the improvement of the colonies, on a
" plan of due ſubordination to the commer-
" cial intereſts of the mother country, were
" the ſtrongeſt proofs of their equitable and
" comprehenſive regard to the welfare of all
" his dominions. His majeſty declares, that
" it ſhall be his endeavour, that ſuch care
" be taken, as may tend to ſecure and im-
" prove the advantages which may be ex-
" pected from ſuch wiſe and ſalutary regula-
" tions."

Beſides the abovementioned, ſome other acts and reſolutions were paſſed this ſeſſion, which tended in ſome degree, either to make the burdens of the people eaſier to be borne, or to ſecure the liberty of their perſons. Of the former may be reckoned the repeal of the old duties on houſes and windows, and the new bill, by which the rates are much more equitably ſettled, and eaſier to the lower and middling ranks of people: of the latter, the reſolutions which declared the taking up of people by general warrants, or the ſeizing of their papers, except in ſuch caſes as were preſcribed by acts of parliament, to be illegal.

At length, the ſummer being far advanced, there was an end put to this vigorous ſeſſion of parliament; in which a more than ordinary ſhare of buſineſs had been tranſacted, and matters of the greateſt conſequence to the nation, agitated and decided.

Hitherto matters had gone on in the moſt ſucceſsful manner with the miniſtry; they had weathered a dangerous and ſtormy winter; they had gained every point they attempted in parliament; and had ſecured the confidence and good will of the public in a very high degree. They had likewiſe acquired ſome credit in their foreign tranſactions; they had concluded an advantageous commercial treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia; they had ſettled the long conteſted affair of the Canada bills, to the ſatisfaction of the owners of them; and made ſome progreſs in reviving the long neglected affair of the Manilla ranſom.

Thoſe who had not conſidered the fluctuating ſtate of adminiſtration for ſome years back, might have been apt to imagine, that in conſequence of ſo fair a beginning they were ſecurely fixed in their ſituation.

But it happened far otherwiſe: for on the thirtieth of July, the duke of Grafton was appointed to the head of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the duke of Richmond; lord Camden, lord high chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington; the right honourable Charles Townſend, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeſwell; and the right honourable William Pitt, (who was ſome days before created viſcount Pynſent and earl of Chatham) lord privy ſeal.

Many other changes took place, both at that time, and ſubſequently, in all the different departments of ſtate.

On the eleventh of November his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

The high price of wheat, and the defective produce of that grain laſt harveſt, together with the extraordinary demands for the ſame from foreign parts, have principally determined me to call you thus early together, that I might have the ſenſe of parliament, as ſoon as conveniently might be, on a matter ſo important, and particularly affecting the poorer ſort of my ſubjects.

The urgency of the neceſſity called upon me, in the mean time, to exert my royal authority for the preſervation of the public ſafety, againſt a growing calamity, which could not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by and with the advice of my privy council, laid

laid an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken thereupon.

If further proviſions of law be requiſite or expedient, with regard to the dearneſs of corn, ſo neceſſary to the ſuſtenance of the poorer ſort, they cannot eſcape the wiſdom of parliament, to which I recommend the due conſideration thereof.

At the ſame time I muſt with concern take notice, that, notwithſtanding my cares for my people, a ſpirit of the moſt daring inſurrection has, in divers parts, broke forth in violences of the moſt criminal nature.

Neceſſary orders have been given for bringing ſuch dangerous offenders to condign puniſhment, and ſpeedy juſtice; nor ſhall vigilance and vigour on my part be wanting to reſtore obedience and reverence to law and government.

I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that, ſince I laſt met you, I have concluded a treaty of commerce with my good ſiſter the empreſs of Ruſſia, whereby that conſiderable branch of trade is fixed on a juſt and ſatisfactory footing.

It is with pleaſure that I alſo acquaint you, that the marriage between my good brother the king of Denmark, and my ſiſter the princeſs Carolina Matilda, has been ſolemnized, and the natural alliance between the two crowns happily ſtrengthened, by an additional tie of ſo agreeable a nature.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you.

Such ſupplies as you may grant, ſhall be duly applied with the utmoſt fidelity, and ſtricteſt regard to the objects for which they are granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

The general poſture of affairs in Europe, affords no occaſion to lay any thing new before you upon that head. My purpoſes are conſtant, and fixt to maintain, on my part, the public tranquillity inviolate; and to ſupport the dignity of my crown, and the rights of my ſubjects. The juſtice and wiſdom of the other great powers of Europe, leave no room to apprehend any intentions of a contrary nature.

Having thus recited the political hiſtory of the year 1766, we ſhall record ſuch other events as are worthy of an hiſtorian's notice; and for the ſake of perſpicuity, ſhall give them as near as poſſible in the order in which they happened.

Early in the morning of the eighth of February, the princeſs of Brunſwick was delivered of a prince, who, on the eleventh of March following, was baptized at St. James's, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the names of Charles George Auguſtus; their majeſties, the duke of York, and the princeſs dowager of Wales being ſponſors.

On the twentieth of February king Staniſlaus of Poland died of the hurt received, ſome little time before, from the flames of the fire catching hold of his night gown, by which he was burnt in a terrible manner. His majeſty was born on the 20th of October, 1677, was elected king of Poland for the firſt time, on the 12th of July, 1704, and re-elected on the 12th of September, 1733. He abdicated the crown in 1736.

In the beginning of March, their royal highneſſes the prince of Wales and the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, were inoculated for the ſmall pox, under the care of his majeſty's ſurgeons and phyſicians; had the diſorder in a favourable manner, and ſoon recovered.

In the month of July and the ſucceeding months, the poor in various parts of the kingdom, aſſembled in a riotous manner, on account of the high price of proviſions; when they pulled down, burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed flour mills, ſeized on corn and other proviſions, which they ſold at a moderate price, and delivered the produce to the owners: at ſome places they were ſo exaſperated that they ripped open the ſacks, and ſcattered the corn about, ſeized butter, cheeſe, and bacon, in the ſhops, and threw it into the ſtreets, and committed numberleſs other violences: What pity is it, that ſome more effectual methods than any yet thought of, are not taken

taken to relieve the pungent diſtreſſes of the poor! Our lands, through the bounty of providence, yield their uſual increaſe, the numbers of our people rather diminiſh, yet the price of proviſion doubles, and the poor are ſtarving.

A moſt melancholy affair happened in the month of September, at Plymouth-dock. A ſoldier being ſentenced to be ſhot at that place for deſertion, the marine companies and fourth regiment were ordered to attend the execution. After having received the ſacrament, the priſoner was brought out of the barracks, eſcorted by an officer's guard, and attended by a clergyman; his coffin was carried before his face, which made the proceſſion appear more dreadful and ſolemn. About ten he got to the field of execution, where he frequently kneeled and prayed. About eleven the commanding officer ordered him to march round the troops to admoniſh them, and the clergyman dictated what he ſhould ſay, after which he returned to his place. There were nine men, who were formerly deſerters, ordered to ſhoot him: he kneeled, and was bid by the officer to pull his cap over his face, which he did, and whilſt the officer turned round, the man dropped a handkerchief out of his hand, which being underſtood as a ſignal to ſhoot him, three of the men inſtantly fired through his body. The officer had a reprieve in his pocket, but by heightening the ſcene of horror too much, and by ſome unaccountable fatality, the poor man loſt his life. The dreadful confuſion of the officer may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed!

One Robert Webber having been capitally convicted at the aſſizes at Maidſtone, for a robbery on board the Medway man of war, the king reprieved him for tranſportation; on which he moſt earneſtly petitioned to be hanged, promiſing to make great diſcoveries if he was permitted to die; but he was tranſported with the other convicts. He left behind him a long confeſſion of his villainies; one of which was his being concerned in ſetting fire to and deſtroying the temporary bridge of London, in April, 1758.

On the twenty-ninth of September, between ſix and ſeven in the morning, the queen was delivered of a princeſs, and on the twenty ſeventh of the following month the princeſs royal was baptized by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the names of Charlotte-Auguſta-Matilda.

On the evening of the firſt of October, her Royal highneſs princeſs Carolina-Matilda was married to the king of Denmark at the chapel royal at St. James's, the duke of York being proxy for his Daniſh majeſty; and the next morning her majeſty ſet out from Carlton houſe in order to embark for Denmark.

At the latter end of December, the weather was mild to a degree hardly ever known. In a wood belonging to lord le Deſpenſer, in Buckinghamſhire, there were leaves upon ſome of the beeches, in as freſh verdure as in the month of May; in a garden near Worceſter young gooſeberries were found upon trees in the common ground and open air, and white roſes were then in full bloom: a few ripe ſtrawberries were pulled in a gentleman's garden at York, and in another garden, there were artichokes near as large as a man's fiſt, with which the owner treated his friends in the Chriſtmas holidays.

During the courſe of this year there were ſome extraordinary inſtances of longevity, the moſt remarkable of which are the following. In the month of March died Mrs. Hewetſon, at Houghton le Spring in Northumberland, aged 116. In April, J. Simpſon, near Knareſborough in Yorkſhire aged 112. In May, James Mackay, a ſhop keeper near Cardigan, aged 120. In July, at Douglas in the Iſle of Man, a perſon in the 117th year of his age, who had never been out of the iſland in his life. In Auguſt, at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, Mr. Thomas Dobney an eminent farmer, aged 139. In September, at Ogle in Northumberland, Matthew Richardſon, aged 111, and in December, George King at Nokes in Cambridgeſhire, aged 130.

Nothing now remains of the hiſtory of the year 1766, but to obſerve that the total of the ſupplies granted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, amounted to eight millions, two hun-

dred and ſeventy three thouſand, two hundred and eighty pounds eleven ſhillings and a penny.

*A. D.* 1767. The occurrences worthy our notice in the year 1767, are neither very numerous, nor, if we except the death of the duke of York, very intereſting; but ſuch as they are, they ſhall be related with the ſame regard to brevity and impartiality which has been carefully obſerved during the courſe of this work.

A froſt, which had begun in the latter end of December, continued to encreaſe, and was very ſevere till the ſixteenth of January, when, on that and the two following days, there was an appearance of its breaking; but on the nineeeenth it returned with increaſed vigour, and continued till the twenty-ſecond, when a kindly thaw relieved the apprehenſions of the public.

During the continuance of this froſt the diſtreſſes of the poor in town and country were truly pitiable, though the generous hand of charity was held forth by numbers of worthy perſons, and ſeveral public bodies. Fuel, and all other neceſſaries of life, were remarkably dear: the river Thames was frozen ſo hard as to ſtop the navigation both above and below the bridge: many perſons, retarded, or jammed in by the ice, periſhed with cold, in boats or other craft; and the wherries in the river were wholly unemployed.

In the cities of London, Weſtminſter, and their ſuburbs, many melancholy accidents happened, ſuch as numbers of people periſhing with cold, or breaking limbs by the ſlipperineſs of the ſtreets; and the draught cattle could ſcarcely keep their feet. Many fatal accidents likewiſe happened to thoſe who were purſuing the diverſion of ſkaiting on the ice.

In the country the ſnow lay ſo deep, and ſo filled up the roads, hollows and valleys, that many people looſing their way, died through the ſeverity of the weather. Sheep and cattle periſhed in conſiderable numbers: the roads were almoſt impaſſible, and the ſtages and mails performed their ſeveral journies with the utmoſt difficulty, danger, and loſs of time.

This month was alſo remarkable for very tempeſtuous weather at ſea, by which great numbers of veſſels were wrecked on our own and the neighbouring coaſts, and ſeveral of their crews periſhed. Great damage was ſuſtained by the ſhipping and inhabitants, from a ſtorm and flood, at Berwick, Plymouth, Goſwick, and Sunderland. The ſame misfortunes were felt at Whitby, Stockton, and other places. At Shotley in Suffolk, marſhes and banks were laid under water; at Manningtree in Eſſex, ſixty ſheep were drowned, and the neighbourhood of Orford in Suffolk ſuffered ſtill more. In ſhort, to recapitulate the damages ſuſtained, and the hardſhips which the poor underwent, would be an endleſs taſk.

On the nineteenth of this month one Williamſon, a journeyman ſhoemaker, was executed in Moorfields for the murder of his wife, by ſtarving her to death. This horrid wretch, having married the poor woman for the ſake of a ſmall ſum of money that ſhe poſſeſſed, ſoon began to treat her in a cruel manner, tying her up to a ſtaple in a cloſet, in a moſt uneaſy poſture, and denying her the neceſſaries of life. Her death ſoon enſued; and we mention this circumſtance, as we think it our duty to tranſmit to poſterity the infamy of a wretch, who was capable of acting ſo repugnant to every principle of humanity!

On the ſecond of July, after his majeſty had given the royal aſſent to a number of public and private bills, and made the following ſpeech from the throne, the parliament was prorogued to the thirty-firſt day of Auguſt.

My lord and Gentlemen,

The advanced ſeaſon of the year, joined to the conſideration of the inconvenience you muſt all have felt from ſo long an abſence from your ſeveral countries, calls upon me to put an end to the preſent ſeſſion of parliament; which I cannot do, without returning you my thanks for your diligent application to the public buſineſs, and the proofs you have given

given of your affection for me, for my family, and for my government: and although, from the nature and extenſiveneſs of the ſeveral objects under your conſideration, it could not be expected that all the great commercial intereſts ſhould be compleatly adjuſted and regulated in the courſe of this ſeſſion, yet, I am perſuaded, that, by the progreſs you have made, a ſolid foundation is laid for ſecuring the moſt conſiderable and eſſential benefits to this nation.

As no material alteration has happened in the ſtate of foreign affairs ſince your firſt meeting, I have nothing to communicate to you on that ſubject. The firſt objects of all my meaſures are, to preſerve the peace, and at the ſame time, to aſſert and maintain the honour of my crown, and the juſt rights of my ſubjects.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I thank you for the neceſſary ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully granted for the public ſervice; and my particlar acknowledgements are due to you, for the proviſion you have enabled me to make for the more honourable ſupport and maintenance of my family.

My lords and gentlemen,

The great attention which you have ſhewn to the particular purpoſe for which I called you ſo early together, and the very wholſome laws paſſed for relieving my ſubjects from the immediate diſtreſs which the great ſcarcity of corn threatened to bring upon them, give me the moſt ſenſible pleaſure. I rely upon you for the exertion of your utmoſt endeavours to convince my people, that no care has been wanting to procure for them every relief which has been poſſible; and that their grateful ſenſe of proviſions ſo wiſely made for their preſent happineſs and laſting proſperity, cannot be ſo fully expreſſed, as by a ſtrict obſervance of that order and regularity, which are equally neceſſary to the ſecurity of all good government, as well as to their own real welfare.

On Monday the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, the parliament met agreeable to the above prorogation, and was further prorogued to Wedneſday the ſeventh of October, and afterwards to the twenty-fourth of November.

On the fourteenth of September, Elizabeth Brownrigg was executed at Tyburn, for the murder of Mary Clifford her apprentice. It appeared upon the trial, that this infamous woman had occaſioned the death of the child by a ſeries of barbarities, which, if they were not well atteſted, would ſeem incredible to the compaſſionate mind: that ſhe had beaten her on the head and ſhoulders with the ſtump of a riding whip and other weapons: that the child ſometimes lay on the boards in the parlour, ſometimes in the paſſage, and ſometimes in the cellar; but that her general lodging was in the cellar, under the kitchen ſtairs, a place about the bigneſs of a cloſet: that ſometimes ſhe had a piece of a ſack with ſome ſtraw on it to lie on, ſometimes had a bit of a blanket to cover her, and ſometimes quite naked: that ſhe had been ſometimes tied to a water-pipe, and at others to a hook, and being ſtripped naked, whipped till the blood came: in a word, it appeared from the depoſitions of an apothecary and ſurgeon, that this poor child was beaten ſo as to occaſion almoſt one continued wound from head to foot, and that theſe wounds were the cauſe of her death.

The huſband and ſon of this woman, who were in ſome degree concerned in the cruelties inflicted on the child, being acquitted of the murder, were afterwards tried for the aſſault, and ſentenced to be impriſoned in Newgate ſix months, and enter into recognizance for their good behaviour for ſeven years.

As the apprentices taken by the Brownriggs were children put out by public charities, it may be hoped, that the cruel treatment they received, (for Clifford was not the only one that was ill uſed) will incite pariſh officers, not only to examine very ſtrictly into the characters of the perſons to whom they entruſt the children for the future, but alſo to make frequent enquiries, to be aſſured that they are treated with humanity.

On the twenty-third of September, the Eaſt India company unanimouſly agreed to grant to "lord Clive and his perſonal repre-
"ſentatives, an additional term of ten years
"in his lordſhip's jaghire, commencing from
"the determination of his lordſhip's preſent
"right

" right therein; provided the company ſhall " be in poſſeſſion of the lands, out of which " the jaghire iſſues, during ſuch additional " term of ten years."

On Sunday the twenty-ſeventh, captain Wrotteſly arrived, with the melancholy news that his royal highneſs Edward Auguſtus, duke of York and Albany, died of a malignant fever, at Monaco, the capital of a principality of the ſame name, in the territories of Genoa, in Upper Italy, on the ſeventeenth of this month.

As ſoon as his royal highneſs was dead, the prince of Monaco ordered a cannon to be fired every half hour, till the body ſhould be depoſited on board the ſhip, and the *chambre ardent* to be prepared for lying in ſtate, according to the cuſtom of that country, with his body-guard to attend, and a guard from the regiment. Accordingly, the preparations were made in the largeſt apartment of the palace, hung with black: a high canopy in the middle, of black and ſilver, with a repreſentation of a coffin of the ſame, upon the top of ſix ſtages or ſteps of black, on each of which were a row of tapers, in large gold and ſilver candleſticks; on the coffin a ſilver pillow, with a coronet upon it, the ſword next to the coffin, and then the garter, george, and ſtar; on the ground, a row of torches round the whole: under the canopy, behind the ſtage, was placed the coffin, which was made as near as poſſible in the Engliſh manner, covered with the pall: on each ſide were two mutes; and behind, colonel St. John, colonel Morriſon, commodore Spry, and Mr. Schutz, attended. The whole lighting conſiſted of near two hundred tapers. The proceſſion from thence to the water ſide was fixed for Sunday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the *chambre ardent* was opened at nine o'clock that morning. At the ſetting out of the proceſſion, a ſignal was made for the ſhips to fire minute guns, till the body ſhould be on board. As it came out of the palace, the regiment was drawn up, their drums in black, and officers in crape; at the water ſide was the long boat, with a canopy for the body, covered with black, and the royal ſtandard hoiſted half height; and this was towed by the captain's barge with mutes in it; behind was the commodore's barge, with his royal highneſs's ſervants, and two more barges for the remaining officers. The prince of Monaco continued at the water ſide till the whole was on board, when the royal ſtandard was hoiſted half high on board the ſhip, and the minute guns ceaſed: the garriſon then fired two rounds of cannon, and the regiment two rounds of running fire. The whole of this ceremony was conducted with the greateſt regularity and ſolemnity.

The

The Order of the Proceſſion was as follows.

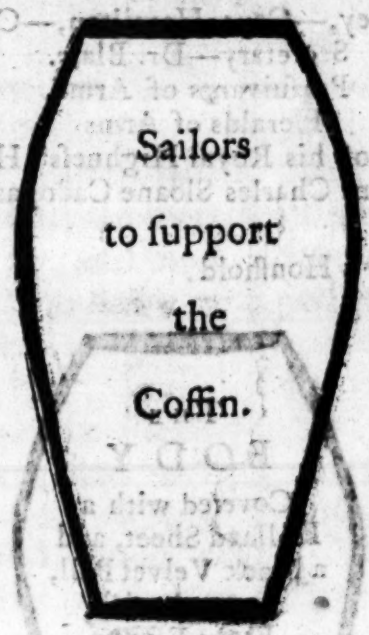
The Guard.
Sailors with Flambeaux.
All the Duke's Servants.
Two Surgeons a-breaſt.
Four Mutes.
Gentlemen who carry the Enſigns of the Garter.
Lieutenants two by two.

Captain Croſby, Pall-Bearer.

Captain Dickings, Pall-Bearer.

Canopy-bearer.

Canopy-bearer.




Canopy-bearer.

Canopy-bearer.

Canopy-bearer.

Canopy-bearer.

Mr. Schutz, Pall-Bearer.

Commodore Spry, Pall-Bearer.

Colonel St. John.
Colonel Morriſon.
The Prince of Monaco.
Gentlemen his Attendants.
The reſt of the Engliſh Gentlemen two by two.

Such were the laſt honours paid to the duke of York in a foreign country, by a Catholic prince; a circumſtance which proves that politeneſs and humanity are of all nations.

As we have never ſeen in any hiſtory of England, a particular account of the interment of any of the royal family, and as we hope it will be long before any hiſtorian has occaſion to record another event of the like nature, we will now gratify our readers with the particulars of his royal highneſs's burial.

Between nine and ten o'clock in the evening of the fourth of November, the proceſſion began to move from the Prince's Chamber, paſſing through the Old Palace Yard, to the ſouth-eaſt door of Weſtminſter-Abbey, upon a floor railed in, covered with black cloth, and lined on each ſide with a party of the foot guards. The order was as follows.

Drums and Trumpets ſounding a ſolemn
March with Banners attached to them,
adorned with naval Trophies, the
Drums covered with Black.
The Serjeant Trumpeter.
Knights Marſhals Men.
Gentlemen, Servants to his Royal Highneſs.
Page of the Preſence.
Page of the Back Stairs.
Pages of Honour,
Mr. Frederick,——Mr. Cadogan.
Equerries,
Capt. Wrotteſley,—Capt. Hamilton,—Col. Morriſon.
Secretary—Dr. Blair.
Purſuivants of Arms.
Heralds of Arms.
Treaſurer of his Royal Highneſs's Houſhold,
The Hon. Charles Sloane Cadogan, Eſq;
Norroy King of Arms.
The Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold.

The Coronet upon a black velvet Cuſhion, borne by Clarencieux King of Arms.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Four Vice Admirals Supporters of Canopy, intheir Uniform Coats, Black Waiſtcoats, and Crapes in their Hats, and on their Arms, viz. | Supporters of the Pall, viz. | | Supporters of the Pall, viz. | Four Vice Admirals Supporters of Canopy, in their Uniform Coats, Black Waiſtcoats, and Crapes in their Hats, and on their Arms, viz. |
| | Lord Le Deſpencer. | | Lord Botetourt. | |
| Sir Edward Hawke, Knight of the Bath. | | | | Tho. Frankland, Eſq; |
| Duke of Bolton. | | | | Sir Ch. Hardy, Knt. |
| | Lord Bruce. | | Lord Boſton. | |
| Sir Charles Saunders, Knight of the Bath. | | | | Sir Sam. Corniſh, Bart. |
| Francis Geary, Eſq; | | | | Sir G. Bridges Rodney, Baronet. |

THE BODY
Covered with a Holland Sheet, and a Black Velvet Pall, adorned with Eight Eſcutcheons of His Royal Highneſs's Arms, under a Canopy of Black Velvet.

A Gentleman Uſher. { Garter Principal King of Arms, with his Rod of Office. } A Gentleman Uſher.

Chief Mourner,
Supporter, Duke of Montague, in a black Cloak. { The Duke of Grafton, in a long black Cloak, his Train borne by Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. } Supporter, Duke of Northumberland, in a black Cloak.

Aſſiſtants to the Chief Mourner.
Earl of Denbigh. ——Earl of Huntingdon.
Earl of Litchfield. ——Earl of Peterborough.
Earl Harcourt. ——Earl of Pomfret.
Earl Delawarr. ——Earl of Orford.
A Gentleman Uſher.
Grooms of his Royal Highneſs's Bedchamber.
Sir William Boothby.—Colonel Weſt.—Colonel St. John.
Yeomen of the Guard.

At the entrance of Weſtminſter Abbey within the church, the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body, falling into the proceſſion next before Norry, king of arms, and ſo proceeded, ſinging, into king Henry the ſeventh's chapel, where the coffin was placed on treſſels, the head towards the altar, the crown and cuſhion being laid thereon, and the canopy held over it, while the ſervice was read by the dean of Weſtminſter; the chief mourner and his two ſupporters ſitting on chairs at the head of the corpſe, the lords aſſiſtants and ſupporters of the pall upon ſtools on either ſide.

The part of the ſervice before the interment being read, the corpſe was depoſited in the vault; and the dean having finiſhed the burial ſervice, Garter king of arms proclaimed his royal highneſs's ſtile as follows.

Thus hath pleaſed almighty God to take out of this tranſitory life unto his divine mercy, the late moſt high, moſt mighty, and moſt illuſtrious prince Edward Auguſtus, duke of York and Albany, earl of Ulſter, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, ſecond ſon of the late moſt illuſtrious prince Frederick, prince of Wales, deceaſed, and next brother to his moſt excellent majeſty George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith; whom God bleſs and preſerve with long life, health and honour, and all worldly happineſs.

About noon on the ſecond of November the queen was ſafely delivered of a prince, who, on the firſt of December following, was baptized at St. James's by the name of Edward. On the twenty-fourth of November his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have choſen to call you together at this ſeaſon of the year, that my parliament might have full time for their deliberations upon all ſuch branches of the public ſervice as may require their immediate attention, without the neceſſity of continuing the ſeſſion beyond the time moſt ſuitable to my people for the election of a new parliament: and I doubt not, but you will be careful, from the ſame conſiderations, to avoid, in your proceedings, all unneceſſary delay.

Nothing in the preſent ſituation of affairs abroad gives me reaſon to apprehend, that you will be prevented, by any interruption of the public tranquillity, from fixing your whole attention upon ſuch points as concern the internal welfare and proſperity of my people.

Among theſe objects of a domeſtic nature, none can demand a more ſpeedy or more ſerious attention, than what regards the high price of corn; which neither the ſalutary laws paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, nor the produce of the late harveſt, have yet been able ſo far to reduce, as to give ſufficient relief to the diſtreſſes of the poorer ſort of my people. Your late reſidence in your ſeveral countries muſt have enabled you to judge, whether any farther proviſions can be made, conducive to the attainment of ſo deſireable an end.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I will order the proper officers to lay before you the eſtimates of the enſuing year.

The experience I have had of your conſtant readineſs to grant me all ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be found neceſſary, for the ſecurity, intereſt, and honour of the nation, (and I have no other to aſk of you) renders it unneceſſary for me to add my exhortations upon this head; and I doubt not, but the ſame public conſiderations will induce you to perſevere, with equal alacrity, in your endeavours to diminiſh the national debt; while, on my part, no care ſhall be wanting to contribute, as far as poſſible, to the attainment of that moſt eſſential object, by every frugal application of ſuch ſupplies as you ſhall grant.

My lords and gentlemen,

The neceſſity of improving the preſent general tranquillity to the great purpoſe of maintaining the ſtrength, the reputation, and the proſperity of this country, ought to be ever before your eyes. To render your deliberations

berations for that purpoſe ſucceſsful, endeavour to cultivate a ſpirit of harmony among yourſelves. My concurrence in whatever will promote the happineſs of my people, you may always depend upon: and in that light, I ſhall be deſirous of encouraging union among all thoſe, who wiſh well to their country.

*A. D.* 1768. On Thurſday the tenth of March, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, which were chiefly of a private nature, made an elegant and pathetic ſpeech from the throne, in which, among other things, his majeſty ſaid, that as the time limited by law for the expiration of this parliament drew near, he had reſolved forthwith to iſſue his proclamation for diſſolving it, and for calling a new parliament. But he would not do this, without having firſt returned them thanks, for the many ſignal proofs they had given of the moſt affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government, the moſt faithful attention to the public ſervice, and the moſt earneſt zeal for the preſervation of our excellent conſtitution. When, by the vigorous ſupport which they gave him during the war, he had been enabled, under the divine providence, to reſtore to his people the bleſſings of peace, they continued to exert themſelves with equal alacrity and ſteadineſs, in purſuing every meaſure that could contribute to the maintenance of the public ſafety and tranquillity; which they well underſtood could no otherwiſe be preſerved than by eſtabliſhing, on a reſpectable foundation, the ſtrength, the credit, and the commerce of the nation.

That in the approaching election of repreſentatives, he doubted not but his people would give him freſh proofs of their attachment to the true intereſt of their country; which he ſhould ever receive as the moſt acceptable mark of their affection to him. That the welfare of all his ſubjects is his firſt object. Nothing therefore had ever given him more real concern, than to ſee any of them, in any part of his dominions, attempting to looſen thoſe bonds of conſtitutional ſubordination, ſo eſſential to the welfare of the whole. But it is with much ſatisfaction, that he now ſees them returning to a more juſt ſenſe of what their own intereſt, no leſs than their duty, indiſpenſibly requires of them; and thereby giving him the proſpect of continuing to reign over an happy, becauſe an united people.

After which the parliament was prorogued to the thirty-firſt day of the month; but on the eleventh it was diſſolved by proclamation.

Thus have we brought this hiſtory to a concluſion, at a time when the people of England are on the point of chuſing a new parliament; and we cannot conclude with a better, a more patriotic wiſh, than that the general choice may fall on ſuch men, as, deſpiſing all the efforts of bribery, and regardleſs of the intereſts of party, may ſincerely, uniformly, and conſtantly attend to their FIRST GREAT DUTY, the WELFARE of their COUNTRY.

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THE END.

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